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Luther's German Bible

An Historical Presentation
Together with a Collection of Sources

FOURTEEN PLATES

By M. REU

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COLUMBUS, OHIO
THE LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN
1934

MADE IN U. S. A.

To my faithful collaborator
and learned friend

THE REV. JOHN C. MATTES, D. D.
Scranton, Pa.

PREFACE

NO ONE need expect to find in this book the results of original researches made by the author in the archives and libraries of Europe. That is just the difference between this undertaking and his *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts im Evangelischen Deutschland zwischen 1530 und 1600* of which the ninth and last volume is now in press. While that work rests largely on original investigations that were made, for the greater part, in previously unexplored literary fields, and is based directly on both printed and previously unpublished sources, here the scattered source materials that were discovered and edited by others are made available in connected form. The author can truthfully claim that he has worked through all the available material, scattered as it is, down to the most recent publications of this year, and on the basis of this extensive literature presents the first comprehensive picture of the origin of Luther's German Bible. New as many of its conclusions are and often far removed from traditional views they nevertheless give the latest conclusions of historical science, even in the smallest details.

Naturally the origin of Luther's German Bible, in the narrower sense, occupies the chief place. The chapters that deal with it specifically are based on the seven volumes of the Weimar Edition, thus far published, that are devoted to the *Deutsche Bibel*, and on the monographs that have been written on this subject. It is the purpose of this undertaking to make clear and evident to the reader the tremendous amount of labor Luther devoted to his Bible translation. Its magnitude is still only realized by comparatively few scholars.

But it is impossible rightly to value Luther's translation of the German Bible without knowing what had been done along these lines during the middle ages, and how extensively the Bible had been circulated among the people, particularly in the vulgar tongue, or without establishing clearly the attitude towards the Bible that Luther had attained, when he commenced his work of translation in 1522, both as it is a continuation and a contrast to that of the middle ages. For this reason the opening chapters deal with the Bible in the middle ages and with Luther and the Bible.

The first chapter could not be limited to an account of the manuscript and printed translations of the Bible that appeared during the middle ages, on the basis of Walther's great pioneer work published more than forty years ago. To do so would be only to give a one-sided picture and it would fail to do justice to the middle ages. The Latin Bible and the extent of its circulation must be taken into account as well. Here the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* now in course of publication, makes it possible to arrive at conclusive results as far as the printed Bible is concerned. Further the various kinds of Bible literature, Latin as well as German, whose unsuspectedly large extent has been made particularly clear by the recent (1912-1933) researches of Vollmer and Pietsch, must be given due consideration. If this disposes of the traditional accounts the fact still remains, though in quite a different sense from the one in which it is used in the popular accounts of Luther and the Reformation, that the Bible was a closed book to the middle ages. The actual facts, however, in no wise diminish but actually magnify the greatness of Luther's achievement.

But we have also to come into the clear as to how Luther became acquainted with the Bible; how he studied it; how he gradually, in spite of his evident connection with the middle ages, gained a new attitude towards Scripture, found the key to its understanding, and thus became the man who could translate it so proficiently and give it so effectively to his people in their own tongue. If it has not been possible to establish two points in time with absolute certainty but only with a high degree of probability, the time when Luther first saw a complete Bible and the exact time during the first lectures on the Psalter when the closed Bible became an open one to his soul, that inability to settle on an exact date in either case is due to the nature of the available sources. Not all of the literature on the "young Luther" has been considered in this chapter but only that which deals with Luther's relation to the Bible. Perhaps the reader will be grateful for this chapter because in the usual biographies of Luther the questions here dealt with have either not been discussed at all or else, if not actually misstated, have been treated in a very stepmotherly fashion.

In the interest of convenience and compactness it might have seemed desirable not to have added any notes to the historical presentation. On the other hand the character of the book requires them. The many new statements and assertions that frequently may seem startling to the reader call for substantiation or at least an indication of the literature on which they rest. This is to be provided by the notes. Few have any idea of the pecuniary sacrifices that are involved in the accumulation of the materials indicated in the notes and necessary for this historical presentation. They are gladly made, however, if this book will only help finally to dispose of some of the distorted notions and actual misrepresentations that have been current in the past.

The reproductions are intended to illustrate the whole discussion and with the aid of the eye to make it more vivid and distinct.

The second part of the book is composed of a collection of sources. Here too the aim is only to further the purpose of the whole book. It is necessary to have read these German Bibles and biblical works of the middle ages in order to gain a lasting impression of their extent, their excellencies and also their weaknesses, their general character and also their ability to exert an influence on the people. Naturally they had to be given in their original form though the *Umlaut* has not been given exactly in every case. Whoever has become slightly acquainted with this Middle High German will have little difficulty in understanding them. The Germanists of our universities will perhaps welcome this addition to readily available Middle High German texts. The selections from the earliest exegetical lectures of Luther, which are here given for the first time in English translation, will be of value to those who do not read Latin or who find it a laborious task, as they will open up to them new vistas into this period of Luther's development and will show how it was just by his work in connection with the Bible that he grew into the knowledge of the truth and came to be the reformer of the Church. For that reason alone they should be of very general interest. The third section of the second part of the book is intended to show clearly how Luther developed from his first imperfect attempts at translation into a mastery of the art, and how he continued to gain new knowledge and power in that work till the end of his life.

It was only by the diligent use of every spare moment, in the midst of other exacting duties, that it became possible to write this book in the few months that have elapsed since the beginning of the year. That the German original was so quickly and so well turned into English is due to the tireless and unselfish assistance of a number of friends. The Rev. John C. Mattes of Scranton, Pa., translated the historical account. Prof. S. Salzmann of Dubuque, Iowa, with the assistance of Dr. Mattes and the Rev. W. Hertel, translated the copious notes. The Rev. Theo. Tappert, Philadelphia, is to be thanked for the translation of the selections from Luther's first lectures on the Psalms and the Rev. John Doberstein, of Philadelphia, for the translation of the other early lectures and expositions of Luther. All of them are here assured of the heartfelt gratitude of the author. Several students of the Wartburg Seminary, Mr. Romaine Kuethe, Mr. Kurt Hartmann, and Mr. Reinh. Magel, have rendered valuable clerical assistance, while our librarian, Mr. A. Haefner, A. M., prepared a number of pictures for the accompanying illustrations. To them also the author expresses his thanks.

So may this book go on its way and contribute something towards a true appreciation of Luther's life work and of his German translation of the Bible, whose four hundredth anniversary we celebrate this year.

M. REU.

Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa
July, 1934

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE v

CONTENTS xi

ABBREVIATIONS xiv

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xiv

HISTORICAL PRESENTATION

CHAPTER ONE: *The Bible in the Middle Ages* 1-74

- I. A. The Latin Bible 5
  - B. The Latin History Bibles 12
  - C. The Latin Plenaria 16
  - D. The Latin Psalters 17
- II. The German Bible 19
  - A. The Bible Itself 19
  - B. The German History Bibles 39
  - C. The German Plenaria 45
  - D. The German Psalters 51
- III. The Extent of the Use of the Bible 54

CHAPTER TWO: *Luther and the Bible* 75-145

1. Luther's first acquaintance with the Bible 75
2. Luther daily hears a chapter of the Bible 84
3. Luther receives his own Bible 88
4. Luther emphasizes the "Sola Scriptura" 93
5. Luther and the "Lectura in Biblia" 97
6. Luther's eyes are opened to the heart of Scripture 101
7. Luther recognizes that final authority belongs only to the original text 114
8. Luther repudiates the theory of the manifold sense of Holy Scripture 124
9. Luther learns to distinguish between the Law and the Gospel and recognizes in Christ crucified the unity of Scripture 133
10. Luther's intimate acquaintance with Scripture and the German language 136

PAGE

CHAPTER THREE: *Luther's Translation of the New Testament* 146-184

1. The beginning of the translation 146
2. The aids used by Luther 149
3. The Greek text the basis of the translation 154
4. The revision of the translation 159
5. The Septembertestament 161
6. The Preface to the New Testament 166
7. The Distinction between the New Testament books 171
8. The Question of the New Testament canon 175
9. Parallel Passages and Glosses 177
10. Hostile Echo from the Roman Camp 181
11. Editions from 1522-1534 183

CHAPTER FOUR: *Luther's Translation of the Old Testament and the Complete Bible of 1534* 185-232

1. The first part of the Old Testament 185
2. The preface to the Old Testament 189
3. The second and third part of the Old Testament 195
4. The preface to Job and Psalter (1524) 201
5. The remaining books of the Old Testament and the Psalter of 1528 204
6. The prefaces to the Prophets 209
7. The revision of the Psalter, 1531 211
8. The revision of the whole Bible, 1534 221
9. The complete Bible of 1534 223
10. The preface to Acts and Revelation 227

CHAPTER FIVE: *Luther's Work on the Bible from 1534 Till His Death* 233-257

1. The revision of the Old Testament, 1539-41, and the edition of 1541 233
2. The revision of the New Testatment, 1541 244
3. The edition of 1543 247
4. The edition of 1545 249
5. The revision of 1544 250
6. The edition of 1546 253

PAGE

CHAPTER SIX: *The Distinctive Characteristics of Luther's German Bible* 257-284
  1. The contents illuminated by Christ and Luther's own experience 257
  2. The form is genuine German 261
  3. Luther's principles as to content 263
  4. Luther's principles as to form 267
  5. The influence of Luther's Bible 283

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE 287-318
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO 318-350
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE 350-357
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR 357-359
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE 359-362
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX 362-363

SOURCE MATERIAL

I. SOURCE MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER ONE *3-*94
  1. Selections from Comestor's Historia Scholastica ..... * 3
  2. Selections from the German manuscript Bible ..... * 10
  3. Selections from the printed German Bible ..... * 20
  4. Selections from the German History Bibles ..... * 49
  5. Selections from the German Plenaria ..... * 66
  6. Selections from German Psalters ..... * 80
  7. The so-called Bible prohibitions ..... * 90

II. SOURCE MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER TWO ..... * 95-* 181
  1. Selections from Luther's lectures on the Psalms, 1513-15 ..... * 95
  2. Selections from Luther's lectures on Romans, 1515-16 ..... * 111
  3. Selections from Luther's eplanation of the Seven Penitential Psalms, 1517 ..... * 141
  4. Selections from Luther's lectures on Hebrews ..... * 148
  5. Selections from Luther's commentary on Galatians ..... * 166

III. SOURCE MATERIAL FOR CHAPTERS THREE TO FIVE ..... * 182-* 201
  1. Luther's first attempts at Bible translation ..... * 182
  2. Selections from the Septembertestament of 1522 and the Bible of 1546 ..... * 188
  3. Selected prefaces ..... * 202

ABBREVIATIONS

Copinger=W. A. Copinger, Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum, 2 parts, London 1895-1902.
C R=Corpus Reformatorum.
D. B.=Deutsche Bibel, 7 vols. in Weimar Edition of Luther's Works.
Gesamtkatalog=Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Leipzig, K. W. Hiersemann, 4 vols. since 1925.
Hain=Ludov. Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum, in quo libri omnes ab arte Typographica inventa usque ad annum 1500 typis expressi recensentur. 4 partes, Stuttgart 1826-1838. I used the reprint of Berlin 1923-26, together with Copinger's Supplements and Burger's index (Berlin 1891).
HR=Herzog-Hauck, Realencyclopaedie, 3rd edition.
Reichling=Dieter. Reichling, Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum, additiones et emendationes, 6 fasciculi, Muenchen 1905-1911.
RGG=Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd edition, 4 vols., Tuebingen 1927-1931.
Tischreden=Tischreden, 6 vols. in W. Ed.
W. Ed. or W. E.=Weimar Edition of Luther's Works.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A page of the Wenzel Manuscript Bible of the 15th Century.
2. First page of a Manuscript History Bible of the 15th Century.
3. A page of the Mentel Bible of 1466.
4. The first Psalm of Eggesteyn's Bible of 1470.
5. A page of the Zainer Bible of 1475.
6. Title page of the Septembertestament of 1522.
7. Note at the end of the second part of Luther's Old Testament, 1524.
8. A page of the Septembertestament of 1522.
9. A page of the New Testament printed at Augsburg, 1523.
10. A page of Luther's manuscript of his Bible translation of 1524, with transcript.
11. Initials used in the Bible of 1534.
12. The beginning of the Gospel of St. Luke in the Bible of 1534.
13. Title page of the completed Bible of 1534.
14. A page of the Bible of 1534.

HISTORICAL PRESENTATION

CHAPTER ONE

THE BIBLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

When, in 1855, the eminent Hamburg pastor Johannes Geffken published his book, *Der Bilderkatechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts und die katechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther,* he enumerated four current opinions, concerning the times preceding Luther's Reformation, that were then widespread in Protestantism. It was commonly believed that German church hymns did not exist before Luther's time; that the Holy Scriptures were largely unknown among the clergy and utterly unfamiliar to the laity; that there was little or no preaching in German, and that a catechism for the people and for the instruction of the young was entirely lacking.

Fortunately in our day such opinions are heard only from the utterly ignorant. Careful investigations into the religious and churchly life of the fifteenth century, like the exploration of an unknown land, have gone forward, step by step, and, through the study of long neglected manuscripts, have gradually rediscovered, bit by bit, a truer picture of its character, that has been constructed on the basis of these absolutely reliable sources. In the catechetical field Geffken himself did excellent pioneer work and others have followed him in investigating the territory he first opened up till we now know of a not inconsiderable literature, some of it in German and some in Latin, that was available at the end of the fifteenth century for the instruction of the young and the common people.[1]

The results of these investigations, however, in no wise detracted from Luther's work in this particular field, but rather served to emphasize the peculiar splendor of his achievements. There was nothing new in Luther's undertaking, when he gave us a little book in which the chief articles of the Christian faith were briefly stated, but the really new contribution he made lay in the exposition of those truths; an exposition which flows out of the very heart of the Gospel. In the homiletical sphere there has been a similar change of opinion. Today we know, and are able to prove from documentary sources, that at the close of the middle ages there was frequent preaching in the vernacular tongue, in fact that, in some regions, it was commoner than now.[2] Here again Luther's innovation did not consist in a revival of preaching, as such, but in the fact that real Christian preaching, a preaching that centered in Christ, and His redemption, now took the place of Christless sermons. The situation is somewhat similar in the sphere of German hymnody, although here the older opinion has more justification than in the two spheres just mentioned. The church hymn was the exception in the middle ages and first became an integral part of the service through the Reformation.[3] The opinion that Luther was the actual founder of the German school system is still widespread, but this too cannot be maintained without qualification. The usual citation of Luther's flaming appeal to the authorities of the German cities, to establish schools everywhere, in support of this opinion, fails to justify it. It only discloses the fact that this treatise has been very superficially read. While it is true that this appeal of Luther, made in 1524, together with the Instruction to the Visitors, prepared in 1527 by Melanchthon and approved by Luther, with its detailed educational program, caused the establishment of many new Latin and town schools, they did not call the public school system into existence, and it is equally true that a fairly extensive school system, that conformed to the ideals both of the church and of the Humanists, was already flourishing in Germany. The improvement that Luther aimed at and actually accomplished was to fill the existing forms with new content, so that really Christian schools, completely dominated by the new understanding of the Gospel, came into existence.[4]

What then is to be said concerning the other opinion that the Bible was almost wholly unknown among clergy and laity at the conclusion of the middle ages? It does seem to be established beyond doubt by the statements of no less a person than Luther himself. We will cite his more important utterances. In the *Tischreden* Luther's remark has been preserved that, "The Bible was unknown by the people under the papacy. Dr. Carlstadt first began to read the Bible the eighth year after he had received his doctor's degree, because he and Dr. Peter Lupinus had been compelled to read Augustine" (W. Tischreden 3, 2844-b). At another time the remark concerning Carlstadt was repeated. "Dr. Carlstadt was a doctor of theology and yet he did not possess a Bible." To this is added the statement: "Thirty years ago no doctor of theology had a Bible, and when one was to be found it was in possession of a cloister" (2, 1552) Luther mentions it as a credit to Staupitz that, "He was the first to restore the Bible to his (30) cloisters" (5, 5374). His own experience Luther describes thus: "Thirty years ago no one read the Bible; it was unknown to all. The Prophets were not even distinguished by name and were regarded as unintelligible. When I was twenty years old I had not yet seen a Bible. I believed there was no more to it than the gospel and epistle pericopes that were found in the Sunday postils. Finally I discovered one in the library (of the University of Erfurt), and as soon as I entered the convent I began to read the Bible, over and over again, arousing in Staupitz the greatest surprise at my perseverance" (3, 3767). "When I was in the convent the Bible was regarded as unimportant. No one understood the Psalter. Men thought that the Epistle to the Romans contained certain explanations concerning matters that were profitable and important in Paul's day but not for the present. It was necessary to read Scotus, Thomas and Aristotle, but I loved the Bible and immersed myself in the Psalter, considered the superscriptions as the *de cervo aurorae,* and, after I had grasped the main thought, learned to combine the single words with each other. But today my Katie understands the Psalter better than all the papists did then. At that time, according to the testimony of a certain doctor of theology, the Psalter was regarded as a book for the ablest and holiest theologians" (4, 5008).[5] Later we will return to these statements of Luther, but for the present, without being prejudiced by them, we shall seek to find an answer to our question by direct investigation of the original sources.

These sources have increased so greatly in the past forty years that it has become almost impossible to master them and yet the investigations of the last fifteen years have shown that there is still a large amount of material hidden away in various libraries and archives. This fact will not affect our inquiry, however, as there is ample material, in what has been investigated, to enable us to give a definite answer to the question concerning the extent of the circulation of the Bible and its use by clergy and laity during the middle ages.

I

A. *The Latin Bible*

The Bible of the middle ages was the Latin Bible, commonly known as the Vulgate, which was originally the translation of Jerome (d. 420). Commissioned by the Roman Bishop Damasus (382), he had revised the existing Latin translation of the New Testament on the basis of the Greek manuscripts, and had translated the Old Testament from the Hebrew. This Latin translation, though often considerably altered, came into ever larger use during the middle ages and, as a result of its wide circulation, came to be known as the Vulgate. Both in style and content it was an able production and today it is held in much higher esteem than formerly, even by Protestant scholars. Since 1889 a trustworthy edition of Jerome's original text has been published by Wordsworth and White, and the "Commissio Pontificia de Re Biblica," founded by pope Leo XIII in 1902, has begun the work of editing the original text of Jerome on the basis of the available manuscripts.[6]

1. *The manuscript Latin Bibles.* During the greater part of the middle ages the Bible, of course, existed only in manuscripts, which were usually written in the monasteries. Since the studying and copying of manuscripts of secular, as well as eccleciastical writers, had been imposed on the monks as a duty by Cassiodorus (d. 583), most of the later medieval monasteries possessed libraries, and, in connection with them, special writing rooms in which the work of copying was carried on. In the parchment plan of the buildings of the monastery of St. Gall, that was drawn in 820, this room was located over the library,[7] and it was in such quarters that the manuscripts of the Bible were prepared. Cas-

siodorus himself, in his work "De Orthographia,"[8] had given directions for correcting defects in Bible manuscripts. Charlemagne not only commissioned Paulus Diaconus to prepare a new Homilary — that is a collection of the sermons of the fathers, arranged for public reading in the monasteries — because those already in existence were full of errors,[9] but, in the Capitulary of 789, he also directed that only men of riper years (*perfectae aetatis homines*) should, prepare the copies.[10] In this connection he also ordered that manuscript Bibles be provided in all monasteries and dioceses, and, on another occasion, desired that every church should possess a copy. While the latter direction was probably not carried out very extensively, and many churches doubtless contented themselves with the missal, which in its earlier form included the pericopes of the services, or else were satisfied with the separate book of pericopes, yet we must realize that the number of Bible manuscripts in Germany, resulting from these provisions, was not inconsiderable. When, in 1900, an American, who had settled in Germany, Caspar René Gregory, cataloged the existing manuscripts of the Vulgate, that were known to him, the number in Europe amounted to more than 2400.[11] Not all of these manuscripts, however, contain the entire Bible, but frequently only include certain portions. Every further investigation of the hidden treasures of the libraries has raised the figures given by Gregory. When the *Mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskataloge* whose publication was undertaken by the Munich and Vienna Academy of Sciences in 1915 and 1918, is finally completed it will be possible to state with considerable exactness the number of manuscripts of the Vulgate now existing in Germany and Austria. Of the 2,400 enumerated by Gregory a scant 700 are located in Germany and Austria. If we want to draw any conclusions from these surviving remnants as to the number of manuscripts actually existing in these countries, in 1500, we will have to keep in mind the extent to which medieval manuscripts have perished. The fact that enduring parchment was used in Germany till well into the fourteenth century, while the use of rag paper became more and more common after 1320, must not have too great weight in making the computation since the use of Bible manuscripts, with their consequent wearing out, must have increased greatly just about this time. It would not be surprising if there were 20,000 Bible manuscripts in circulation in the fifteenth century.

Many of these manuscripts are notable works of art, adorned with splendid initials, pictures and other decorations.[12] A number are even written in gold on purple parchment. The Codex Aureus, for example, of the Bavarian State Library in Munich, which contains the four Gospels, displays an unusual splendor of coloring. Its mere facsimile reproduction, which was gotten out in 1921-1925, commands a price of 1,250 marks. The Genesis manuscript, preserved in the National Library in Vienna, with its illustrations covering the period from the deluge till Jacob's death and burial, shows influences that reach back to the Hellenic East. The "Schools of Book Painting," that go back to the days of Charlemagne, produced some particularly fine examples in the days of the Ottos (The Godeskalk Evangelistary, the Ada manuscript, the Utrecht Psalter, the Bible of Charles the Bald, the Evangelistary of Otto III, etc.). The Thuringian-Saxon school of the thirteenth century produced works like the Gospel Book of Henry the Lion and the Goslar Evangelistary. They frequently owed their preservation to the costliness of the materials that had been used and their artistic beauty, while those on cheaper materials and those produced for commercial reasons were readily destroyed or used for other purposes.

2. *The printed Latin Bibles.* As soon as the art of printing was discovered the Latin Bible was disseminated in printed copies. Indeed, the very first book to be printed was the Bible! It was the so-called 42 line Bible, also known as the Mazarin Bible, which was issued from Gutenberg's printery between 1452 and 1456. The Bible of 36 lines was formerly regarded as the earlier but there is no longer any doubt as to the fact that this is a reprint of the one with 42 lines to the page.[13] After this first printed Latin Bible had paved the way, a large number of editions appeared during the remainder of the fifteenth century. Hain enumerated 97 issues prior to 1500 (3031-3128), to which he adds nine further editions (3163-3171) which included the "Postils" of Nicholas of Lyra (*Biblia Latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra*)[14], three to which were added the *Glossa Ordinaria*[15] of Walahfried Strabo and other materials (3172-3174), and one *cum postilla Hugonis Cardinalis*[16] (3175). Hain's estimate was greatly exceeded by the figures given in W. A. Copinger's magnificent work, the *Incunabula Biblica,* which appeared in London in 1892.[17] Instead of 97 he counts 124 editions of the Latin Bible issued before 1500. It is true that the Frenchman, L. Delisle, in his detailed discussion of Copinger's work[18], held that these figures must be reduced to 99, but in the *Supplement* to Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum* Copinger retained at least 15 editions of the Latin Bible in excess of Hain's figures (1019-1033), and indicates only three as being doubtful (1028, 1030, 1031). Of editions including Lyra's Postils he mentions three

more than Hain (1034, 1036, 1037), and two additional containing the *Glossa ordinaria* and Lyra's Postils, (1035, 1038). Reichling has succeeded in increasing the figures given by Hain and Copinger.

We are especially concerned about the editions put out in Germany and Switzerland, though we cannot ignore the fact that many printed in these countries were carried into other lands and that, on occasion, the reverse was also true. According to Copinger's *Incunabula Biblica* out of 92 editions whose place of printing can be determined, 36 originated in Germany and 18 in Switzerland, while Italy furnished 29 (of which number 24 came from Venice), France 9 and England none.[19] On the other hand F. Falk[20] in his catalog of Bibles published before 1520, enumerates 67 Latin Bibles appearing in Germany before 1500 and 8 more published in the years 1500-1520. Taking for granted that Falk's list is correct, Paul Pietsch, who is both well informed on this question and exceedingly conservative[21], and who for a number of years was the chief director of the Weimar edition of Luther's Works, has made the following interesting computation: "If we may assume that the number of copies printed in the editions of larger works, at that time, did not exceed 200 to 300, then around 1500 there would have been 67 x 200-300, that is 13,400 to 20,000 copies of the Latin Bible in Germany. To that total only 8 x 200-300, or 1,600-2,400 copies would have been added between 1501 and 1520.[22] It is noteworthy that of those printed in Germany there were 13 editions that came from the Nuernberg workshop of Anton Koburger who was the most important and most successful printer and publisher of that day. He had a printery of 24 presses and close to 100 journeymen. It is quite probable that the large scale of his operations enabled him considerably to exceed the usual number of copies printed in an edition. If we only assume that, on the average, he doubled the number of copies, then the indicated number of copies of the Latin Bible printed in Germany would be raised by 13 x 200-300, that is from 2,600-3,900 and the totals, between 1460 and 1520, would amount to 13,400-20,000, plus 1,600-2,400, plus 2,600-3,900, or a grand total of 17,600 to 26,300. But even those figures are not complete for Koburger was not content with the output of his own printery, he also employed other printeries for his publications. Among the Latin Bibles of the years 1501-1520, enumerated by Falk, not less than 11 are noted as having been produced for Koburger. If we allow only the larger figure of 300 copies for these, then about 3,300 more copies will have to be added and so the total number of Latin Bibles published in Germany before 1520 must be placed at 20,000-27,000. For the times those are doubtless very imposing figures."

However it has become apparent that Falk's figures are not quite correct. Through the courtesy of Columbia College, Dubuque, I have before me the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* that has been published since 1925 by the house of Hiersemann in Leipzig and that is issued by the *Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke.* This work is based on the most thorough investigations of the libraries of Europe and America and is unquestionably the most complete catalog of incunabula in the world. Four complete volumes have appeared to date. These four volumes describe 5,100 editions, in spite of the fact that they have not yet reached the third letter of the alphabet. What a mass of publications antedating 1500! Fortunately the fourth volume contains all that pertains to the printed Bibles.

We are concerned with numbers 4198-4324, namely 3 Hebrew Bibles (4198-4200); 81 Latin Bibles without commentaries (4201-4281); 13 with commentaries (4282-4294); *cum glossa ordinaria et interlineari* (4282); *cum glossa ordinaria et interlineari et cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra* (4283); *cum glossa ordinaria et cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra nec non additionibus ac replicis* (4284); *cum postillis Hugonis de Sancto Charo* (4285); *cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et additionibus et replicis* (4286-4294); 12 High German Bibles (4295-4306; the last two that preceded Luther's are already of later date than 1500); 2 or 3 Low German Bibles (4307-4309); one French (4310); 10 Italian (4311-4320); 2 Catalan (4321-4322); 2 Czechish (4323-4324). Among the 81 Latin Bibles without commentaries, 47 were printed in Germany and 8 of the 13 with commentaries, so the total is not 67 but 55. But, in spite of this difference, the change in the totals amounts to little or nothing, since Pietsch, who reckoned on the basis of Falk's list of 67 German editions estimated the number of copies in each edition too low. He arrived at his figures through the supposition that the first printing of the Latin Bible in Rome reached 250 copies. We now know that this is incorrect and that this Roman edition amounted to 275 copies.[23] So we are safe in agreeing with Falk that the number of Latin Bibles printed in Germany before 1520 amounted to 20,000-27,000 copies. In the notes, on the basis of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke,* we will give a complete list of all the Latin Bibles printed in Germany before 1500.[24]

The demand for Latin Bibles in Germany and their actual use, according to these figures, must have been much larger and far more widespread than was formerly supposed, and is still asserted on occasion, especially if we take into account the number of manuscript Bibles or parts of Bibles, that we have estimated at 20,000. The circumstance that the number of Bible editions in Germany that appeared between 1501 and 1520 is decidedly smaller than the number issued between 1460 and 1500, suggests the question as to whether the need for Latin Bibles had not been satisfied to some degree. Publishers usually become more careful and restrained only when the market has been well stocked and the demand falls off.

B. *The Latin History Bibles*

Any one who desires to gain a correct picture of the use of the Latin Bible in the middle ages dare not confine himself to the consideration of complete Bibles or single portions of the Bible, but he must include in his survey the Latin History Bibles, and selections from the Bible. These owe their existence to two causes: First, The need of a convenient compend of the historical portions of the Bible for its own sake, for instruction in the monasteries. Secondly, The example of the Ancient Church, which in the chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, and particularly in the work of Isidor of Seville (d. 636), *Chronicorum a principio mundi usque ad tempus suum liber,* had produced accounts of the history of the world that were largely taken from the Bible. Perhaps influences from the Eastern Church and the Chronicle of the Jew Jerahmeel also played some part in their production.[25] These History Bibles, true to their name, confined themselves to the historical portions of the Bible, though many included the entire Psalter, or some other portions of the Scriptures, like the Song of Solomon. Since the New Testament was to be found in the books of pericopes they frequently limited themselves to the Old Testament.

1. *The manuscript History Bibles.* The most important and most widely circulated Latin History Bible was the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, also known as Manducator, who was a chancellor of the Parisian church about 1175.[26] As *Cancellarius Beatae Mariae Parisiensis* we first encounter him through an official action, given under his hand, of the year 1168, while the last date of similar sort occurs in 1178. A communication from pope Alexander III to his legate in France testifies to the high regard in which he was held by that pontiff, as well as to his relation to the university. His reputation rests primarily on his *Historia scholastica,* which is before us in the not altogether faultless reprint of Migné. Here it fills columns 1,054-1,722, and contains the history of the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha) and the history of Jesus and His Apostles, according to the four Gospels and Acts. Hardly anything of the historic content of the Bible is lacking and even the Mosaic law is considered in detail. The narrative is usually given in the words of the Bible, though explanations of words and facts, derived from Jerome, Augustine, the *Glossa ordinaria* of Walahfried Strabo and from other sources, are inserted, usually in the very briefest form. The more extensive additions mostly come from Josephus and are frequently of an apocryphal nature. In the second part of this book (II. pp. 1 seq.) we will give several selections from the Old and New Testament portions of the work that will serve to give an idea of its character. The insertion of legendary material is, of course, to be deplored, but, aside from this, the work of Comestor shows considerable similarity with the manner in which Biblical histories, with expla-

natory comments, are often written in our own day. It is necessary to read the book to realize how well adapted it was to be a substitute for the historical parts of the Bible, and to promote a wide acquaintance with those portions of Scripture. By way of comparison we need only to ask ourselves how much of the present knowledge of the Bible among Germans would exist if the Bible Histories were eliminated from the schools! Professedly Comestor's book was intended, in the first place, for the Latin schools, but it was actually used by much wider circles of both clergy and laity. It is to be regretted that up to the present time, as far as we know, no attempt has been made to list the existing manuscripts of the *Historia scholastica.* The total would doubtless be a large one.

It was particularly Hans Vollmer who demonstrated its wide circulation and deep influence on the entire medieval Church.[27] We will only refer to the most important facts. In England, Ranulf Higden, a Benedictine monk of Chester (d. cir. 1364), cited it in his *Polychronicon* at least 120 times, and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, alone possessed no less than 21 copies. Because of this book, as late as 1400, Peter Comestor was still regarded by the French as one of the most famous writers of the Champagne. In a catalog of the textbooks used in the University of Paris, in 1282, we find the price of the school edition given as three *solidi.* It found a still wider circulation in France in the French version of Guyart Desmoulins, whose *Bible historiale* rests on the text of the *Historia scholastica,* though he frequently gives the simple Bible text in addition to the text of the *Historia scholastica.* This version was made between 1291 and 1294. In Italy Comestor was probably the basis for the Italian translation of the

Bible by Jacob a Voragine. Even if this should not prove to be quite correct, there were other similar Bible works in use in Italy at the time. During the second half of the thirteenth century the *Historia scholastica* was used in Spain in the preparation of the *General Historia,* while in Portugal it was known in a Portugese version. The Czechic translations still exist in Bohemia, where the oldest dated manuscript goes back to the year 1404. By way of Norway, Comestor even reached Iceland and was used in the ancient Norse Bible work that bears the name of *Stjorn.* In the Netherlands Jacob von Maerlants published it in Dutch rimes. In 1360 it became the basis for the Netherlandish History Bible, and exerted an influence on the first printed Netherlandish Bible of 1477. The wide influence it exerted in Germany we will consider later.

Because of the size of the *Historia scholastica* Latin excerpts were prepared as school compends. In England the Carmelite, Walter Hunt, who died in 1474, is named as the author of one of these compends. A whole series of manuscripts still exists in Germany, usually noted in catalogs as "Bible excerpts," that, on closer examination, are recognized as compendia of the *Historia scholastica.* It was Hans Vollmer who again threw the necessary light on the question.[28]

2. *The Printed History Bibles.* After 1473 the *Historia Scholastica* appeared in print. Guenther Zainer published the first edition in Augsburg, a copy of which may be found in the *Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin. Hain in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum* listed eleven editions appearing between 1473 and 1500, to these Copinger, in his *Supplement* of 1898, added one more, so that a new edition must be reckoned for almost every second year, and subsequently Reichling in his *Appendices* II, 158,

lists another early, undated edition. The places of publication were Augsburg, Strassburg, Basel, Cologne and Reutlingen. At least five editions were issued in Strassburg alone. So it was just in Germany that the printed Latin editions were published and, presumedly, were there used most extensively. The printing of the *Historia scholastica* continued even after 1500. In the *Staatsbibliothek* of Hamburg there is a Strassburg edition of 1503 and another printed in Lugdunum (Lyon) in 1534, which seems to have been the last edition issued outside of German speaking territory.

C. *The Latin Plenaria*

1. *Manuscript Latin Plenaria.* Besides the Bibles and History Bibles there were innumerable manuscript Plenaria and pericope books. The Plenaria were originally a collection (hence the name) of all that was needed for the celebration of a mass, including, a Sacramentary, that is the mass prayers used by the priests, the *Graduale,* the portions sung by the choir, and the Lectionary, containing the Bible lessons or pericopes. Compare the investigations of Brambach and Herbert Thurston's Article on Prayerbooks in the Catholic Encyclopedia.[29] Such Plenaria can be shown to have existed as early as the ninth century. Later the name of Plenarium also came to be applied to writings that only contained the gospel and epistle (and Old Testament) pericopes, usually with "glosses" or "postils." Since the reading of these pericopes was a regular part of the Sunday masses (though not limited to them), the manuscripts of the Plenaria must have been produced in large numbers. Through them important portions of the New Testament and quite a number of extracts from the Old Testament were brought into all the parish churches of

the middle ages. This in itself would have been a valuable service, even if it only included our present pericopes, but the picture becomes a totally different one when we remember that our present pericopes are only a fragment of the medieval system of pericopes. About that we will have more to say a little later. The great wealth of manuscript Latin Plenaria still awaits classification and study, although valuable beginnings have been made towards mastering the materials. For example, B. Ehrensberger has described all the manuscript *Libri liturgici* in the Vatican Library, and among them has listed 31 *Lectionaria,* 4 *Epistolaria,* 7 *Evangeliaria,* and 42 missals (many of which include a lectionary).[30]

2. *Printed Latin Plenaria.* It is easy to understand that the art of printing should include the Plenaria, though, it is true, the number of printed Plenaria before 1500 does not seem to have been large. Hain enumerates only three Latin books containing the epistles and gospels (2307-2309, Zwolle, cir. 1484; Zwolle, 1488; Deventer, 1490), and Copinger adds three more (6625-6627). The explanation for the small number is doubtless in the fact that all the parish churches, and undoubtedly many laymen, either possessed manuscript Plenaria or else had missals that contained the pericopes.

D. *The Latin Psalters*

1. *Manuscript Psalters.* The Psalters played an important role in furthering the knowledge of the Bible during the middle ages. In liturgical language the Psalter included the previously mentioned lectionary, usually also a collection of antiphons and responsories, often a *Hymnarium* but invariably contained the psalms. Frequently the psalms were so arranged that all were read in the course of a week, but occasionally, instead

of being given in the usual order were arranged so as to be adapted to the various Sundays and Saints Days. Manuscript psalters are found as early as the seventh century. There is a manuscript in the Vatican that contains the *Psalterium Gallicanum* of the seventh century. The *Psalterium Aureum* of St. Gall and the Utrecht Psalter, both richly illuminated, belong to the ninth century. The oldest Psalter in the British Museum, which was formerly thought to have been among the books St. Augustine brought with him, was written in England about 700. The name Psalteria, however, was also applied to books that, in addition to the psalms, contained a few prayers, the Gloria, the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, and which served as prayer books both for the monks and the laity. We still have the Psalters of King Athelstan and of the Emperor Lothar, dating from the ninth century, that of Charles the Bald, and no less than five that belonged to St. Louis of France (d. 1270), of which one had evidently been used by him as a first reader. In the Vatican Library alone there are 44 manuscript psalters of most varied character. It is true that we are here dealing with only a portion of the Bible but its wide use and the consequent familiarity with the Psalms is not to be undervalued.

2. *Printed Latin Psalters.* The great value that was placed on the Psalter is also evident from the number of printed editions that have come down to us from the second half of the fifteenth century. The first printed edition was most likely the Gutenberg Psalter of 1457 (the first printed book to bear the date of publication), the second the Faust-Schöffer Psalter of 1459. Hain established the existence of no less than 53 editions before 1500 (13454-13507), aside from 4 Latin-German (13508-13511), High German, Low German, Dutch,

French, Czechic, Italian and Spanish editions, the *Psalterium cum explanatione B. Brunonis episcopi Herbipolensis,* as well as the *Psalterium puerorum* and the curious *Psalterium Virginis Mariae Matris* (13512-13534). To these Copinger added 44 editions in Latin (4912-4956), and 16 Latin-German, German and editions in other languages (4957-4973).

In connection with the Psalters, the Breviary requires brief consideration. The name originally had a wider application and was only current among the Benedictines, but after the thirteenth century became more and more a designation for the prayer whose daily use, at certain fixed hours, aside from the mass, was required of all grades of the clergy, beginning with the subdiaconate. A large part of it consisted of the psalms. Further information is to be found in Brambach.[31]

In this connection the *Biblia pauperum,* the *Speculum Salvationis humanae,* and the *Passionalia,* are of more secondary importance, though we cannot ignore them altogether. In the *Biblia pauperum*[32] the pictures are of more importance than the text. In the *Speculum Salvationis Humanae*[33] we have an extensive text, but it has, at most, only a biblical starting point on which in most cases is loaded all kinds of legendary, dogmatic and ethical material. Among the many *Passionalia,*[34] of Christ, not of the saints, only a few are in Latin, while the great majority are in German or some other vulgar tongue.

II

THE GERMAN BIBLE

A. *The Bible itself*

While the short sketch of the Latin Bible, which we have given in the first part of this chapter, was necessary if we were to have a complete picture of the medieval use of the Bible, yet our chief interest, since we want to estimate the value of Luther's Bible, is in the German Bibles of that period. Accordingly we must turn to a consideration of their history.

1. *The manuscript German Bibles.* In the investigation of medieval German manuscripts of the Bible William Walther[35] accomplished more than any other scholar. Though forty years have passed since he published the results of his unwearied researches, and though his results have been corrected on many points, while the available amount of material has been greatly enlarged in certain directions, yet his work still remains the classic investigation in this field. Aside from thirty-two German psalters and their satellites, he has divided the enormous amount of material he mastered into no less than thirty-nine distinct branches, which occasionally contain only a single copy but in most cases include a whole series of manuscripts. In making this classification the extent of the manuscripts was considered; whether they contained the entire Bible, the Old Testament, or portions of the Old and New Testaments was a determining factor. In place of this method we will follow a chronological plan and will consider the manuscripts, or their sources, according to the time of their origin, remembering, of course, that these dates are often conjectures rather than firmly established facts.

The oldest German manuscript of the Bible that has come down to us belongs to the eighth century and has been preserved in only one copy that contains fragments of St. Matthew, and that is now treasured in the Vienna *Hofbibliothek.* It came from the Benedictine monastery of Monse, founded in 748, and so has received the name of the "Monseer Matthaeus."[36] Centuries ago it was used for binding other codices and, as a result, we only possess fragments of the original. Up to the present time the following sections have been discovered: St. Matt. 8:33-9:9; 10:12, 23, 24; 12:1-25; 12:31-13-24; 13:39-53; 18:26-19:4; 20:14-21:2; 21:45-22:29; 23:15-24; 23:27-36; 24:28-35; 25:1-14; 25:41-26:5; 26:25-30; 26:67-27-17; 28:16-20. Competent judges agree that it is amazing that such an excellent translation should have been produced at so early a date; a translation that is much better than many later attempts. The translator was not content with writing a real German but used language that was beautiful and sometimes even had a poetic touch.

The next translation comes from the ninth century and was a translation of the gospel harmony attributed to Tatian.[37] The admirably clear and beautifully written manuscript of the second half of the ninth century, that is preserved in St. Gall, is a copy of an original that was probably made in Fulda in 830. Walther (p. 451) holds that, "This translator likewise wanted to use as clear and euphonious German as the first but was not possessed of the same spirit and energy as the former."

No manuscript of the tenth century has survived but from the eleventh there remains one fragment, one translation of the Song of Solomon and two psalters.[38] The translator of the fragments (part of which is in Vienna and part in Munich) had not mastered his Latin original sufficiently to produce a reliable translation, but this was offset by his command of a flowing German. The oldest translation of the Song of Solomon originated in the same century and was the work of Williram, who after 1048 was Abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria.[39] He arranged his work in such fashion that the text of the Vulgate was placed in the middle, to the left a paraphrase in Leonine verse, and to the right a prose explanation in German. Walther knew of nineteen manuscripts that included this German supplement. A translation precedes the paraphrase. Walther considers it so good that he deplores the fact that more men with the same gifts and ecclesiastical position had not assisted in the work of translating the Bible. The commentary of Notker Labeo (d. 1022) on the Psalms,[40] which is preserved at St. Gall, and which is an excellent production, also belongs to this century. Here each verse is divided into the smallest possible sections, which are first given in Latin, then translated in German and finally are briefly explained. The author seems to have written it, in the first place, for his monastery students. The second psalter belonging to this period is a Low German translation and has only been preserved in fragments. It is an interlinear version.[41]

Two other psalters bring us to the twelfth century. One, written in the year 1187, comes from the monastery of Windberg and is now in Munich[42]; the other is in Vienna and contains an interlinear version.[43] In each the psalter is divided into three parts by larger initials (1-50; 51-100; 101-150), while Psalms 20, 26, 32, 38, 45, 52, 59, 68, 75, 95, 105 possess smaller initials on a gold background, and Psalm 109 (= 110) is distinguished by a particularly beautiful large initial.

A translation of the thirteenth century has only been preserved in later copies. The copy now in Zurich contains a psalter and the four Gospels.[44] In the Gospels the pericopes are already distinguished from the remaining portions of the books by larger initials in red. The Zurich manuscript likewise possesses the prefaces to the four Gospels and these prefaces coincide with those in the first printed Bible, the Mentel Bible. The translation is fairly free but only for the purpose of better reproducing the Latin text. Walther also assigns two other translations of the psalter to the thirteenth century, one of which is now in Trier, the other in Wolfenbüttel.[45]

Most of the medieval Bible manuscripts that have survived belong to the fourteenth century, which, for that reason, has come to be called the century of the German Bible. "In the period between 1325 and 1350 we find that four different translations of the entire Bible were produced and, in addition, three Old Testaments, two New Testaments, five Books of the Gospels, twenty psalters and several other books of the Bible," is Walther's statement in his *Festschrift* of 1917, summing up what he had demonstrated in his great work published almost three decades previously. There he had assigned to the first half of this century the translations he had classified as belonging to groups 1, 7, 11, 19, 20, 22, 23, 35, and the psalters 8, 9, 17, 19, 31, and to the second half of the century those translations included in groups 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 21, 28, 35, 36, and the psalters 4, 7, 10, 11, 13-16, 18, 24, 26-30. Space does not permit the consideration of all the details but we will single out certain facts of importance. The translation that through a later copy became the basis of the first printed German Bible belongs to this period.[46] Here we find the Wenzel Bible, containing most of the Old Testament, which Martin Retlev prepared for King Wenzel of Bohemia between 1389 and 1400,[47] and which is now preserved in the National Library in Vienna. It is more famous for its splendid illustrations than for its text. These illustrations are carried out with great splendor of coloring and yet with the most delicate precision. The initials alone are exquisite works of art, so are the pictures inserted in the text, and no less so the the manifold marginal decorations. According to its preface the Wenzel Bible is intended to serve a double purpose. By its translation it is to open the gate of Scripture to many to whom it is still closed, so that not only the "servants" of God seek nourishment in the field of Scripture for those who are alienated from God, so as to bring them back to God, but that all the "children of God" may be edified thereby, whether they have it read to them or read it themselves. The Munich manuscript, Cgm. 341, whose German fascinates the reader and whose word order is so modern "that it is possible to read whole portions rapidly and almost without hesitation,"[48] most probably belongs to this same century. In what he calls the second group of translations, Walther cannot sufficiently stress the fact that the translator clearly recognizes the tremendous difference between the Latin and the German and yet, despite occasional uncertainty, has produced, as a whole, a genuinely German Bible. Because of this characteristic he ventures to suggest one of the *Meistersingers* as the translator.[49]

Another valuable work, that escaped the attention of Walther, also belongs to this period. It is a manuscript preserved in the state archives in Koenigsberg that, through its printed reproduction, has recently been made accessible. Besides the translation of Acts in prose and a poetic paraphrase of Job, it contains what is its most important portion, the translation of the Prophets by Claus Cranc.[50] He was Custos of the Minorites in Prussia, with his headquarters in Thorn, and had been urged to translate the Prophets by Siegfried von Dahenfeld, who was Chief Marshal of the German Order from 1347 to 1359, and Komtoor in Koenigsberg. It can be shown that the German Order was making an effort to obtain the various books of the Bible in German, so that they might be read to the brothers at the conventual meals. For this purpose Revelation, Daniel, Job, Maccabees, Judith, Esther and Ezra were reproduced in poetic form, with interwoven explanations.[51] However they were still more interested in the text of the Bible itself. So Acts,[52] Revelation and now finally the Prophets were translated into prose. Cranc's translation of the Prophets is an able production that is decidedly superior to the first printed Bible. That it often verbally agrees with Luther's translation of 170 years later, is explained by the fact that the progress of the language had been from the Elbe towards the East, and so, in spite of the distance in time that separated Cranc and Luther, both belonged to the same linguistic territory. Perhaps the similarity was also due to the fact that Cranc had received his intellectual training in the *Studium Generale* in Erfurt. In the second part of this volume we will give some specimens of Cranc's translation that will give an adequate idea of his work as a whole.

The fifteenth century produced far less in the way of independent translations than the fourteenth, but those already in existence were extensively copied, so that no less than 125 manuscripts have been preserved from this period. We will only mention the Maihingen manuscript of 1437, one in Nuernberg of 1437-1443, one in Nikolsburg of 1456, one in Weimar of 1456, one in Munich of 1463, one in Berlin of 1465 (and probably of even older date), and one in Maihingen of 1472.[53] It was evidently easier to copy the translations of the fourteenth century than to produce new ones and those that were made were decidedly inferior to those of the preceding centuries. We meet here the same phenomenon that was seen in the sphere of homiletics: the number of manuscript copies of sermons, and later of printed sermons, increased greatly, while the quality showed a decided deterioration.

Walther studied all told 202 medieval manuscripts containing translations of the Bible (to which must now be added nine discovered by Vollmer and those at Koenigsberg) and he was of the opinion that 72 separate translators had a part in producing them, but his investigations also showed[54] that the later translations were in no wise equal to the earlier ones. The earlier translators were thoroughly at home in both languages, with the result that they translated the Latin exactly and yet wrote a relatively idiomatic German. Those of later date possessed a good knowledge of the German but were not familiar enough with the Latin to be able to reproduce their original with approximate exactness. Only one psalter was translated either directly from the Hebrew or from Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*.[55] It was only a short time before Luther began his work on the New Testament that attention was again directed to the original language of the Bible, particularly through Reuchlin and Erasmus. Walther, who was best acquainted with the entire field of manuscript and printed German translations of the Bible, has thus stated the case: "Even those who attempted to speak good German, with few exceptions, had no idea as to what was required of a good translation. They were satisfied if they were readily understood. That the German Bible must also be a work of art, that the different moods of the originals were to be reproduced, that the German reader should feel what the readers of the original felt, that Cicero had correctly said that the orations of Demosthenes must be reproduced *non ut interpres sed ut orator,* was a knowledge of which we find only very slight traces in a very few of the translators. Most of them were fearfully prosaic, all on one note, and insufferably tedious."[56] Finally we are unable to escape the feeling that most of the translators did not really *live* in Scripture, at least not in its central truth, Christ crucified.[57]

As has already been indicated the number of manuscripts according to Walther reaches 202, to which must be added, as we have also indicated, 9 to 12 more. Originally, however, their number must have been much greater. When we consider that out of an edition of the Breviary, of which 4,000 copies were *printed* in Venice, only 8 copies have been preserved, a loss of $99^4/_5$ per cent, then Walther's estimate, which he himself admits is a very low one, that at least 36,000 manuscripts were written in the middle ages, is certainly not exaggerated, especially as we recall that manuscripts were more easily lost than printed books.[58]

2. *The printed German Bible.* It was quite natural that the art of printing should be applied to making the Bible, till then so limited in its manuscript circulation, more readily available to the German people. We know of no less than fourteen High German and four Low German printed editions of the Bible that preceded Luther's. Through the fine research work of the German Wm. Walther and the German-American W. Kurrelmeyer, we possess very exact information concerning this "first German Bible."[59] It was Johann Mentel who issued the first printed High German Bible, that appeared in Strassburg about 1466. Formerly the opinion was current that the Eggensteyn edition was the earliest but Wm. Walther has demonstrated beyond a doubt that this is a reprint of the Mentel Bible and was published in Strassburg around 1470. The Mentel Bible, it is true, was published without date or place of publication being

indicated, but the date is established by the annotations of the rubricators and buyers. For example, on leaf 400b in the Munich copy is written, "1466, the 27th of June this book was bought, unbound, for 12 gulden," and on leaf 261a of the same copy the rubricator remarks, *1467 sub papa paulo secundo et sub imperatore fridrico tertio.* The rubricator of the Stuttgart copy names the year, place of publication and the printer. By comparing the type used in the book with that used in books known to have been printed by Mentel it has been possible to establish the fact that he was the printer. The volume contains 405 leaves, each side containing two columns of 61 lines each. A title page is missing, a peculiarity which is shared by the following editions up to that of Schoensperger in 1490. Numbers for the pages, chapters, catch words, signatures and initials were not printed but were later added by the rubricator to the finished printed copy. Kurrelmeyer (I, p. XI) has shown that probably nine different compositors worked at the book and many of its peculiarities can best be explained in this way. But all the compositors followed the same manuscript that they reproduced quite accurately. Only it was unfortunate that Mentel was not better advised in his choice of a manuscript. It seems that he simply took the manuscript with which he was best acquainted, without further question and without investigation as to the possibility of finding a better German translation. The copy he used was not an original work but one that had passed through many hands, was difficult to decipher and full of errors. "What confusion must have resulted when 'erde' (earth) was written in place of 'rede' (speech), 'hörten' (heard) in place of 'hatten' (had), 'Weinschaufel' (wine shovel) in place of 'Windschaufel' (winnowing shovel)." The readers of the Epistle to the Romans would certainly have not been able to transmit St. Paul's salutations to more than a few of those he named if they had had this text before them in which there is reference to the congregation in "Theutris" (Cenchris), then to "Juliam" (Juniam), "Ampliacum" (Ampliatum), "Persidam" (Persidem), "Eleogoncian" (Phlegontem), not to speak of the fact that one is called "Red" (Rufus), another "the third" (Tertius) and still another "the fourth" (Quartus).[60] In addition it was evident that the author of the translation possessed a decidedly poor Latin original, that was badly written, was full of abbreviations and required a better Latinist for its interpretation than the German translator who attempted the work. As a result many extravagances and sheer impossibilities appear in the German edition of Mentel. That was even evident to Dr. Eck of Ingolstadt, when he was commissioned to prepare a German Bible on the basis of the Vulgate.[61] He found three thousand passages, on the pages of the Old Testament alone, that did not agree with the Vulgate. As particularly flagrant passages he cites the three following passages: Isaiah 18:7, *von einem ausgereuteten* Volk und von einem *geweiterten* in place of *zerfleischten* (*dilatata* in place of *dilacerata.* "From a people rent and enlarged" in place of "torn in pieces"). In Isaiah 21:8 is the statement "Der Leo schrie: Ich bin über den Spiegel des Herrn" in place of "Ich stehe auf der Warte des Herrn" ("The lion cried out: I am over the mirror of the Lord" in place of "I am standing upon the watchtower of the Lord." The translator has read *speculum* in place of *speculam*). In Isaiah 25:7 the translator offers "Er haut das Antlitz" in place of "er wird herabbeugen das Antlitz" ("He will hew off the face," in place of "He will bring low the face," because he read, *praecidebat* in place of *praecipitabit*). But even where the German translator had read his Latin original correctly he was often unable to find the correct German equivalent because of his defective German. So he invariably translates the Latin *facere,* with its many shades of meaning, by *machen* (make). So a movement, a silence, a sound, the evening, the darkness, a call, an omission is always "made" (*gemacht*), and the expression *Jesus in agonia factus* (St. Luke 22:43) is rendered *Jesus wurde in Streit gemacht* (Jesus was made in conflict). Prayers are *vergossen* (poured out — preces fundere), the hands are "sent" (manus mittere), it is sung with a horn (*tuba canit*), power is suffered (*vim pati*). *Vollenden* (*complete*) translates *finere* and also *persevare* and *consummare,* while *verwüsten* (to lay waste) is the rendering for *absorbere, destruere, confundere, devorare, consumere* and *deglutire.*[62] Finally the German manuscript used by Mentel depended on a translation that had been made a century or more before (compare above p. 23) and consequently contained many phrases that were no longer understood or else belonged to a certain dialect. All this put together was a disasterous load for the first printed German Bible to carry. The translation of the Prophets by Cranc, which we mentioned before, as well as many another German translations of the entire Bible far surpassed Mentel's copy.

And yet, in spite of all this it would be a total mistake to think contemptuously or deprecatingly of the Mentel Bible. While it is very easy to make a long list of its mistakes, it would be very foolish to conclude from such evidence that it was a useless work which had no value for the common people. In spite of all its defects it must have been eagerly bought, else it would not have passed through three editions between 1466 and 1473. The text of the Mentel Bible was reprinted almost without change by Heinrich Eggensteyn in Strassburg. Some glaring printer's errors were corrected but new ones took their place. This edition was formerly ascribed to Johann Faust and assigned to the year 1462, but this came about through confusion with the Latin edition which he issued in this year. The third edition of the German Bible was issued by Jodocus Pflanzmann in Augsburg and probably belongs to the year 1473. The text follows the second edition (that of Eggensteyn), but in many places, particularly in the psalter, shows changes that could only have come from a comparison with the Latin text. While the printing of Mentel and Eggensteyn belongs to the most beautiful in the German Bibles of this period that of Pflanzmann is the ugliest, frequently becoming almost illegible.

With the appearance of the fourth edition the first German Bible reached a new stage of development. It came from the printery of Guenther Zainer in Augsburg and probably appeared in 1475.[63] According to his own advertisement of 1476 Zainer was well aware of the fact that he had offered the public, which was demanding Bibles, something new and better. Even its size and external make-up showed progress. It had a larger format (large folio) than its predecessors. Its leaves are foliated, the initials, headings, and concluding comments of the books[64] are printed in red; even the headings of the columns and the numbers of the chapters are printed, but in black. Small wood cuts are used as initials for the prefaces and for the various books. But the chief improvement is in the text itself. The Mentel-Eggensteyn text is thoroughly changed; the archaic words are deleted; a great number of mistakes have been corrected; a number of passages have been translated anew from the Latin and whoever did the work understood both German and Latin, even though there was still much that escaped him. This text of the Zainer Bible forms the basis for all the following editions, even though the ninth (Koburger, 1483) and the eleventh (Schoensperger, 1487) brought slight additional revisions. Consequently we dare not pass judgment on the first German Bible on the basis on the Mentel-Eggensteyn versions. The Zainer Bible of 1475, despite the defects that are still present, is a notable achievement.

The following editions we can pass over more rapidly, especially as most of them are only reproductions of the Zainer Bible of 1475. The so-called Swiss Bible is the fifth edition. The Zainer Bible was its original but its language was transposed into another dialect. On account of the long vowels which took the place of the diphthongs in Zainer it got the name of the Swiss Bible. While first Frisner and Sensenschmidt at Nuernberg were regarded as printers and later some one in Switzerland, Dziatzko has shown that after all probably Nuernberg was the place of printing (*Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekwesen,* 1892, p. 339). The sixth edition was issued at Augsburg by Anton Sorg in 1477. This time the name of the printer and the place and date of publication appear at the end of the book. Its text follows that of Zainer. The Pflanzmann edition had used small woodcuts (8 x 8.5 cm.) at the beginning and end of each book, and this custom is here repeated, in fact even the same head and tail pieces are occasionally used that had been employed by Pflanzmann. The seventh edition, coming from Augsburg, was again issued by Zainer, using the same style as his first edition, only the format of the book is smaller. At the conclusion of each part is his printer's mark and the date 1477. When the printing was begun the printer must have failed to provide himself with a sufficient supply of paper because Kurrelmeyer has observed at least eleven different water marks in the copy at Tuebingen. In the year 1480 an eighth edition appeared, this time a second edition by Anton Sorg in Augsburg. The text does not follow that of Sorg's own first edition but that of the second Zainer edition of 1477, even to repeating many of the conspicuous misprints of this edition.

The third and last group of editions begins with that provided by Anton Koburger in Nürnberg, in 1483, which comes as the ninth in the entire series. Here too the Zainer edition furnishes the foundation, but the misprints were corrected and some verbal alterations were introduced. In two other respects the Koburger Bible differs from the earlier editions; it contains large woodcuts and prefaces each chapter with a statement of its contents. The woodcuts Koburger took from the Cologne Low German Bible of 1478 or 1480 (of which more will be said later) and the chapter headings made the chapter index of the Sorger Bible of 1477 superfluous. The superscriptions of the chapters mostly give a correct account of the main contents of the respective chapters, and naturally succeed better with the historical books than with the prophetic or didactic books. In the New Testament they are entirely lacking with the Epistles, where, at the beginning of the letter, there is only a brief characterization of the epistle as a whole, sometimes consisting only of a notation of the number of chapters in that book.[65] These notices, as well as the "titles" of the Psalms[66] were adopted by all the following editions. The same was true of the woodcuts, except that they were reproduced in smaller size, owing to the smaller format of the later editions. Prof. Dr. Schramm of Leipzig[67] is the best authority on these woodcuts.

The tenth German edition of the Bible was published in 1485, on the basis of the Koburger edition, by Grueninger in Strassburg. That, in contrast to the editions of Anton Sorg (1477 and 1480) and Anton Koburger's of 1483, it lacks the name of the printer is explained by Walther as being a result of the "Bible prohibition" of the Archbishop of Mainz, which was issued in this year and to which we will have occasion to refer later on. The eleventh edition was put forth by J. Schoensperger in Augsburg, in 1487. It too is based on the Koburger Bible but is distinguished from it by the division of the chapters into paragraphs. While he does not make each paragraph begin a new line an inserted mark makes it unmistakable.[68] Three years later, in 1490, Schoensperger issued the twelfth edition. This, as well as the following editions, adopted the divisions of the chapters just mentioned and added a regular title page; a feature that was also adopted by the succeeding editions. The two editions, the thirteenth and fourteenth, likewise appeared in Augsburg. The one came from the printery of Hans Otmar in 1507 and depended so completely on Schoensperger's edition of 1487 that it often duplicated it page by page. The other came from the printery of Silvanus Otmar and is simply a reprint of the edition of 1507.

It is evident that we can see the various formal arrangements of printing and bookmaking that we find fully established in Luther's time developing here more and more clearly. The German Bible gradually became a book with a regular title page and a printer's mark, even though it does not yet appear on the title page but as a colophon, at the end; with introductions to the single books or groups of books; signatures for the folios; numbering of the leaves, with the necessary catch words; with headings for the chapters and paragraphs within them, and with closing annotations at the end of each book. Even the rules of punctuation (in so far as it is possible to speak of such rules in the sixteenth century) begin to appear.

The prefaces deserve special mention. Jerome had already supplied prefaces for the various books. When the Vulgate came to be translated into German these prefaces were translated as well as the text. So for example, the fourteenth century translation of Claus Cranc, besides the poetic prefaces which he probably wrote himself, provides the prefaces of Jerome to the four major prophets and his general preface to the minor prophets. Nicholas of Lyra (1270-1340) in his *Postillae perpetuae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum,* likewise had introductions to separate books, most of them written by himself.[69] These were appropriated by Cranc when he needed introductions for each of the twelve minor prophets.[70] These prefaces then passed over into the printed German Bibles. So we find two prefaces to St. Matthew, of which the first has something to say about all four evangelists; one to Mark; two to Luke (a long one and a quite short one); one to John. The Epistles of St. Paul are introduced by a general preface before Romans, then follow two (one longer and one quite short) to the Epistle to the Romans itself, and short ones to each of the other letters, including Hebrews, which is reckoned among the Pauline Epistles, one to Acts; a preface to the canonical epistles; a short one to James and one to each of the Epistles of Peter and John, to Jude, which is divided into two chapters, and to Revelation. The same arrangement holds good of the Old Testament. To make possible a comparison with the prefaces of Luther we give the longer one to Romans in the notes.[71]

The order of the biblical books, as has already been indicated, was such that in the New Testament the Pauline Epistles and the Epistle to the Hebrews immediately followed the Gospels and the little "Epistle to the Laodiceans" is inserted between Galatians and Ephesians. These books are followed by Acts, James, the Epistles of Peter and John and Revelation. In the Old Testament the same order was observed that we later find in Luther only that between Second Ezra (which is equivalent to Nehemiah; third Ezra (which is the expanded Greek version of First Ezra) and Job, Tobias, Judith and Esther have been inserted, and between the Song of Solomon and Isaiah, the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus (Jesus Sirach) have been interpolated. As in Luther's Bible, Lamentations follow Jeremiah and between them and Ezekiel the small book of Baruch has been placed. Daniel is reckoned the fourth prophetic book and the twelve minor prophets follow in the same order as in Luther, while the two books of the Maccabees follow Malachi. That the apocryphal books, in spite of their position among the others, were not placed on an equality with these has already been indicated. In the New Testament, in Koburger's editions, James, Peter, John and Jude are expressly noted as being canonical (*epistolae canonicae*), a term which is sometimes rendered in the German by "geystlich."

3. *The Low German printed Bibles.* The need of the Low Germans for Bibles in the language of the people was met by printers in Cologne, Luebeck and Halberstadt. As early as 1775 J. M. Goeze had written on the

subject of the Low German Bibles,[72] but it remained for Walther (655 seq.), following his footsteps, to fully clarify the whole subject. According to his conclusions we have to distinguish between two Cologne editions, both of them printed by Quentell in Cologne in 1478. The first is written in the western Low German idiom of Holland, with the single exception of the psalter, which reproduces the Cologne Low German text. The second edition, on the other hand, offers throughout the Low Saxon dialect. Since Koburger uses the illustrations of this Cologne edition for his High German Bible of 1483, it must have appeared several years before that date. The *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* (Neumuenster, 1931, pp. 11 seq.) places it in the year 1478. That the first of the two Bibles originated in Cologne is expressly stated on leaf 2b, where we read that it was printed "with great care, expense and labor, improved with the help and counsel of many learned men, in the laudable city of Cologne." The typography shows that it came from the printery of Quentell. The preface is worthy of special notice, for it reads like an apology for the publication of the Bible. It declares that "every Christian should read this book of Holy Scripture with great devotion and fervor." Biblical texts and quotations from the fathers are produced as witnesses for this statement, while "the wisdom contained in the Bible is unfathomable and incomprehensible and so exalted that the most learned of the holy teachers have never understood its depths, nevertheless the Holy Scripture, the Book of divine wisdom, the Bible, is very clear and obvious. . . . Wherefore all men, learned and unlearned, religious and secular may read in this Book of divine wisdom. . . . The very learned masters of the schools of divine wisdom (theology) should read and use the translation of the renowned and holy teacher St. Jerome, which the Holy Christian Church uses generally, since it was not without a special grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost that he faithfully translated the Bible from the Hebrew and Greek into Latin. But unlearned and simple men, both religious and secular, especially cloistered folk, should possess this present edition of the Bible, faithfully translated from the Latin text into German as a protection against slothfulness." "This translation of the Bible was completed many years ago and has existed long before this time, in many written books owned by many devout people, both in monasteries and in convents, and was printed in the Upper Lands as well as in some localities in the Low Lands (Netherlands), and was introduced and sold in many localities." That neither the translator nor the publisher were opposed to the Church is evident from the fact that the preface expressly admonishes the readers that in case they should encounter passages hard to understand they should accept them "as the holy Roman Christian Church spread abroad in all the world accepts and understands them." For the better understanding of many passages that are obscure and unintelligible attention is directed to the explanation of Nicholas of Lyra that are inserted for that purpose but are separated from the biblical text by asterisks placed at the beginning and end of these quotations. This promise, however, was only fulfilled to a small degree, for the interpolated explanations are insignificant, and in most of the chapters are entirely lacking. The illustrations, on the other hand, deserve consideration. They were inserted "that man may have greater delight and desire for the reading of the precious Holy Scripture." The second edition[73] is distinguished from this one of the lower Rhine almost only by its different dialect, though here and there mistakes have been corrected and the illustrations to the Apocalypse are missing, perhaps because among them there were some that depicted popes, cardinals and bishops among the damned.

The Low German Bible published in Luebeck in 1494 depends on the Cologne Bible, though it contains independent work from Genesis to First Kings. In this edition the printer gives his name and the place and date of publication (Luebeck, Steffen Arndes, 19 Nov., 1494). It also has a regular title page: *De Biblie mit vlitiger achtinghe: recht na deme latine in dudesck auerghesettet. Mit vorluchtinge vnd glose: des hochghelerden Postillatoers Nicolai de lyra Und anderer velen hillighen doctoren."* (The Bible correctly translated, with careful attention, from the Latin into German. With explanations and glosses of the very learned postillator Nicholas of Lyra and many other holy doctors.) The glosses from Nicholas of Lyra are far more numerous than in the Cologne edition. Where the editor did translating of his own he did good work. He rendered difficult passages concisely and when he makes little additions only does so to make good German. Walther (p. 676) characterizes this Bible as the best of all those printed in the middle ages and only deplores the fact that the close type setting and the insertion of the glosses has made its reading difficult. The last Low German Bible to appear before Luther's Bible is the Halberstadt edition of 1522.[74] This was supplanted by Bugenhagen's Low German edition of 1534,[75] which he prepared on the basis of the translations of Luther that had appeared up to that time.

B. *The German History Bibles*

1. *The manuscript German History Bibles.* As the Latin History Bibles were found beside the Latin Bibles

or portions of Bibles, so the German History Bibles also paralleled the German Bibles or portions of Bibles. They have the most varied titles: *Alt Testament Geschriben, Auszug aus der Bibel, Auszug etlicher historii auss der bibel, Bibel der alten Ee, Biblia, Chronika aus der Bibel und andern Weltsachen, Excerpta Biblye, Historie der Heiligen Schrift, Historia scolastica* etc., even the very modern "short Bible" is not lacking. But they always contain German prose texts which give the biblical narratives as fully as possible. They show a marked preference for the Old Testament, and add all kinds of apocryphal and secular materials, while edifying glosses are either excluded or are shoved into the background. How it came about that so many German History Bibles were produced is expressly told in the preface to the "Short Bible" that has been preserved in a Goettingen manuscript (H. Vollmer, I, 2, 1916, pp. 34 seq.): the Bible, it states, is long and yet so precious that students and those seeking consolation need an epitome, especially as the supply of complete Bibles is not sufficient to meet their needs.[76] While Reuss, Merzdorf and Berger had previously studied the History Bibles an adequate knowledge of this field was first provided by the investigations of H. Vollmer.[77] He found no less than one hundred manuscripts of German Bibles, which he carefully described and, in part, published. He arranged them all into ten groups. Groups I and II contain the two History Bibles that Merzdorf had edited, though rather uncritically, and had published in two volumes in 1870. The first one covers the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, the Four Books of Kings, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Daniel, sections concerning the Antichrist and the Last Judgment, Judith, Tobias, Job, Alexander, Esther, Philadelphus, Seleucus and Zozias.[78] It differs from the Historia Scholastica of Comestor not only in completely omitting the New Testament but also in the far smaller amount of legendary material, secular history and glosses that, aside from the conclusion, is found here. Sometimes, it is true, there is a considerable contribution of such matter. This is not so much in the section concerning the creation of the angels, the fall of Satan, the good angels and their nine choirs (Merzdorf 107-110) that precedes Genesis, for this portion is separated from the Bible itself by the remark that follows it: "Here beginneth the Bible," but rather in the elaborate description of the first travail of Eve, in which she is comforted by St. Michael. After David has been punished by God for the numbering of the people and he has repented, the 51st Psalm is given as his prayer and the entire Psalm is inserted. The second of these History Bibles reaches from Creation to and including the life of David. Not only is it much shorter than the other but it is also much less valuable and contains many interjected references to geography and secular history (E. G. Merzdorf, pp. 612-837, where a section is even devoted to Swabia), and is so full of legends that we are almost forced to question its right to a place among the History Bibles. In the first group Vollmer knows of 33 manuscripts,[79] and in the second of 18[80]; in both cases the contents being somewhat diversified. Especial significance attaches to the third group because it is principally an epitome of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* (p. 13), so much so that Vollmer, who first published it in 1925-1927,[81] has characterized it as a "German School Bible of the fifteenth century." It is a very excellent abridgment of the Latin original that was probably prepared around 1400 by a well informed clergyman of the Bavarian-Austrian district. As it shortened or completely omitted the learned apparatus of the original it made Comestor's work available for wider circles. It is true that a considerable amount of legendary material still remained. The character of the original work can be seen from the parts given in part II of this book. Vollmer knew of 13 complete or partial manuscripts in this group.[82] In contrast to Comestor they are limited to the Old Testament. The three manuscripts of the fourth group likewise do not extend beyond the Old Testament. They describe themselves expressly as a "short abridgment of the Bible." Leviticus and Deuteronomy are disposed of in short order, while certain statements from Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Joel, Jonah, Zechariah and Malachi are combined. These four groups are Upper German while groups five to seven are Middle German.[83] The manuscripts of the fifth group[84] also depend on Comestor but here the edifying expositions occupy a somewhat larger place. The sixth group,[85] in which Vollmer places four manuscripts, is of special interest because it endeavors to make a clear distinction between the biblical and non-biblical material. Portions of Comestor's work that are extra-biblical are clearly designated as such. The seventh group[86] includes in one of the manuscripts a New Testament portion, though it is nothing but an expansion of the Saxon Chronicle of the world. Many portions in this group are simply translations from the Vulgate without any further additions.

There were also Low German History Bibles, which Vollmer classes as groups eight and nine.[87] The eighth group, represented by four manuscripts, includes a number of Old Testament books but nothing on the New Testament. Since the Ten Commandments are included in the Vienna manuscript Vollmer concludes, though his opinion is open to question, that they were intended for the instruction of the young. The ninth group is represented by but one manuscript preserved in Luebeck. This too is restricted to the Old Testament and stands in close relation to the first Netherland History Bible.

But the New Testament also received consideration in the History Bibles, not only in connection with the Old Testament but by itself. In 1929 Vollmer published "*Die neue Ee, eine neutestamentliche Historienbibel.*" We might describe it as a continuation of the abstract of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* mentioned in group II, though in distinction to this it does not rest on Comestor but is in large part a prose version of a rimed original which we have to seek among the so-called "Threshold Manuscripts" of the Christherre-Chronicle. Up to this time they have been known in eleven manuscripts and also in a number of printed editions, even in Dutch.[88] The New Testament history doubtless became familiar in this form to many at the end of the middle ages and for this reason we give examples of this work in Part II. It is a real book of the people but from a biblical standpoint we cannot feel highly gratified for it is loaded with legends, especially where the praise of Mary is concerned. The Passion History of Jesus is the best part of the book.

In this connection we must remember the many accounts of the life of Jesus. The oldest among them being the Heliand and Otfried's Book of the Gospel. The first[89] was written between 822 and 840 by an unknown cleric, or a layman under clerical guidance, depending on Tatian's Gospel Harmony and making use of the commentaries of Bede (to Mark and Luke), of Alcuin (to John), and probably of Rhabanus Maurus (to Matthew) for the purpose of acquainting the newly converted Saxons with the life and teachings of Jesus. It portrays the life of Jesus from the Nativity to the Ascension, in almost six thousand long lines and stands by itself as an unequalled masterpiece. The poet is completely lost in his religious task of being a messenger of the Gospel to his people. Otfried's Book of the Gospel[90] is a worthy companion. It originated between 863 and 871 in Weissenburg in Alsace and endeavored to make the main content of the Gospels accessible to the laity in a long poem of 7416 long, rimed lines.

Splendid as both of these works are and deeply as the first in particular, penetrated among the people, the later attempts to describe the life and particularly the Passion of Jesus are more important for our consideration. We will only mention a few that have come to us from the end of the middle ages, and that are likewise available in a whole series of printed editions. One that had a particularly wide circulation was the little book printed in 1480 by Anton Sorg in Augsburg with the title: *Hienach volget ein loblicher passio nach dem text der vier evangelisten mit der ausslegung der heiligen lerer Bernhardi, Ansshelmi, Augustini, Jeronimi, Ambrosij vnd ander vieler andechtiger lerer, die darueber geschriben habent.*[91]* The recital limits itself chiefly to the biblical narratives but also devotes considerable space to the explanation. Another valuable account of the Passion was the one printed in 1514 in Nuernberg with the title: *Das Leben unseres erledigers Jesu Christi, nach lautung des heyligen Ewangeli, mit vil andechtger betrachtung. Auch mit beylauffung des lebens der junk-*

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* Here followeth a laudable Passion according to the text of the four Evangelists with the expositions of the holy teachers, Bernhard, Anselm, Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and many other devout teachers who have written thereon.

frawen Marie, von einem Parfuesser der obseruantz. Also zusamen gesetzt von anfang der kindhait Christi biss auff sein himelfahrt, vol suesser vnd andechtiger leer vnd betrachtung.[92]† We have already noted that Galle has proven the existence of not less than 73 writings of similar character that are dated or capable of being dated, and 13 undated, that were printed between 1473 and 1525. We refer the reader to note 85.

2. *The printed German History Bibles.* The printed German History Bibles have also been investigated by Vollmer. He found the following editions[93] of the Upper German History Bibles (see above p. 41): Augsburg 1476, Augsburg 1491, Augsburg 1494, Augsburg 1503. In addition he found the following editions mentioned by others: Augsburg 1474, 1481, 1482, and one Augsburg edition undated; further two from Strassburg, 1503 and 1508. He mentions two Low German editions that appeared in Luebeck (1478 and 1482). So there was a total of 12 editions in 34 years, nine of them appearing in the first 20 years.

C. *The German Plenaria or Books of Pericopes*

Of much greater importance for us than the History Bibles are the medieval German Plenaria because in them the text of the Bible was given without legendary or other additions.

1. *The manuscript Plenaria.*[94] After the Latin Plenaria had come into existence (above p. 16) it was natural to think of turning them into German. The peri-

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† The life of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, according to the account of the Holy Gospels, with many pious reflections. Also accompanied with the life of the Virgin Mary, by a Barefooted monk of the Observance. Thus arranged from the childhood of Christ till His Ascension, and full of sweet and pious teachings and reflections.

copes to a large degree furnished the texts for the sermons and since they could only be read in Latin in the Mass, it became customary to read them to the people in a German translation in case there was a sermon on one of them. So it would not be strange if certain priests were the translators, turning the words of the pericopes into German primarily for their own use. Others would then gladly turn to them for their sermonizing and so they spread afar. But even in the cloisters, where many of the monks and nuns were by no means so well at home in Latin that they could understand the words of the Plenaria without difficulty, a German Plenarium would be thankfully welcomed. But besides these there was also a portion of the laity, of considerable number, who were anxious to read at least the pericopes for their private edification. This is no mere supposition for in the printed Augsburg Plenarium of 1503, for example, we find the quite unqualified assertion that "it is very profitable to men for reading," and in the edition printed in Basel in 1514 there is this statement concerning the purpose of the book: "Because there are many people who do not thoroughly understand Latin but who can read German this present book of the Gospels, and what belongs to them, has been translated and ordered in German, to the praise and honor of God the Lord." It is difficult to determine whether these selections were simply copied out of the complete German Bibles then existing, in many of which, just as in many Bibles of the present day, the portions used in the lectionary were indicated, or whether they were independently translated from the Latin Plenaria or the Latin Missal itself, or later on were taken from the few German editions of the Missal that actually existed. We would not be surprised if it could be shown that all these possible methods were actually used, just as it is also possible that after 1466 they simply followed the printed German Bible.

Just how many of these manuscript Plenaria existed cannot as yet be determined. Neither Pietsch nor Maurer, who were most recently engaged in the investigation of the whole question of the Plenaria, have entered into this phase of the subject,[94] and the catalogs of the manuscripts found in single libraries only give a very incomplete picture.[95] But it is certain that their number cannot have been so very small since Fr. Falk, as early as 1905, proved the existence of no less than 99 printed editions for the period of 1473 to 1523, (High German, Low German and Dutch)[96] and, at that, he did not include all of them.

2. *The printed German Plenaria.* Falk had provided valuable notices of the printed Plenaria but the chief work on the subject was that of the Greifswald Germanist, P. Pietsch, published in 1927, to which Fr. Maurer made valuable additions in 1929.[94] Guenther Zainer in Augsburg, whom we have learned to know as a printer of the German Bible, published the first printed edition of a book of pericopes in 1473. While it does not carry the name of the printer, though it is dated (3 March 1473), yet the typography points to Zainer, and we have a book advertisement of his publishing house, of 1474, in which he calls attention to this novelty with the statement: "A profitable book of the Epistles and Gospels in German, with illustrations, for all the days of the year, with the Sunday glosses and the four Passions in eight Holy Weeks (*sic!*) and in addition of each saint in particular, and likewise of many Masses." The book is a folio and has 341 leaves. On the first page there is a woodcut depicting Christ with the orb in His left hand, and His right hand, with two fingers extended,

raised as in blessing. A woodcut initial in a rectangular frame marks the beginning of most of the Sunday Epistles. The other side of the first leaf gives a detailed explanation of the contents of the book, and for that reason we give it in full in the notes.[97] This was followed by 56 further editions in High German that appeared before 1523 and that are described by Pietsch (pp. 9-51) in detail. The last one was issued in Nuernberg by Jobst Gutknecht in 1523, with the title: "Gospels and Epistles in German, for the entire year, together with the beginning, the Psalm and the Collect of each Mass, according to the order of the Christian Church, Anno Domini M.D. xxiij." This edition is also illustrated but in contrast to the 341 leaves of the first edition has only 128 leaves in folio. Besides these 57 editions the pericopes are also a part of seven High German editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis.* We previously learned to know the book in its Latin form (p. 19), but in that connection we purposely refrained from mentioning explicitly the German editions which contained the pericopes. Of these the first edition appeared in Basel, printed by Bernhart Richel in 1476. The other editions appeared in 1480, 1489, 1490, 1492 (Reutlingen), 1492 (Augsburg), and 1500. There may have been an eighth edition which Ebert (21582a) and, following him, Hain (14933) notice, but which Pietsch was not able to discover.

Besides these High German Plenaria there were others in Low German. Up to this time, however, the manuscript copies have been described and listed as little as those in High German. Pietsch failed to discuss the Low German printed editions, but, besides Falk, the *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie,* which has been in progress of publication since 1931, furnishes additional material. According to our copy there were not less than 19 Low German editions that appeared between 1475 and 1517. Ten of them were printed in Luebeck, the others in Magdeburg (2), Cologne (4), Basel (2), Brunswick (1). We will give the title of the edition of 1488, that was published by the Mohnkopf printery in Luebeck, as it is given on leaf 6, after the preceding index: "Here beginneth the book of the prophecies, lections, Epistles and Gospels, which it is customary to read in the office of Holy Mass in the Holy Church through the entire year, with many beautiful glosses and teachings of the holy teachers, adorned with many striking illustrations."

This title gives us an idea of the usual contents of the High and Low German Plenaria. The pericopes furnished the structure, to which the glosses on the Sunday Gospels were usually added. Sometimes portions of the Mass, in a translation were also added, and frequently the Passion History as well (For example, Cologne, 1505: "Also the Passion of our Lord skillfully translated from the Latin into the German," and, in this edition, "Also a beautiful instruction concerning the Blessed Sacrament."). The first High German printed edition, that of 1473 gives in its long title, which we have printed in the notes,[97] an exact description of its contents. This is characteristic of the other Plenaria as well.

Who can question the fact that through the wide circulation of such Plenaria a respectable knowledge of the Bible was imparted to many circles? This would have been the case even if the pericopes of those days had been no more extensive than those of today, but as we have indicated before (p. 17) our present systems of pericopes are only poor fragments of those in use in the middle ages. Even leaving out the Apostles and Saints Days, these older systems contained about five times as many selections, and included, as is evident from the titles just given, lections from the Old Testament. When, between 786 and 797, Paulus Diaconus, at the command of Charlemagne, prepared a new homilary for the readings in the monasteries he included in the Winter portion, which reached from Christmastide till Easter, 40 pericopes, which he treated in 110 sermons, and in the Summer portion, extending from Easter till the end of the Church Year, he had 78 pericopes, treated in 134 sermons.[98] But these figures, which so far exceed those of present usage, were still small in comparison with what we find in the first printed High German Plenarium. This includes pericopes for many week days, regularly for Wednesdays and Fridays, and two for every day in Lent, so that about 240 Lections, including many from the Old Testament, are given for the time from Advent till the Saturday before Easter, and this does not include those given for the Saints Days (*Commune Sanctorum*). In the High German edition of 1473 this section is thus introduced: "Here begin the Epistles and Gospels which are read for all the Saints throughout the year." This edition recognizes 135 Saints Days for each of which an Epistle and a Gospel are provided. So we have here a total of 270 selections, of which, however, many are repetitions of those in the first part and consequently are only duplications. In such cases they are not printed out but reference is made to the place where they previously occur. Pietsch gives an exact summary of all the biblical selections contained in the German Plenaria and the *Spiegel menschlicher Behaltnuss* (*Speculum Humanae Salvationis*). It is a tremendous list.[99] Hardly an Old Testament book is missing (the psalter from ancient times was not included because it was used in other ways liturgically), and many New Testament books, especially the Gospels are given almost in their entirety. So it is manifestly a great mistake to imagine that the question of the place of the German Bible at the close of the middle ages has been adequately considered when we simply take into account the 14 High German and 4 Low German complete Bibles. Whoever does not take the History Bibles and the German Plenaria into account is guilty of a false reckoning and gives a completely false picture of the situation.

D. *The German Psalters*

If we would gain a correct and comprehensive picture of the distribution and knowledge of the German Bible before Luther's translation we must not pass by the German psalters, for we now know that before Luther's time the Psalms had deeply permeated German thinking and feeling.

1. *The manuscript German psalters.* In the sphere of German manuscript psalters it was again Walther who did the pioneer work. He showed the existence of no less than 24 High German and 7 Low German groups of psalters and published various selections from them (pp. 558-634, 643-646, 682-703). But here again H. Vollmer, in 1932, not only increased the information at our disposal to a considerable extent but he placed it on a new and firmer foundation.[100] He examined 250 manuscripts and printed editions that are connected with the translation of the psalter into German before Luther's time and, for purposes of comparison, he has published not less than 84 examples of the Penitential Psalms, word for word. Of these only a few of the earliest ones are not in German and only a few at the end are later than

1525, the year of Luther's second treatment of the Penitential Psalms. Neither do they include the 13 Yiddish translations which reach back into the fourteenth century. It is true that the entire psalter is not always included. Occasionally, though not so very often, the manuscripts only include the Penitential Psalms, or else they are German prayer books that contain the Penitential Psalms, and other Psalms or groups of Psalms. This in no wise detracts from their value but rather serves to show how many of the Psalms, especially the Penitential Psalms, had penetrated deeply into the religious consciousness of the people. As yet we have only the first half of the first volume of Vollmer's work, which appeared in 1932, before us. The second half was to have been published in 1933 but so far as we know has not yet appeared. The two volumes will not exhaust the subject but are only to be "contributions" to the history of the German translation of the psalter before Luther. They nevertheless show the great amount of careful work that has been done in this connection. Vollmer's work, particularly his tables and lists of manuscripts, will come as a revelation to many who possessed no idea of the extent of these materials. The late middle ages were by no means as unenlightened and ignorant of the Bible as they are still often pictured. Vollmer especially emphasizes the German translation and gloss of the Psalms by Heinrich von Muegeln and has printed the portion containing the Penitential Psalms for the first time. In the second part of this book we have given the translation and gloss of Psalm 6, the translations only of the other Penitential Psalms. It is worthwhile comparing this translation with the one Luther included in his exposition of the Penitential Psalms, in 1517. Heinrich von Muegeln was the well known Meistersinger of the court of the Emperor Charles IV, who wrote the allegorical poem, *Der Meide Kranz,* together with other poems, and who died before 1371. His short explanations which accompany the translation are based in the Postil, of Nicholas of Lyra. Vollmer has also printed, for the first time, a Greifswald Low German manuscript (as far as it relates to Psalm 6), which goes back to a Latin original, the *Expositio in Psalmos* (printed in Reutlingen, 1488) of Peter von Herenthals, who died in 1390. It is interesting as it shows how medieval expositions were dependent on the fathers and were frequently satisfied with mere citations from their writings.

2. *The printed German psalters.* The German psalter in its printed form likewise had wide circulation. Hain lists 4 Latin-German editions preceding 1500 (13508-13511) and Copinger adds another (4957, Leipzig 1500). After 1500 two more are known, Cologne 1509 (*Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* 451), and Cologne 1535 (Vollmer, p. 9). In addition there were the exclusively German (High German) editions, of which Hain counts 7 (13512-13518). Copinger increases their number by three (4958-4960) and Vollmer mentions a Basel edition of 1503. The edition of 1490, printed by Schoensperger in Augsburg, bears this title: "The German psalter of 150 Psalms, and their Rubrics, also several Psalms that are called Psalms of Praise." In addition there were two Low German editions, which Hain had enumerated (13519-13520) and to which neither the *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* nor Vollmer were able to make any additions. On the other hand, there is a whole series of Low German prayer books which, according to Vollmer's researches, contained a larger or smaller treasure of Psalms. In the northwest of Germany it is possible that many Holland editions were used. Hain mentions 4

Dutch editions (13521-13524); Copinger two more (4961, 4962). Aside from our main consideration we might note that there were 9 French editions (Hain 13525-13526; Copinger 4963-4969), four Italian (Copinger 4970-4972), one Spanish (Hain 13528), and two Bohemian (Hain 13529, 13530). While it is evident that the German psalters cannot be placed on an equality with the Plenaria, their circulation and influence was decidedly smaller, yet, as the great number of manuscripts proves, the picture would be incomplete without their consideration. Neither dare we forget that in the schools as well as in the church services there was ample opportunity for becoming familiar with the Psalms. A whole series of the History Bibles included the Psalms. Many of the Psalms were included in the *Hymnarium* which the scholars of the Latin schools used. Here, of course, the Psalms were used in Latin.

All that might be added, in this connection, about the German *Biblia Pauperum,* the German editions of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the German *Passionalia,* has been said above (p. 19) in connection with the Latin editions. Compare also Notes 32-34.

III

THE EXTENT OF THE USE OF THE BIBLE

After the facts that have been presented is there any further need of proof to show that the use of the Bible and the knowledge of its contents were comparatively widespread in the middle ages? There would certainly not have been so many manuscripts and, later on, so many printed editions, if they had not been bought and read. Walther (p. 712) reminds us that in addition to the Bibles we have a disproportionately large number of other medieval manuscripts and books. We, know, for example, of at least 25 editions of the sermon book *Dormi secure,* 75 of the Postil of Guillerinus, 80 of the writings of Gregory the Great, more than 100 of Gerson's books and at least 185 editions of the Breviary, all dating from the end of the middle ages. However the picture we get of the use of the Bible before the Reformation is completely changed if we do not, like Walther, limit our consideration to manuscript and printed editions of the Bible in the more specific sense, but include, as we must if we would not suppress the facts, the History Bibles, the literature containing the Psalms and especially the Plenaria. Even in our day pastors usually have more books of sermons and devotional books than copies of the Bible in their libraries. We do not, of course, want to conclude from the results established in sections I and II that before the Reformation, the Bible was the most extensively circulated and most widely read book, but only that, together with its related literature, it was much more extensively used than the almost universal popular opinion among Protestants wants to admit, even today. Our purpose is only to get rid of some very tenaciously maintained traditional opinions in the interest of the truth.

That the Bible had a relatively wide use in the middle ages is evident from other facts, as well as from the literature that has been preserved. As a rule the study of the Bible was a necessary part of the theological education of a priest. It is well known that the University of Paris was one of the most illustrious of the higher schools and was a pattern and ideal for many others. There the theological curriculum began with cursory lectures on the Scriptures, then turned to the Sentences of Peter Lombard and finally concluded with exegetical lectures on Scriptures, as is indubitably established by the university statutes.[101] Furthermore, this Parisian statute was no innovation, it simply recognized an ancient custom, long approved by the faculty (*secundum modum antiquitus in dicta facultate Parisiensis studii approbatum*). The Sorbonne was also in a position to place a large number of Bibles and parts of Bibles at the disposal of its students for examination and use, even though these many copies could hardly be removed from the library and most of them, according to medieval custom, were kept "chained" (compare chapter two, note 12). In the third volume of the *Cabinet des Manuscripts* Delisle has published the general catalog of the Library of the University of Paris, of the year 1388. According to its lists the library possessed at that time 33 complete Bibles, 18 libri legales (the Pentateuch), 15 libri historiales (historical books of the Bible), 28 psalteria glossata, 17 libri sapentiales (the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus), 24 books of the Prophets, 42 Gospels with glosses, 15 Pauline Epistles, 38 other Epistles, Acts and Revelation, 5 libri glossati mixti, 7 postils on the libri legales, 13 postils (probably of Walahfried Strabo, Nicholas of Lyra and others), 13 postils on the psalter, 12 on the books of Solomon, 11 on the Prophets, 20 on the Gospels, 9 on the Pauline Epistles, 13 on the other Epistles, Acts and Revelation, 33 postillae mixtae, 19 Concordanciae super Bibliam.[102] This, Parisian plan for the study of theology was taken over by the German universities. Thus Vienna had its *Biblici,* who took care of the cursory lectures on the Bible, while, as in Paris, the exegetical lectures of the final year were restricted to the Doctors of Theology.[103] The case was the same in Tuebingen, where Count Eberhard had stipulated in the original charter that three doctors should devote their time to the Sacred Books and to theological literature.[104] Similar arrangements existed in Erfurt.[105] Consequently, when later on a "lectura in Biblia" was established in Wittenberg this was nothing new nor unusual. Nor were the stipulations concerning biblical lectures mere paper enactments. Vienna was noted for the cultivation of these lectures, while in Tuebingen Steinbach, whom Melanchthon praised as a careful and devoted student of Scripture, turned his attention to the Letters of St. Paul.[106] The same has been proven to have been the case in Leipzig.[107]

Jerome Dungersheim, the later opponent of Luther, was stationed in the latter city and we have before us a copy of his homiletics, printed in 1514, the *Tractatus de modo praedicandi.* In it he stresses the fact that the study of Holy Scripture must be the chief interest of those who would become preachers: "If they desire to be shepherds of the flock of Christ, the Word of God provides them with the only pasture and nourishment for the flock; if they would be physicians of souls, the Word of God offers the only remedy; if they would tend the vineyard of the Lord, the Word of God is the only well from which they may water it; if they would be spiritual leaders of the congregation, God's Word is the sword they must be able to wield so as to repulse all foes. How then can they accomplish this task without a thorough knowledge of this same Word and unless they have studiously acquired and practiced the art of using it rightly? Every trade and every secular art demands a special preparation, how much more the science of divine matters and the highest of all arts, that of winning souls for the Kingdom of Heaven! For this reason no well ordered convents appoint any brother as a public preacher unless he has studied theology for at least three years and has proven his scientific qualifications, and even then he must labor continuously for his spiritual cultivation because the study of theology is never exhausted."[108] Such testimonies might be greatly multiplied.[109] They cannot be brushed aside by the reminder that at the end of the middle ages the expressions "Holy Scripture" and "God's Word" had a wider meaning than they now have in our use, and included dogmatics, for in this case the university statutes speak in unmistakable terms and Dungersheim at least included the Bible in his admonition.

The regular reading of Scripture was an ancient rule in the monasteries. The old rule of the Hermits of St. Augustine, which can be traced back to the constitution of the Order, of 1287, required that the brothers should "eagerly read, devoutly hear and zealously learn" Holy Scripture. This did not refer to the public reading of Scripture during the meals but was to be done at times specially appointed for that purpose. Just as there were to be "prayers" at fixed hours so there were hours set apart for "reading."[110] We still possess the order that was to be observed in such readings, as it was prescribed in certain monasteries, for example, in the Benedictine Abbey of Cluney.[111] Felder relates of the Franciscans that until the middle of the thirteenth century the knowledge of God and the knowledge of Scripture were regarded by them as of equal importance.[112] While this was often much changed in later times, yet in the *Liber Officiorum* of the Dominicans of 1259, we still find, even as late as the German translation of 1454, the provision that every monastery should have its library, in which the biblical books were to occupy the first place.[113] In the monastery of the Dominicans in Nuernberg, according to a calatog of the fifteenth century, there was one complete Bible in six parts, one Bible without the Prophets, 5 Gospel harmonies, 1 Song of Solomon, 8 psalters, 2 copies of Acts and 2 of Revelation, 3 History Bibles, 11 books of pericopes.[114] In St. Emmeran, in Regensburg, from the time of the fourteenth century there were 250 volumes in the library, arranged on 32 reading-desks, in the following order: desks 1 and 2, books containing the text of the Bible; 3-6, various commentaries on the Bible; 7-15, the ancient doctors, in alphabetical order; 16, histories; 17-20, various newer doctors; 21-23, canon law; 24, miscellaneous; 25, Ecclesiastical and civil law; 26-29, books of various arts; 30, miscellaneous; 31, homiletics and Passionalia; 32, Biblia in partibus.[115] When the nunnery of St. James, in Freiberg in Saxony, was suppressed in 1536 and an inventory was made of its goods, one of the items was a desk in the upper ambulatory, with a Bible, 2 Missals, 1 Vocabularius, 3 partes Lyrae, upon it and in a large chest 2 Bibles and 130 other books.[116] How much importance the Teutonic Order, way off in the extreme northeast of Germany, attached to the possession of single books of the Bible and to their reading during the common meals has already been indicated.[117] That this reading of the Bible during meals was a regular custom is evident from Muenzinger's explanation of the Pater Noster, of 1475. There, in connection with the fourth petition, is the statement: "Therefore the religious folk in the cloisters have the custom of reading during meals, so that not only the body but the soul as well might be fed."[118]

We know that the History Bibles were extensively read in the convent schools and thus the pupils became acquainted with the stories of the Bible. Here it was that the rimed verses describing the contents of the single books, and even briefly summarizing each chapter, like the *Memorabiles evangelistarum figurae* in 17 leaves (Pforzheim, 1502, 1503, 1504), probably also originated. They were intended to assist in giving a comprehensive survey of the Bible.[119] But such instruction was not limited to the convents for in many of the Latin schools of the cities there was likewise regular instruction in the Bible. In the numerous pre-reformation school orders that have come down to us[120] only a few give detailed courses of study, but among these few there are several that are of real importance for us. In the Ulm curriculum of 1500[121] Sedulius, the author of the Carmen paschale,[122] is named as one of the authors to be read, and all the scholars are to listen when he is read at noon, between 12 and 1. Still more important is the provision that the two upper classes are to be given Latin exercises not only *in collectis, sequentiis et hymnis* but also *in epistolis or evangeliis.* Evidently there was instruction in the pericopes.[123] The same provision is made in the school order of Memmingen, of 1513,[124] and in that for Noerdlingen, of 1512,[125] the reading of the Epistles of Peter and Paul is even added. Since both schools copied those of Nuernberg[126] we may infer that similar regulations existed in that city. Thus, through the close connection existing between the Church and the schools, attentive scholars, who were compelled to sing the Antiphons, Psalms and other hymns in the scholars' choir each Sunday, who were usually compelled to attend the early Masses and Vespers on week days, and who often took active part in the reading of the lessons, would gain a considerable knowledge of Scripture. That is a matter into which we cannot enter more fully at this time, but it must not be overlooked. The numerous similar arrangements we find in the schools of the reformation period[127] came about through the continuation or alteration of medieval regulations.

Is it still necessary to prove that many religious persons owned copies of Bible manuscripts or of printed Bibles? If so we would only have to recall the many cases in which such persons bequeathed to churches, convents or schools their libraries, with the Bibles and portions of Bibles, the psalters, books of pericopes and History Bibles they contained, and which were usually exactly specified.[128]

That as a result of such conditions we find a considerable and sometimes a surprising knowledge of the Bible among the religious of the middle ages should not occasion any surprise. Nevertheless, as far as space permits we shall bring some proof of that fact. We are not thinking so much now of the representatives of theological science as of the preachers in the monasteries and city churches. Here Bernhard of Clairvaux, that greatest Latin preacher of the middle ages, excells them all. In his sermons there are not only a great many quotations from Scripture but he has derived his entire language and habit of thought from Scripture.[129] His sermons were delivered to monks, though not limited to them. On the other hand the "Altdeutsche Predigten" that Anton Schoenbach[130] has published were addressed to the people. Here it is only necessary to examine the lists prepared by Schoenbach to see how frequently they quote the Scriptures. The Latin as well as the German sermons of Berthold of Regensburg have been examined in this particular by Vollmer.[131] While they undoubtedly do not display as close an acquaintance with Scripture as those of Bernhard, yet, in spite of many blunders in its use, it is evident that to him Scripture was no unknown country. It is more than a mere phrase when he says that the Bible of the Old and New Testaments is the book that the clergy study industriously.[132] There are fewer direct quotations in Tauler but his ideas are more firmly anchored in Scripture.[133] Generally in the sermon books and the instructions concerning confession, in the fifteenth century, we meet with a larger acquaintance with Scripture than might be expected. Geiler of Kaisersberg is particularly rich in Scripture quotations.[134]

But the question remains as to how extensive was the use of *German* manuscript or printed Bibles, History Bibles, Plenaria, psalters and similar books. Did they also reach the laity and were they read by them? That they penetrated to the laity is easy to prove but to what extent this happened is beyond exact knowledge. True there was opposition to such general use and sometimes the reasons prompting this opposition were very transparent. So one layman, who had translated several biblical books into German, represents an opponent from the ranks of the clergy as saying, "What shall we preach now since the Holy Scripture is read in German in castles, and public rooms, and in private houses?" The clerical questioner then has to hear the reply from the layman, that David and Solomon were also unconsecrated and yet had revealed God's wonders and power to the people "through their writings"; that it was only envy, the cause of all evil, that would hinder the copying of God's Word and the consequent possibility of reading it in the homes.[135] The apology in the preface of the Cologne Low German Bible (p. 37) was a reply to similar opposition coming from clerical circles. But the laity were not disturbed by such opposition. They could even appeal to favorable expressions of opinion from the clergy. The Franciscan, Otto von Passau, the director of studies in Basel, wrote a manual for the instruction of the people, in 1386, with the title: "The Elders, as they surround the Throne of God," of which there are 40 known manuscripts, and which appeared in 12 printed editions between 1470 and 1508. In the 14th Chapter he treats of Holy Scripture and then remarks: "I advise you diligently, that you read the Scriptures of the Old and New Covenants intently, with devotion and zeal, whether in German or Latin, in case you understand Latin."[136] Many of the laity were also aware that there was no universal prohibition of Bible reading.[137] In the fifteenth century we have a whole series of exhortations to Bible reading directed to the laity. So in the "Book concerning the Love of God" that appeared at Luebeck in 1497[138] there is the statement that the many favors of God are best learned from Holy Scripture, wherefore it is to be read diligently, especially "the Book of Creation, the book of the exodus from Egypt and then the books of the Kings, at another time the books of the holy women, Judith and Esther, another time the books of the Judges and the Maccabees." Similar admonitions are found in the Luebeck Postil of 1493, of which we know at least 12 editions, in the "Seelentrost" of 1474, in the "Mirror of the Laity" of 1496,[139] in the "Wyhegertlein für alle fromme Christenmenschen" of 1509. In the last named, which was printed in Mainz, is the statement: "You should diligently read and examine Holy Scripture, especially the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Festivals. But you cannot do so profitably unless you first beseech the Holy Ghost for a right understanding and repent of your sins, as though you were going to confession. If you are proud all your reading will only work injury. What you do not understand in Scripture pass by and leave it to the Church. She explains all things correctly and she alone possesses the power of interpretation."[140] Can all these admonitions have been fruitless? Falk gives a long list of laymen who possessed Bibles, many of them, just as in our own day, containing long entries of family history. According to Vollmer his list could easily be enlarged.[141] The names are by no means limited to the nobility, but the majority come from the families of commoners. In this connection we will not cite as examples Walther von der Vogelweide and Sebastian Brant, whose *Narrenschiff* is full of biblical citations and references, since their biblical knowledge may have been gained from the Latin Bible.[142]

The Plenaria were doubtless far more common among the laity than complete Bibles. How widely they were distributed and how familiar they must have been to many we can judge from the *Manuale Curatorum* of Ulrich Surgant of Basel, the homiletic that was published in 10 editions after the beginning of the sixteenth century. Here Surgant[143] advises the preacher, after he has read the Gospel to add: "This is the meaning of the words of the Holy Gospel, through which words Almighty God would remit your sins. Amen. I say the meaning of the words not without caution, because the Gospels are impressed on the common people and if one should read thus and another so, and laymen or women having first read it in their homes, should then say, my book does not contain such a text as that which the preacher spoke, as if he should have spoken badly." Here Surgant takes into account the existence of such an extensive and exact knowledge of the pericopes among many of the hearers that they will notice it if the preacher reads a translation different from the one to which they are accustomed.

In the face of such facts, how can Luther say that the Bible was unknown under the papacy? Pietsch (*Ewangely vnd Epistel Teutsch,* p. 275 seq.) has entered into a thorough consideration of this question and has recapitulated the opinion of Luther, as it was expressed in the previously given quotations, in the following propositions: 1. The Bible, either in manuscript or in printed form, was not available in a sufficient number of copies during the middle ages and particularly during the last century of that period. 2. Partly as a result of this scarcity the clergy often possessed only a very deficient knowledge of the contents of the Bible or lacked it altogether. 3. Very erroneous ideas prevailed concerning the contents of certain books of the Bible, as, for example, concerning Romans; the names of the prophets were unknown to many and the psalter as a book that was comprehensible only to the most distinguished theologians. 4. The Bible was not properly valued for the consciousness of its significance and its superiority to all other theological literature had been lost. It was not recognized and valued as the primary source of Christianity and the sole foundation of the Church but was smothered in the mass of surrounding theological writing, and its understanding was conditioned by the interpretation of the Church.

Undoubtedly this last point was correctly grasped by Luther and it can be supported by overwhelming proof. That Luther particularly wanted to emphasize this fact, above all else, we can see very clearly in another declaration of his that was not given above but that our Roman opponents today still quote wrathfully, that under the papacy "Scripture was despised" (*hat unter der Bank gelegen*). It is only necessary to read it in its entirety as it is found in Luther's exposition of the prophet Zechariah, of the year 1527 (W. Ed. 23, p. 606). There he remarks to 8:19: "But what do you think of our teachers, who apply the statement concerning the fasts of the four months, occurring here, to the four ember weeks, or the 'Quatember'? Does it not agree wonderfully? God says that these four fasts shall be ended and shall be cheerful feasts, so they twist these words to mean, there shall be four sad fasts in the year. . . . . . . just as they do in other places; where God says, no, they say, yes; where God teaches grace and faith, they substitute works and merit. They rage and will not listen when they are told that Scripture was despised by them (*unter der Bank gelegen ist*), and their mad dreams alone have taken the place of authority." According to our evangelical ideas this is still a correct judgment concerning the attitude of the Church towards the Bible in the middle ages. It does not question the existence of Bibles, in fact affirms it, but bewails the fact that the Bible has lost its rightful *authority* over the doctrine of the Church. How truthfully this can be said about the Epistle to the Romans may easily be seen by anyone who reads the medieval preface to this Epistle, that we have given in part II, according to which this mighty Epistle has hardly any significance for this present age. Luther's other utterances cannot, indeed, be applied in this general way, but it does not follow for that reason that they are false. In them Luther is speaking out of his own experiences. As far as these experiences went his statements were true, even if expressed in rather emphatic language, such as is still used, on occasion, in the conversation of small circles of friends. We must not forget that these statements are taken from the *Tischreden* and it is generally recognized that because of the manner of their transmission they are not always dependable. However, from the evidence that has passed before us it is obvious that the Bible was widely disseminated in many places and extensively used, but that this was not by any means the case everywhere, least of all among the priests and religious of all localities. It can be shown that just in Saxon-Thueringia, at the beginning of the sixteenth century the cultural and the religious life alike had sunk much lower than that of southern, western or northwestern Germany. Whoever attempts to generalize these utterances of Luther, as still too often happens in popular presentations, contradicts the historic facts and does a great injustice to the middle ages and their closing years.

Luther's opinion may also have been partly influenced by the official attitude of the Church towards the Bible during the middle ages. What was that attitude? During the first half of the middle ages both Church and state provided translations of the Bible in the vernacular and therefore evidently desired them to be read. Charlemagne discarded the idea that only the three languages that Pilate had used on the Cross were holy. He must have had some connection with the preparation of that Bible of which a fragment has been preserved in the "Monseer Matthaeus." That his successors maintained a similar attitude is shown by the production and circulation of the Heliand and Otfried's Book of the Gospels. Pope Hadrian in 867 allowed the use of the vernacular to the Slavs, even for the liturgical services, with the justification that "He who made the three most excellent languages, namely, the Hebrew, Greek and Latin, also made all the other languages for His honor and praise."[144] So the Gospel Harmony that originated in Fulda around 830 (p. 21) could hardly have come into existence without the approval of the local bishop. Another Gospel harmony, since completely lost, is said to have come from the Freisinger Bishop Valdo (884-906).[145] Notker Labeo (p. 22) was the official director of the convent school and Williram (p. 21) was abbot of the monastery. But after Gregory VII in 1080 had again withdrawn from the Slavs the right to conduct the liturgy in the vernacular, and had based his action on the assertion that Scripture is obscure in many places,[146] a change began to take place in the official attitude of the Church towards the use of the vernacular. At first this changed attitude related only to its liturgical use and meant little for Germany since there the Mass and its scriptural lessons had for centuries been recited in Latin. The prohibition of German Bibles would not have been a consequence of this arrangement but would have followed from the reasons on which it was based. The appearance of heretical movements, that demanded and practised Bible reading by the laity, helped to carry this tendency of the Church further till in 1199 Innocent III issued the only papal decree concerning Bible reading by the laity, and therefore the only decision applicable to the whole Church, that appeared before the Reformation. (Text of the papal decision in Part II). In the diocese of Metz laymen had procured translations of the Bible and read and explained them in secret assemblies, and this was connected with the Albigensian movement, that just at this time was becoming very conspicuous in France. The members of this lay gathering in the diocese of Metz, composed of men and women, not only read the Scriptures in the vernacular but at the same time they showed their contempt for the preaching of the clergy and openly asserted that their house services were more edifying and better than the services of the priests.[147] The decision of the pope,[148] which was afterwards included in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* and so was elevated to the place of an official decree for the entire Church, recognized the great value of Bible reading and commended it, but at the same time explained that the statement in Luke 8:10 (*Vobis datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei*), did not apply to all Christians but to the Church's teaching office, which God has established for that purpose. Accordingly, when the Bible was read in secret assemblies, when it was interpreted in a way opposed to the teachings of the Church and when the office of the clergy was despised, then Bible reading was to be prohibited. The decisions of the Spanish and Portugese synods (Text in Part II) went further than the papal decree, but they were evidently framed to combat heresy. Again, a hundred years later, the clerically minded emperor Charles IV issued a radical decree against books written in German[149] that "dealt with Holy Scripture," so that the laity might not "be led into heresy and false doctrine through their false understanding of the same." He was seconded by pope Gregory XI who issued a bull from Avignon to the inquisition in Germany on April 27, 1376. It was directed against the heretical laymen "who read and hear what they do not understand." All German books were to be examined, all knowledge of the Bible was to be placed under ecclesiastical control and preaching was to be prohibited to the laity. The main thesis of this decree does not go beyond the enactment recognized up to this time, while the general decree prohibiting all German religious books was so revolutionary that it could hardly have been taken seriously, even by those who recognized Gregory XI. The prohibition of Bible translations in the vernacular by the council of Oxford in 1408 does not concern us particularly as it was directed against Wicliff's translation.[150] In Germany the first official action on this question came in 1485 when the archbishop Berthold of Mainz issued an edict condemning all translations of the Bible from Greek, Latin or other languages; a decree that was renewed on Jan. 4, 1486.[151] The text of the edict is given in Part II. When this edict has been described as a Bible prohibition the assertion is without foundation. Such a prohibition was not issued before the Reformation, either by the pope or by a representative of the Church in Germany.[152] Berthold did not want to interfere with the Bible itself. Indeed he alleges as the very reason for his edict his desire for the maintenance of the purity of the Bible: "It is of interest to us to preserve the spotless purity of the divine writings." He was concerned about the translation of the Bible into German. Those who attempt translations into German are for him "criminal, shameless, foolish and unlearned men, who are only moved by the desire for fame and money." He wanted to protect those committed to his charge from such a degrading of Scripture for he was convinced that the German language was not able correctly to reproduce the profound speculations of Greek and Latin authors. While he prohibited the printing of any German Bible, and threatened excommunication and a heavy fine for the disregard of his edict, at the same time he appointed a Master of Arts from each of the four faculties of Erfurt who together were to constitute a commission which first had to approve every translation before it appeared in print.

The Archbishop of Mainz did not stand alone in this attitude towards the German Bible. Kropatscheck has shown (p. 118 seq.) that Geiler von Kaisersberg, Sebastian Brant and Wimpfeling, in spite of their sympathy with humanism, took the same position. Even the writer of the famous tract "De Libris Teutonicalibus,"[153] of which Gerhard Zerbolt von Zuetphen was for a long time supposed to have been the author, in spite of his energetic advocacy of the preparation and use of popular German religious books, believed that the people should not be given the whole Bible in their mother tongue. The "milk" (I Cor. 3:2), that is the historical books in particular might be given them but not the difficult books, like the Prophets, the Pauline epistles and Revelation, which were food only adapted to the strong and those further advanced.

So the official attitude of the Church became changed from the original encouragement of Bible translations to a mere toleration and, at last, in the great archdiocese of Mainz, to direct opposition and the imposition of a censorship. So we can readily understand why it was that after the thirteenth century no men of learning or of ecclesiastical prominence devoted themselves to the work of translating the Bible, and why, at the turning point of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the production of books had increased so greatly, there were so many Plenaria and similar books printed from 1491 to 1518, but that only two complete printed German Bibles appeared and that the printer of the first Low German Bible felt compelled to apologize for its publication. This change in the attitude of the Church dare not be forgotten when we rejoice at the great number of Bibles or portions of Bibles that came into existence during the period of toleration and were so extensively circulated and used by the clergy, in the convents and schools, and among a growing number of the laity.

But even in considering this abundance of Bibles and the extensive diffusion of biblical knowledge a number of other facts must be kept in mind. It was not so much the illiteracy of the people and the great cost of the manuscripts and later of the printed Bibles that prevented the German Bible from becoming a book of the people. Those considerations have frequently been stressed beyond reason. In fact the ability to read was more general than is commonly admitted. At the close of the middle ages most of the cities, even down to the smaller ones, had their schools. In many sections, as in the Rhineland and East Frisia[154] there were even village schools. If the schools had not already been functioning how could we account for the flood of German literature that was printed, sold and read between 1460 and 1522? And whence could the ability of the people to read have come so suddenly in 1522, when Luther's translation of the New Testament appeared? And why was he not concerned about the schools before that year? Even the great cost should not be regarded as so important. The first complete printed Bible, a large folio, was bought unbound on June 27, 1466 for 12 gulden (p. 28). In 1499, 9 gulden was paid for a complete printed Bible. Five Plenaria, with that great number of Old and New Testament pericopes, together with the glosses of the edition of 1510, were sold at the Leipzig Easter Fair for one gulden,[155] while the Wittenberg publisher of Luther's New Testament, in 1522, charged from one-half to one and a half gulden for a copy (compare chapter three)! If it is at all possible to compare prices, considering that the New Testament was hardly any larger than the Plenarium, the price charged for a Plenarium was very low.

No, there are other and much more weighty facts that we must keep in mind. 1. All the German translations of the middle ages were made from the Vulgate and not from the original languages, and at that they depended in large part on manuscripts that were faulty. 2. After the thirteenth century none of the translators were equally proficient in German and Latin, while many actually had a very poor knowledge of Latin. The Roman Catholic Jostes (Histor. Jahrbuch d. Görresgesellschaft XV, 775) states that, "All the medieval translations, aside from a few old High German ones, were made by men who did not occupy the highest rank among those of the day who were familiar with the textual criticism of the Bible. The translators were not trained exegetes." 3. None of the translators of the thirteenth century give us the impression of having lived themselves into the spirit of the Bible, which is something every one must do who would be a good translator. 4. Each of the translators felt himself bound in his translation and explanation by the teaching of the Church, as the final determining authority. So the Dominican John Mensing in his book *Gründliche vnterricht: Was eyn frommer Christen von der heyligen Kirchen, von den Vetern vnd der heyligen schrifft halten sol,* wrote as late as 1528: "Scripture can deceive, the Church cannot deceive. Who does not perceive then that the Church is greater than Scripture and that we can entrust ourselves better to the Church than to Scripture." 5. The medieval Church regarded Scripture only as a law, so that *Nova Lex* became a favorite designation for the New Testament. Of the innumerable statements that certify this fact we will only refer to those of the previously quoted tract, *De Libris Teutonicalibus,* which so energetically advocated a limited free use of the Bible. Here we read: "Holy

Scripture has been given man for the assistance and support of natural law, namely that what man is unable to see by means of the darkened or dimmer natural law within, being aided by Scripture from without, he may learn and see, so that he recognizes and embraces the good and avoids the evil."[156] To understand these conditions it is only necessary to read the widely used postils that usually accompanied the Plenaria or the glosses to the equally widely read *Speculum Humanae Salvationis,* and for that reason we have included specimens in Part II. Occasionally they strike a note of deep evangelical feeling, but almost always they get no further than the externals, or immediately revert to legalism. The acceptance of the fourfold meaning of Scripture, which we find everywhere and from which even Lyra does not escape, does not allow them to penetrate into the heart of Scripture but only opens the way to an understanding that agrees with the teaching of the Church and with a legal interpretation. 6. For us the glad tidings of the crucified and risen Lord, who has established the righteousness that God, in His grace, imparts to the believer, is the very centre of Scripture. This the translators and exegetes of the middle ages did not understand, and when some of them had a certain intuitive feeling for this fact and stammered their expression of it, this knowledge was still not the center of their faith and life. It was this and not the lack of an extensive knowledge of Scripture, much need as there undoubtedly was for improvement in that as well, that made the Bible a closed book in the Middle Ages. Here it was that a reformation was necessary.

CHAPTER TWO

LUTHER AND THE BIBLE

1. *Luther's first acquaintance with the Bible.*

When Luther first became acquainted with the Bible cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Only this much is clear, that the widely held traditional opinions on this subject are not tenable. His father sent him at an early age to the community school of his home town, Mansfeld. It was probably on St. Gregory's Day, March 12, 1488 that he entered and he remained there till the spring of 1496. The Mansfeld school was one of the many *Trivialschulen* that were quite common at that time. They had received the name "Trivial Schools" because they taught grammar, logic and rhetoric, the three "liberal arts" that had composed the ancient *Trivium*. When they bore the name of Latin schools it was because the pupils were introduced to the Latin language as early as possible and presently Latin became the regular language of the school, to such a degree that no other language could be used in the upper classes. It has indeed been held that the school at Mansfeld was of a very low grade, but this idea has come about through the application of Luther's later unfavorable judgments concerning the medieval schools, particularly his emphatic statements in the treatise, *An die Ratsherren Deutscher Städte Schulen aufzurichten,* to the school he had himself attended. But no real proof that this is justifiable has as yet been produced.[1] Even Mathesius, who briefly relates Luther's stay in this school knows nothing of the sort.[2] In fact it is to the highest degree improbable. From the magistrate's records we know that a Master of Arts was the rector of the school, and that he was assisted by instructors and possibly also by a cantor. Consequently there were three and perhaps four regular teachers. Near the town was the castle of the Counts of Mansfeld with its collegiate church (*Stiftskirche*). In the town itself there was a fine parish church. The citizens, as we learn from the records of the Mansfeld courts, possessed a considerable degree of activity and initiative. Why would they have been content with a particularly poor school? The only possibility left is that its instruction did not reach far enough to prepare the pupils for immediate entrance into the university.[3]

In this Mansfeld school Luther did not become familiar with the entire Bible but he did learn to know portions of it. The curriculum of the Trivial schools was everywhere the same and so, in spite of the fact that no Mansfield school orders have survived from this period, we are still able to determine with considerable certainty the studies that Luther had to pursue. In the Nuernberg school order of 1505 there is this direction: "First, the youngest pupils, who are learning their letters and how to read from the charts, the Benedicite, the Confiteor etc., shall sit together and every day they shall recite, three times before noon and three times after noon — and at evening they shall be given their 'Latin,' that is two common Latin words with their German meaning, and shall be directed to rehearse them to their parents, and the next morning they shall again be questioned in school and shall there recite them." Everywhere the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, the morning, evening and table prayers, the Hail Mary, and the confession of sins were the first religious materials that were given the scholars to study. When once they were promoted into the class of the "Donatists" they also learned the Hymns, Responsories and Versicles. Here they came into closer contact with biblical material as the Versicles and Responsories were mostly words of Scripture and frequently whole Psalms took the place of the Hymns. This instruction in singing and music, as well as the daily opening of the school with song and prayer, while not a complete substitute was at least a partial and by no means insignificant compensation for the specific religious instruction that was lacking. The assurance with which, in later years, Luther was still able to quote verbatim many Latin Psalms, Hymns, Versicles and Responsories, goes back to this early instruction in Mansfeld. To this was added the daily attendance of the scholars at Matins and Vespers, or one of the two. In these services the choir boys of the school sang many Psalms, they heard the biblical lessons read and the older ones were even allowed to assist in their reading. As a matter of course they attended the Sunday Masses and heard the many pericopes used in the course of their celebration. If they were not always able to follow the Latin in which they were read in the Mass itself they heard many of them in the sermons, where not only the preaching was in German but where the preacher was accustomed to read his text in a German translation (compare above p. 46). As was shown before (p. 60) and as could be demonstrated more fully, in many places, in the upper classes, there was a reading and explanation of the Epistle and Gospel, either on Saturday or on Sunday, before going to church. Whether or not Luther participated in these exercises at Mansfeld would have depended on his age and progress. It was not restricted to the upper classes in all places. In Magdeburg and Eisenach, at all events, it was a part of his task. Who could deny then that in this way a considerable amount of biblical knowledge was imparted to Luther? If he did not grasp much of it and if its religious influence was greatly hampered by the use of Psalms and pericopes for grammatical exercises, nevertheless much must have made its way into his open and receptive soul. There should be at least some caution shown in making the assertion that his religious instruction in the Mansfeld school was very scanty.[4]

In the spring of 1496, with another young Mansfeld boy, a friend of his, the son of Peter Reinecker the furnace superintendent, Luther went to the "then famous school" at Magdeburg. As to the reason for this change of schools there have been all sorts of guesses but nothing is certain.[5] We are not even sure which of the Magdeburg schools was then considered the "famous school." Barnikol thinks it was a school of the Brethren of the Common Life, while Scheel has shown that it was probably the cathedral school, which was taught by the Brethren of the Common Life, also known as the "Nullbrüder,"[6] and Luther himself says in one of his letters that at Magdeburg he "went to school to the Nullbrüder."[7] This too was a Trivial school and Luther could continue his studies from the point where he had left off in Mansfeld. Here in the cathedral school he received special instruction in music. The Rector had to hear the scholars read the lessons that they were to read at Matins. The "Succentor" had to discharge a similar duty in connection with the Versicles and Responsories, and at the same time was charged with introducing the scholars to all the "disciplines" of the Church.[8] In this way the fund of Hymns, Psalms and Scripture lessons he had brought with him from Mansfeld became more firmly fixed in his memory and its content was enlarged.

If in Mansfeld he had not yet learned that the singing and prayer of the liturgical part of the service could be more than a mere lip worship, here, through the Brethren of the Common Life, he could get a living impression of the manner in which it could all be a real expression of the inner religious life.[9]

Scheel has shown that it is very probable that Luther saw a complete Bible for the first time during his stay in Magdeburg, and that it was there he procured a "Postil" for himself.[10] That he should not have seen a complete Bible in Mansfeld is nothing so strange, for while it was not improbable that one of the priests, or the Church, possessed a Latin, or perhaps even a German Bible, it would have been too valuable to let it lie around the church or some other place where a young Latin scholar could see it. At the altar the priest only needed the mass book, with its pericopes, and the sermons were usually based on the pericopes, which, if needed in a German translation, could be found in the Plenarium. Even in the schools the teacher needed nothing except the Plenarium for his teaching of the pericopes, in case he did not know the Latin text by heart, and this text he then wrote on the blackboard.

But is not the statement that the fifteen year old boy saw a Bible in Magdeburg, and there purchased a Postil for himself, a direct contradiction both of tradition and of Luther's own statement? It certainly is, but it is a question as to whether this tradition is true to facts, and whether Luther's statements have been correctly transmitted. Mathesius is a witness for the traditional account, for he tells this story:[11] "When there were no public lectures (at the university in Erfurt) he spent his time in the university library. On one occasion when he was carefully examining the volumes, one after the other, so that he might learn to know the best among them, he happened on a copy of the Latin Bible, which he had never in his life seen up to this time. Then he noticed with great amazement that it contained many more texts than those that were in the ordinary Postils or were ordinarily explained from the pulpits of the churches. As he was looking through the Old Testament he chanced to see the story of Samuel and his mother Hannah, which he rapidly read through with great enjoyment and delight, and, because it was all new to him, he began to wish, from the bottom of his heart, that our good Lord would at some time bestow on him such a book as his own." Even Koestlin-Kawerau (1903, I 43 seq.) accepted this account as trustworthy, though rejecting the added statement, which first appeared after the time of Mathesius, and which rested on gross ignorance, that the Bible had been "chained."[12] The following statement has been attributed to Luther himself: "When I was twenty years old I had not yet seen a Bible. I thought that there were no more Epistles and Gospels than those included in the Postils. Finally I found a Bible in the library at Erfurt, which I frequently read to the great surprise of Dr. Staupitz." (*Tischreden* I, 3767, p. 599). Luther could not by any possibility have made such a statement, for at twenty he had not yet come into contact with Staupitz, and according to other accounts that have been transmitted his frequent reading of the Bible in the library simply did not take place. According to Roerer's transcript of the *Tischreden* his reading was interrupted by the striking of the clock that marked the hour for the beginning of lectures (*Archiv. f. Refgesch.* 1908, p. 345). A little more confidence can be placed in Lauterbach's record of the same statement in the Table Talk (W. E. *Tischreden* III, 3767). According to him Luther said: "For when I was twenty years old I had not yet seen a Bible. I thought that there were no Gospels and Epistles except those which were written in the Sunday postils. Finally I found a Bible in the library and forthwith I took it with me into the monastery. I began to read, to re-read, and to read it over again, to the great astonishment of Dr. Staupitz." Here the diligent reading of Scripture is not connected with a particular episode in the university library but is transferred to his later residence in the monastery. The first discovery of the Bible itself could not have happened in the monastery library since, at the time of his entrance into the convent, in accordance with the rules of the order and according to Luther's own statement (*Tischreden* I, 116), he was given a Latin Bible. We have another account however, that is most explicit and, because it carefully distinguishes between what took place before and what occurred after his entrance into the monastery, is the most trustworthy. It is in the record of Veit Dietrich (*Tischreden* I, 116). Here the story is thus given: "Once as a boy he happened on a Bible where by chance he read the story concerning the mother of Samuel in the Book of Kings. The book pleased him greatly and he thought that he would be very fortunate if he should ever be able to possess such a book. Shortly afterwards he bought a Postil; this pleased him greatly because it contained more Gospels than it was customary to teach during the course of the year. When he was made a monk he gave up all his books. A short time before he had purchased the *Corpus Juris* and I do not know what other books. He took none of them with him into the monastery except Plautus and Virgil. There the monks gave him a Bible bound in red leather." Here the youth of twenty has become a *puer*. This soon gave offense and so it was changed into *adolescens* or *baccalaureus*, that it might agree with the tradition that was already developing. But Veit Dietrich certainly knew why he wrote *puer*. He must have heard the story from Luther in this form. Why should not his use of this word be accepted when everything else that he relates in this paragraph is to be regarded as trustworthy? We should be all the more ready to believe his account because he does not locate the discovery of the Bible in the university library and so avoids a real difficulty which was first created by tradition. This difficulty comes from our knowledge of the Erfurt university statutes. They make it clear that the young Bachelor, Martin Luther, could not have entered the library without a grave violation of the regulations.[13]

So there is a possibility that as early as his fourteenth or fifteenth year Luther had seen a complete Bible and, though it cannot be proved, there is much to be said in favor of the view that this occurred during his stay in Magdeburg. The Brothers of the Common Life, who were there his teachers, were obligated to read the Holy Scripture so that it might "inflame" their hearts. A part of their life task was to multiply devout literature and disseminate it among the people, and this included Bibles and parts of Bibles.[14] Their care for poor students also showed itself by making it possible for such students to secure not only the necessary textbooks, but also a Postil, a Plenarium or smaller treatises that were useful for the cultivation of the inner life. Here Luther may have seen the complete Bible and may have read in it the story of Hannah that aroused his desire sometime to possess a copy of his own, and here he most likely bought the

"Postil." If it was possible to buy five Postils for one *Gulden* at the Leipzig Easter Fair in 1510 (above p. 72) it was not beyond Luther's means, while it is probable that he could secure a still cheaper rate through the instrumentality of the Brothers of the Common Life. The term "Postil" has several possible meanings. It may mean a book of sermons, or it might be applied to an edition of the pericopes with the accompanying glosses. So it has been shown that these "Postils" that were offered at the Leipzig Fair were the Plenarium with glosses, printed in 1510 by Schoeffer in Mainz. That at this time a Plenarium had been published in Magdeburg itself is not of such importance in this connection since it was in Low German.[15] More important is the fact that in his account Veit Dietrich uses an expression that indicates a Plenarium, for the Postil particularly pleased Luther because "it contained more Gospels than it was customary to teach in the course of a year." It is hardly likely that more than 52 Gospels were covered with the pupils in the course of a year (above p. 60), and in the church on Sundays it is improbable that the sermon dealt with more than one Gospel. A Plenarium, on the other hand, contained a large number of Gospels.

We saw that the foundation in Bible knowledge that had been laid in Mansfeld had been considerably broadened and deepened in Magdeburg, and if not in Magdeburg, though everything points to that place, then in Eisenach, where Luther went in the Spring of 1497. It speaks well for a youth of fourteen or fifteen years if he uses his scanty funds for the purchase of a Plenarium.[16]

2. *Luther hears a chapter out of the Bible daily*

In 1501 Luther entered the University of Erfurt, which, according to his expression, so far surpassed all other universities that they were only primary schools (*Schützenschulen*) in comparison.[17] He took up his residence in the *Georgenburse.* This was a hospice with strict and almost monastic regulations, whose members had scarcely as much freedom as is found today in a priest's seminary.[18] A student could not even determine for himself the choice of lectures. First of all, under the direction of the rector of the burse, and the Master of Arts connected with the burse, he had to complete the course of studies prescribed by the Arts Faculty, which had as its objective the examination for the Master's degree. So Luther had first of all to complete the course of linguistic, logical and philosophical lectures and exercises that were prescribed for the Bachelor's degree. After he had passed this examination at the earliest opportunity, at Michaelmass, 1502, he immediately began, as was customary, his preparation for the Master's degree. Accordingly from the fall of 1502 his studies followed the exactly prescribed order, above all the works of Aristotle dealing with physics, metaphysics and ethics, and the sciences of the old *Quadrivium*; geometry according to Euclid, arithmetic and music according to John de Muris, planetary astronomy and perspective. He succeeded in completing this considerable task in less than two and a quarter years and passed his Master's examination at the earliest possible time, namely about the 7th of Jan. 1505, ranking second among seventeen.[19]

The question arises as to whether Luther came into direct contact with the Scriptures during these years.

According to the traditional account this took place only as he accidentally happened on a copy of the Bible in the university library. Since we are compelled to transfer this event to an earlier date, either in Magdeburg or Eisenach, there would not seem to have been any further contact with the Bible till his entrance into the monastery. That would indeed be a strange situation especially in view of the wide distribution of the Bible at the close of the middle ages, as we have described it in chapter one. It becomes doubly strange since Neubauer has produced proofs showing that at the time the Bible was not such an exceedingly rare book at Erfurt. The monastery of the Servants of Mary, which was regarded as a poor institution, (it had only 38 beds[20] and the number of monks was certainly no larger) owned, at that time, four complete Latin Bibles and one in German, together with many separate editions of the German psalter and of the Gospels. In addition the private library of its prior, John Pfennig, contained one German Postil, the four Gospels in German, a Latin explanation of the psalter and the postils of Nicholas of Lyra, which usually contained the text of the Vulgate.[21] Neubauer is probably right when he adds: "We have reason to believe that similar libraries existed in other convents." In 1505 there were at least five other monasteries, besides that of the Servants of Mary, in Erfurt, many of them being considerably larger, and this leaves out of the reckoning the nunneries.[22] When we recall the extensive collection of Bibles in the University of Paris (above p. 56) it becomes a matter of course that the illustrious University of Erfurt, which was patterned after that of Paris, should have a number of Bibles in its library, especially as biblical lectures were included in the curriculum of the theological faculty (above p. 57).

Even the faculty of Arts with its emphasis on the authority of Scripture, customary at the time, could hardly have dispensed with the Bible. Is it possible then that Luther, in the company of one of his teachers (for he would not have been allowed to enter the Library alone), should never have examined a Bible?

Further observations come to hand that likewise compel us to believe that Luther came into contact with the Bible during these years. We are not thinking so much of the regular Sunday services, to which the students marched in double file, first the youngest, then the Masters, and, at the end, the Rector of the particular burse,[23] for it is quite possible that the Erfurt churches were satisfied with the use of the Missal and Plenarium, and it would not be at all strange if the Bibles in the church libraries were not accessible to the students. There is something else, however, of greater importance. During his entire stay at Erfurt, up to the time of his entrance into the monastery, Luther lived in the Bourse of St. George. In these hospices the reading of sections of Scripture during meal time was often the rule. So, for example, in 1452, it was the rule for the college of St. Dionysius, that was connected with the University of Heidelberg that, "Every day, at the beginning of every meal (*prandii et coenae*) a chapter from the Bible (*unum capitulum in biblia*) shall be read in a clear voice by one of the collegians, to which every one must give careful attention."[24] Can we suppose that such a rule was in force at the Bourse of St. George in Erfurt? While unfortunately the statutes of the Bourse have been lost we still possess those of the *Collegium maius* of 1427 and of 1508, those of the *Juristenschule,* and of the *Himmelspforte* of 1433.[25] According to these regulations the same rules existed in Erfurt as in the College of St. Dionysius in Heidelberg. Thus Luther heard one or two chapters from Scripture read every day, from 1501 to 1505, and probably often had to read them himself. Besides the selections from Scripture the proper explanation of the postil of Nicholas of Lyra was read aloud.[26] At first glance it seems to be possible to prove even from one of Luther's own declarations that he read the Bible during his course in the faculty of arts. In *Tischreden* 116 quoted above we find this statement: "With exceeding weariness I read physics, and my soul burned for the time when I should return to the Bible. I used the *glossa ordinaria*. I despised Lyra, although I saw afterwards that he was good in respect to history." Here, however, the passage *Legebam Physica* according to context and phraseology does not refer to the time when he being a student of the liberal arts course had to study physics, but when as a teacher he taught physics.[27]

In other ways the time that Luther spent in the arts course was not wholly without influence on his later attitude towards the Bible, even though it was a negative rather than a positive influence. In opposition to Aristotle, whom they largely followed in natural philosophy, ethics and politics, Luther's Erfurt teachers, as followers of Ockham, maintained the position that the only reliable source of truth is the supernatural revelation which is recorded in Holy Scripture, and not the natural reason, though they also emphasized very strongly the idea that only the church, and more particularly the pope, could interpret the Scriptures authoritatively. Furthermore, with Ockham, they held it as a certain fact that the ability of the human will was unlimited and that it needed grace only to a slight degree.[28] If the first proposition barred the way to the independent study of Scripture, the second took away the key to the heart of Scripture.

3. *Luther receives his own Bible*

On the 17th of July, 1505, Luther applied for admission to the "Black Cloister," that is the monastery of the Hermits of St. Augustine, and was tentatively assigned to the monastery hospice for the observation of the state of his soul. It is not our task to investigate the motives that led him to take this step. Only we must note two things in connection with it that have been becoming continually clearer. When the word "conversion" is used to describe the turning away from sin and the turning towards God it cannot be correctly applied to this step, for even as a student Luther had not turned away from God. From the monastic view point, where the life of the monk is looked upon as the only holy one, of course, it was regarded as a conversion. As a matter of fact it was only a deepening of his previous attitude towards God, in a way that was quite unexpected by his associates. The second fact is that the decision, though it became decisive as a result of his experience in the thunder storm at Stotternheim, was actually only the climax of a previous inner preparation.[29] Not only in the interval between his examination for the Master's degree (Jan. 7) and his entrance into the course of Jurisprudence (May 20), but also after the latter event he "went around in continual depression." If we would not view his life in the monastery, particularly its first year, in a false light, we must moreover remember that the Hermits of St. Augustine, though a "mendicant" order were by no means dependent on what was collected by its members. They had become wealthy and practiced begging only as a convenient character test for the novices. Connected with the custom was the fact that uneducated men were only received as monks of an inferior class, that is as *fratres* or lay brothers, who took care of the humbler duties of the monastic economy. On the other hand, the monks of the first class, the "fathers," who alone had the right of voting on questions of monastic business, were all educated men and clergymen, and unless they were occupied with particular studies or in teaching, or held some office in the monastery or order, they spent their time exclusively in chanting, praying and other ascetic exercises.[30]

In the early part of September Luther was received as a novice. In addition to several character tests, which later legends inflated beyond all reason,[31] he was trained to become a proper "religious" by weekly confession, and by the use of Scripture. We are only concerned with the latter. The reading of Scripture was to inflame the heart, awaken spiritual contemplation and bring about the quiet submerging of the soul into the reaches of eternity. Therefore the novice in the Erfurt cloister was expected to "eagerly read, devoutly hear and industriously learn" Holy Scripture. This was an old custom of the Augustinians as the ancient constitution of the order of 1287 shows. In 1504 Staupitz had taken over this rule into the statutes for the German congregations.[32] This rule was not limited to the reading of the Bible during meals, as was the case in many orders, and even among some of the Augustinians (above p. 86),[33] but fixed hours were established in which the individual had to use the Scriptures. Luther's own report in Veit Dietrich's copy of the Table Talk is in entire agreement with this fact: "There (in the monastery) the monks gave to him a Bible bound in red leather." Even after many years, this great hour when he was given a Bible for daily use, stood out so vividly in Luther's mind that he was able even to recall the color of the binding. At last the burning desire that had arisen in his soul when he first saw a complete Bible was satisfied. It happened in September 1505, immediately after his reception as a novice and shortly before he was 22 years old. The question as to how fully this precept for regular Bible reading was followed by the monks does not concern us, although here too it is necessary to guard against pessimistic judgments.[34] As far as Luther himself was concerned Veit Dietrich has probably reported correctly in this same statement when he continues: "He made himself so familiar with the Bible and he knew so thoroughly what was contained on each page that when a certain passage was adduced he knew at the first glance where it was in Scripture: If I should have retained it (the Scripture) I should be an exceedingly good *localis biblicus.*" In case the following words in Dietrich's account were spoken in this connection and do not on account of the "physics" apply to the time before his entrance into the cloister, they show with what love Luther, as a novice, applied himself to the study of Scripture, "with exceeding weariness I read physics, and my soul burned for the time when I should return to the Bible. I used the *glossa ordinaria.* I despised Lyra, though I saw afterwards that he was sound in regard to history. However I diligently read the Bible, one certain weighty statement occupied all the thoughts of a single day, and in the prophets the statements of weighty matters stuck (although I was not able to comprehend them), which I remember to this time, as in Ezekiel: I do not desire the death of a sinner." Yet, as stated above, this statement might refer to later years when he had to teach physics, not to the time before his entrance into the cloister nor the year of his novitiate.

We are not called on to discuss Luther's inner conflicts, which began during his novitiate and which were always hushed up by the able master of the novices, except to remark that his use of Scripture, at this time, did not bring him rest. It could not because he did not yet understand its real center. At the conclusion of the year of his novitiate, most likely in Sept. 1506, his solemn reception into the order took place. Immediately afterwards he was informed that he was to prepare himself for the priesthood. With this end in view he studied the comprehensive work of Gabriel Biel on the canon of the Mass. He studied it with a "bleeding heart," that is with deep inner sympathy. On the 19th of December he was ordained a subdeacon by the prior of his convent. On the 27th of February 1507 he was made a deacon by the suffragan bishop of Erfurt, John von Laasphe, who on April 4th consecrated him a priest in the cathedral at Erfurt. On May 2nd of the same year, in the presence of his father, he held his first Mass.[35] After its celebration the prior ordered him to study in the *studium generale* connected with the monastery. Here the teacher was Father John Nathin, a pupil and adherent of the famous Tuebingen Ockhamist Gabriel Biel. So during his theological studies Luther came under the influence of the same school of thought as when he was pursuing the arts course at the university. Nathin gave the chief lectures on the Sentences of Peter Lombard which were still the main topic of theological study throughout the west.

Now when, in connection with a statement of the Table Talk (summer, 1540) it has been asserted that with the beginning of his theological studies the Bible given him in the year of his novitiate was again withdrawn, we must reply that this does not follow, of necessity, from the statement, nor is it in agreement with the course of theological study as that can be established by documentary evidence.[36] This statement of the Table Talk can be understood to mean that after a longer period of undisturbed use of Scripture the time came when such uninterrupted use was only possible during hours that in a certain sense had to be stolen for this purpose, and the course of theological studies as it was actually carried on demands this interpretation. We have shown before (p. 55) from the statutes of the University of Paris, of Tuebingen,[37] Vienna and Erfurt that the study of theology began with cursory lectures on Scripture, was continued with the lectures on the Sentences of Peter Lombard and was concluded with extensive exegetical lectures. These final exegetical lectures sometimes failed to get anywhere. In Vienna the famous Thomas Ebendorfer von Hasselbach (d. 1464) lectured for 22 years on the first 16 chapters of Isaiah, and he was outdone by a Leipzig professor who about the turning point of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century needed 24 years for the first eight chapters of Jeremiah, so that it was jokingly said in Leipzig that whoever wanted to hear all of Jeremiah would have to attain the age of Methuselah.[38] Of far greater importance were the cursory lectures which Luther must have attended. According to university regulations they were held after the noon meal and only on church festivals before that time.[39] Under such circumstances it is evident that the Bible could not have been withdrawn from Luther, but it is also true that the lectures on the Sentences of Peter Lombard and the labor involved in the reading of the extensive works of Ockham, Ailly and Biel which were a part of the course, so completely claimed Luther's time that he seldom found leisure for the continuous, meditative reading of Scripture.

4. *Luther emphasizes the "Sola Scriptura"*

In the fall of 1508 Luther suddenly received the command to deliver the lectures on moral philosophy in the arts course of the University of Wittenberg, in the place of Father Wolfgang Ostermayr, which lectures had been assigned to the Augustinians. It is a matter of controversy as to whether the beginning of the closer association between Luther and Staupitz is to be assigned to this period or whether it only began during Luther's second residence in Wittenberg, or, to put it more exactly, during the year 1511, at which time the close relation between the two can be proven. Scheel, Wolf, Blanke[40] and others advocate the first view, Boehmer the second. In the same way the determination of the sort of assistance that Staupitz gave Luther depends on the question as to whether Staupitz was an adherent of the *via moderna*, or the *via antiqua*, a matter on which scholars again differ. We are only slightly concerned with the question since the great influence that Staupitz, according to Oergel, exercised on Luther's attitude towards Scripture, during this period is incapable of proof. Referring to Staupitz' admonition to Luther to become a good *Localis* and *Textualis*, Oergel asserts that Staupitz in this way taught Luther to interpret Scripture by Scripture and to place it above the divine tradition of the Church. In reality Staupitz said no more by this admonition than was already included in the regulations of the faculty and than was presupposed by the papal directions to the Parisians. According to these the *Baccalaurei Biblici* in the cursory lectures, that they gave during the first Semesters of the theological course, were to treat the text *solide*, that is without diffuse explanations or explicit theological dissertations, and were "to expound and to explain the most important glosses." This could only be done by one who was a good *localis,* that is one familiar with the sources of the single passages and also with their context. It was the intention of Staupitz that Luther should become such a *Biblicus.*[41] As early as March 1509 he was to be engaged in this way. For at the same time that he had been teaching in Wittenberg in the arts course, he was continuing the theological studies begun in Erfurt, and on March 9, 1509 he was advanced to the degree of *Baccalaureus Biblicus.* As such it was his duty, in addition to the major lectures in the arts course, to hold a second course of lectures on selections from the Bible or on biblical books, which were assigned to him by the theological faculty.[42] So beginning with 1509 we find Luther occupied with the exegesis of Scripture. At first this was hardly more than a discussion of the text in accordance with the *glossa ordinaria.* Compare the passage in *Tischreden* 116 quoted above.

With his further promotion, in the fall of 1509, to the grade of a *sententarius,* Luther's theological studies were completed. But before he could hold his introductory lecture on the Sentences of the Lombard, he was recalled from Wittenberg to Erfurt, probably to relieve Nathin in the work of lecturing. So, after overcoming all sorts of difficulties, he held the introductory lecture that had been planned for Wittenberg in Erfurt. Until Oct. 1510 he lectured three or four times weekly on the Sentences. Fortunately his own copy, in which he had made his marginal notes, has been preserved and the marginal notes are now to be found in printed form in the ninth volume of the Weimar edition. The controversy that has arisen about them as to whether or not their theology has advanced beyond that of scholasticism[43] does not concern us, aside from one point, namely, as to whether their attitude towards Scripture is still that of scholasticism. To answer the question it is necessary to recall the emphasis on Holy Scripture and its authority customary among the Ockhamists, to which we have previously referred (p. 87). This emphasis had not been lessened in any way by Biel in Tuebingen or Trutvetter in Erfurt and Wittenberg. In his letter of May 9th, 1518, to his teacher Trutvetter (W. *Briefe* I, 74) Luther acknowledges without qualification that he had first learned from him that faith was only to be grounded on the canonical books and that all others were to be subjected to criticism.[44] But to hold this view and to apply it practically are two different matters. Among the Ockhamists the application was missing (cf. note 28).

Had Luther in 1509 to 1510 already gone further than his teachers? Here are some of his statements made at that time. "But you, dear reader, whoever you may be, take this as the word of a simple man; no one has ever had the experience that the vapors of the earth have illuminated the heavens, but rather that they hold back the light from the earth. By that I want to say that theology is heaven or, to put it still better, the Kingdom of Heaven. Man is the earth and his speculations are the vapors, now understand the rest and see for what reason there are such great differences of opinion among the doctors. Note too that a swine has never been able to teach Minerva, even though it often imagines that it can."[45] All light must come from revelation, the human understanding is unable to understand supernatural matters, "For since no one has seen them, whatever is added to revelation is certainly nothing but human invention."[46] "Arguments based on reason determine nothing, but because the Holy Ghost says it is true, it is true."[47] In connection with a disputed question Luther affirms, "Though many famous doctors hold this opinion, yet they do not have Scripture on their side but only arguments of reason. But I have the words of Scripture on my side, in this opinion that the soul is the image of God, and so I say with the Apostle, 'Though an angel from heaven, that is a doctor of the Church, teaches otherwise, let him be anathema.' "[48] It is true that the principle of the sole deciding authority of Scripture is not yet directed against any dogma of the Church. Luther is still in all important questions in accord with the Church and we have to reckon with the possibility that in some serious difference he would have modestly retracted. But whoever notes the energy with which these statements are made and their frequent repetition within comparatively small limits gets the impression that, in spite of his youthfulness (Luther was then 27 years old), a man stands behind them who is not concerned about scholastic quibbles, but about the weightiest realities; a man with a firm will, who, if it becomes necessary, will use the Scripture against the dogmas of the Church as he now uses it against the opinions of certain teachers and schools.

One thing more must be noted concerning this period; Luther learned the elements of Hebrew and probably also of Greek. From his letter to Lang, of 1522, we learn that "once in Erfurt," "at the very beginning," that is soon after his arrival there, he had bought a Hebrew lexicon. This can only refer to Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*,[49] which appeared in 1506 and contained the lexicon in the first and second volumes and the grammar in the third. From the marginal notes we are able to see how Luther tried to apply the Hebrew he had acquired. His knowledge is still very rudimentary. His knowledge of Greek, in which he was first instructed by his friend Lang, was still less. But neither language as yet affected his attitude towards the Bible because for a number of years the Vulgate was still his authoritative text.

5. *Luther is intrusted with the "Lectura in Biblia" in Wittenberg*

In the year 1510 Luther's activity in Erfurt was interrupted by his journey to Rome, which occupied his time from November 1510 to March 1511. The occasion for that journey, its progress and the results affecting his order do not concern us any further,[50] nor the other question as to how far the attitude Luther assumed, on his return, towards Staupitz and his Erfurt monastery contributed towards his return to Wittenberg. However that may be we find Luther in the summer of 1511 transferred back to Wittenberg. Here it came about, in that same summer, that Staupitz, as he was sitting under the pear tree in the convent garden, called Luther to himself and said: "Sir, Master, you must become a doctor and preacher." And so it was settled, in spite of all of Luther's objections. Staupitz, as vicar general of the order could appoint him a preacher of the order without further ado, but only the university could advance him to the doctorate. There was no material obstacle in the way, only the cost of the promotion had to be secured beforehand. Almost a year passed before the necessary funds were provided by the Elector for Staupitz and the poor Wittenberg cloister. In the mean time the provincial assembly of the Augustinians, which met from May 2nd to 8th in Cologne, and which was attended by Luther in person, had named him as sub-prior in

Wittenberg, a position that made him the director of studies for the younger monks. In addition to his double duties as preacher and director of studies he was industriously studying Augustine, and probably Greek as well. Finally, in the fall of 1512, the Elector declared himself ready to provide the funds for the promotion but on the condition that, for the rest of his life, Luther should take over the *lectura in Biblia,* i. e., the lectures on the Bible, which it had been the duty of Staupitz to deliver but which, through the press of other business, he had hardly ever given.[51] From what has been stated above (p. 57) we know that these lectures were neither established for Luther's benefit, nor were they peculiar to the University of Wittenberg, but when Luther undertook to deliver them they did become something new in fact.

On the 19th of October the actual conferring of the degree took place. On the part of the recipient it consisted in the taking of the doctor's oath, on the part of the one conferring the degree the advancement of the candidate to the grade of a Master of Theology with the right "to lecture in theology, to teach, to expound, to occupy the Master's chair and to exercise all other master's privileges, publicly and privately, in Wittenberg and everywhere else, as if he had been promoted in Paris or elsewhere." In the doctor's oath Luther promised that "by the help of God and the holy Evangelists, he would show obedience and respect to the dean and masters of the faculty, that he would not again receive the Doctor's degree, that he would not teach vain or strange doctrines, that were condemned by the Church and were offensive to pious ears, that he would report anyone so teaching to the dean, within eight days, and that, according to his ability, he would defend the customs, liberties and privileges of the faculty.[52] Among the doctor's insignia that were handed him besides the baretta and doctor's ring, was a Bible that was first handed him closed and then opened. There was a symbolism in this action beyond anything dreamed of at the moment, for the new doctor was actually to transform the closed Bible into an open one. After the blessing had been imparted, Luther occupied the lecturer's desk and made his first address in praise of Holy Scripture as the source of truth and wisdom.[53] It is to be taken for granted that in this address Luther gave full expression to the understanding of Scripture that he had gained up to this time.

At all events, this marked the beginning of his work of lecturing on Holy Scripture, in which the instructor by writing and reading penetrated ever deeper into Scripture, and was continuously growing out of the traditional church teaching and into the true understanding of the Gospel. For while Luther's study of Augustine, and later of Tauler, was of great value to him, yet it was by Scripture and through Scripture alone that he developed into a free and joyful child of God, into a teacher of the way of righteousness for thousands, into becoming the reformer of the Church. True, this happened at the expense of that part of his doctor's oath that bound him to the teachings of the Church, but here too Luther had the courage to obey God rather than men, and the fact that his oath had been sworn on the Bible that was given him became to him the justification, the challenge and the vindication of his work, that was based alone on Scripture.

No one before him had been so industrious in delivering the lectures on the Bible, no one had penetrated so deeply into its meaning and never before had an influence so far reaching and so transforming in its effects gone forth from an exegetical lecturer. During the years 1513-1515 Luther lectured on the Psalms; from 1515-1516 on Romans; from 1516-1517 on Galatians and at the same time wrote a discussion of the Penitential Psalms in German, for popular use; from 1518-1521 he lectured again on the Psalms and reworked his lectures on Galatians, of 1516-1517, into an extensive commentary. Nowhere can his progress in the understanding of Scripture and its truths, in the development of sound exegetical rules, in the personal experience of Scripture and its appropriation in heart and life be so clearly followed as in these exegetical lectures. Only on the basis of these studies did he become the man who in 1522 could venture to undertake the translation of the Bible, and finally bring it to such an admirable conclusion. Unfortunately these exegetical works of Luther are not yet accessible in an English translation. In fact the original of the lectures on Romans has only been available since 1908, that of Galatians since 1918 and that of Hebrews since 1929.[54] For this reason we have given specimens of them in the second part of this book.

Just for the sake of completeness we shall indicate the exegetical lectures that Luther delivered after 1522: the Minor Prophets, 1524-1526; Ecclesiastes, 1526; I John, 1527; Titus and Philemon, 1527; I Timothy, 1528; Isaiah, 1528-1530; Song of Solomon, 1530-1531; Galatians, 1531; Psalms, 1532-1535; Genesis, 1535-1545. If the lectures delivered before 1522 are the basis for his translation of the Bible so we will find that those delivered after that time are likewise not without connection with that translation.

6. *Luther's eyes are opened to the heart of Scripture*

Several days after his advancement to the doctor's degree Luther was received into the theological senate of the university as the successor of Staupitz. Whether he commenced his exegetical lectures with the beginning of the new semester, Nov. 3rd, is doubtful.[55] We do know, however, that in the spring of 1513 he was preparing himself for lectures on the Psalms. There have been all sorts of guesses as to why he selected the Psalms, but there is no certain information on the subject.[56] In preparing himself for his lectures Luther principally used a work that had appeared in 1509, the *Psalterium Quincuplex* of the French humanist Lefèvre d' Étables (Jacob Faber Stapulensis), which gave the psalter in five sections: 1. According to the first revision of Jerome, the so-called *Psalterium Romanum.* 2. According to the second revision of Jerome, the so-called *Psalterium Gallicanum.* 3. According to the translation of Jerome from the Hebrew (It is this Luther has in mind when he speaks of the *Hebraeus*). 4. According to the old text, preceding Jerome. 5. According to the author's own corrections, with an exegetical commentary.[57] The State Library in Dresden has the very copy that Luther used and in which he wrote many comments. For the benefit of his hearers he had the printer of the university, Magister Johann Deckerer of Gruenberg, called Gruenenberg, prepare a reprint of the Lyons edition of the Vulgate, of 1509, with wide spaces between the lines and broad margins. As a result the text filled 99 quarto pages. A preface about the method of his exposition and a brief summary of the contents of each Psalm was added by Luther. Two things he hoped to accomplish by this arrangement; the hearers should always have the text before their eyes, while the wide spacing and broad margins should provide place for notes on the main portions of the explanation as given in the lectures. Luther himself in his preparation for the lectures used such a copy and entered what he wanted to dictate to his pupils between the lines and on the margins. In this way the glosses, which naturally had to be very much condensed, were kept within the limits of the space available in the copies of his hearers. His own copy has been preserved. It is the so-called *Wolfenbuetteler Psalter*, which contains only the Latin text and the glosses written by Luther's own hand. In a special note book Luther wrote detailed expositions of the single Psalms, the so-called *scholia* which by their frequent addresses to the hearers show that they were intended for oral delivery. Luther's own copy of these *scholia* has also been preserved and from its present location is known as the *Dresden Psalter*.[58] On the 8th of July Luther received the first copy of the Vulgate psalter from the printer. On the 13th the "Dogdays" vacation began and this lasted till the 15th of August. So on the 16th of August, 1513, at 6 A. M., in the lecture hall of the "Black Cloister," Luther distributed the texts to the students, who were for the most part, or perhaps altogether, monks, and began his first lecture.[59] The five weeks between July 8th and August 16th he spent in planning the glosses to the first thirty Psalms and in writing them into his text of the psalter. So from the beginning he was about 30 Psalms ahead of the lectures, with the glosses and scholia.[60]

When Luther was advanced to the doctorate and began his lectures on the Psalms, according to his own recollection, he still occupied the Roman position.[61] It is only necessary to read the glosses and scholia to the

10th Psalm or even to the 9th, to find this confirmed. Of one thing, however, he was certain even then, that Scripture was the Word of God and the only final authority. By it alone was he helped in his temptations. And, in fact, the lectures on the Psalms were the very means God used to disclose the Gospel to him and to bring him to peace. He studied the Psalms with all the sympathy that his sensitive and eager heart possessed. By preference he interpreted the single psalm words as words of Christ, just as others before him had done. So he says in the marginal gloss to Psalm 6: "Since there is no confession of sins in this Psalm, but only punishments are spoken of, these were originally (*principaliter*) words of Christ, who, though He knew no sin yet endured much suffering." And then he applies each of the petitions of this prayer of lamentation to the passion of Christ and explains them from this point of view (W. Ed. III, 68, 28 seq.). But he did not, as a result, forget the application to himself and to his hearers. So in the same gloss to this Psalm he wrote the following: "And if you would experience and taste the agitation of soul in this Psalm and understand its meaning then picture before your eyes your Lord and Savior as He bows His knees before the Father in heartfelt love and devotion, how laden with your sins and those of the whole world He weeps so bitterly on their account — you are the one for whom the Mediator prays so fervently! What is your answer? That you also weep and pray with Him who prays for you and your misery." Just through such applications of the words of the Psalms and by such inner experience the lectures on the Psalms became a most significant foreward step in Luther's inner development, yes, they brought about the turning point at which something totally new dawned on him and led to his breaking with the old order.

No wonder then that spiritual temptations again assailed him as a result of these lectures. It was the old fear concerning his election that took hold of him and the fear of the righteous God who punishes sin. Recalling this, Luther wrote in 1518 in his *Resolutiones disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute*: "I too know a man who is sure that he has often suffered these torments. They lasted for only a short time but they were so great and hellish that no tongue can utter them, no pen describe them and no one who has not experienced them could believe them. And when they reach their climax, if they should continue for half an hour, yea, for the tenth part of an hour, the one who endures them would be utterly destroyed and his bones would become ashes. Then God appears fearfully angry and with Him the whole creation. Then he knows no refuge, there is no consolation within or without, but everything combines in accusation. Then such a one exclaims, with many tears, I am cast away from Thine eyes. He does not even venture to say: Lord, smite me not in Thy wrath, neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure. In such moments the soul is utterly unable to believe that it can be saved; it only thinks that the pains of hell are not yet complete. But these torments are eternal and cannot be felt in time. Nothing remains but an infinite longing for help and a violent groaning, without any knowledge as to where help shall be found. Here the soul is extended like Christ, so that it is possible to tell all her bones, and there is no crevice in her that is not filled with the bitterest bitterness, with terror, mourning, trembling, in such wise that it is eternal."[62] It was well that Staupitz at such times pointed him to the wounds of Jesus in which man could read the revelation of God's gracious will.[63] Luther never forgot this comfort and in his overflowing gratitude even referred to Staupitz as the one who had begun the Reformation.[64] But he did not find an enduring peace in this way. Principally because he could not hold fast to the idea that the Cross is a revelation of divine love. In its place always came the other thought that it was nothing but the revelation of the unchanging severity and wrath of God against sin. It was the avenging righteousness of God that looked down on Him, angry and condemning. Just this idea of the "righteousness of God," which occurs so often in the Psalms and plays so large a part in the Epistle to the Romans, prevented him from gaining peace. This was ever in his mind.[65] It frightened him when he read it or sang it in the Psalms.[66] It was a "thunder clap in his heart" on account of which he was "utterly opposed to Paul" and hated all the Psalms in which it was mentioned.[67] And yet he knew, and, in his struggles to understand the phrase, realized still more fully that it was the key to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, yea, to all Scripture. He was particularly troubled by the statement in Romans 1:17 that the righteousness of God was revealed in the *Gospel.* If not only the Old Testament but also the New, if not only the Law but even the Gospel revealed nothing except that avenging righteousness, the "active" in distinction from the "passive" righteousness,[68] then scholasticism was right in its claim that the New Testament was nothing except a new law (above p. 73), but where then was salvation to be expected?[69]

At last it pleased God in His mercy to shove back the bolt and open the door of Luther's prison. "Meditating day and night" on the connection of the words in

Romans 1:17, and paying special attention to the second part of the verse, the quotation from Habakkuk 2:4, he began to understand this righteousness as that by which the righteous lives through the gift of God, namely through faith. Now he recognized that the mercy and the justice of God are not mutually exclusive but that they are rather identical; that the righteousness of God consists in His declaring the sinner righteous through grace. Then the word "righteousness" that he had before "hated" became the sweetest Gospel. An entirely new vision of God rose up before him of One whom he could no longer hate as at times he had before actually hated the God who is only avenging righteousness.[70] He could believe in the God of this new righteousness, he could love Him and thankfully adore Him. Instead of simply commanding and punishing, He himself worked salvation and righteousness, giving it to him who believes, and whose faith was itself the gift of His grace. No wonder that Luther through this knowledge became as one new born. He saw himself released from purgatory and the gates of paradise opened before him.

In his latter years (1545) Luther describes the dawn of the new knowledge that God had given him, and through which a new beginning was made in the history of the Church and of the world, in this way: "Meanwhile in that year (1519) I had again turned to the explanation of the psalter, confident that through the academic treatment of the letters of St. Paul to the Romans and Galatians, and the letter to the Hebrews I had attained better training. I was possessed (that is before the treatment of the Epistle to the Romans and so before 1515) with an unbelievable great desire to know the writer of the Epistle to the Romans. Not as though I was lacking in a bold determination to engage in thorough investigation, but I was startled only by the statement concerning the 'righteousness of God that was revealed in the Gospel.' For this idea of the righteousness of God was actually hateful to me because I was accustomed to understand it as the 'formal or active righteousness,' by which God shows Himself righteous in punishing the unrighteous sinner. Though as a monk I had lived an irreproachable life, I felt myself in the sight of God as a sinner pursued by the pangs of conscience, and, as I could not depend on my satisfactions for my own reconciliation, I did not love Him but actually hated that righteous, sin-avenging, God, and if not with silent blasphemy, with a great murmuring. I was indignant with God, saying, is it not enough that the wretched sinners, who have already been delivered to the pangs of eternal damnation through the curse of original sin, have been visited with all kinds of earthly punishments, according to the Law of the Old Covenant? Why is God adding torment to torment through the new Gospel, as through the tidings of the New Covenant He only announces to us his wrathful and avenging righteousness. So I tormented myself in the severity and confusion of my conscience, but, at the same time, I brooded continually on that statement of the apostle whose meaning I ardently desired to solve, till finally, after long reflection by night and day, God took pity on me, so that I perceived the inner connection of the two statements, 'the righteousness of God is revealed in the Gospel,' and 'the just shall live by his faith.' Then I began to comprehend the righteousness of God, by whose power the righteous is saved through the grace of God, namely through faith; that the righteousness of God which is revealed through the Gospel is to be understood in the passive sense, that God in His mercy justifies us through faith, as it is written: 'The just shall live by faith.' Now I felt as though I had been born anew and believed that through wide open doors I had entered Paradise. Then in my mind I reviewed Holy Scripture, as my memory had retained it, and discovered in other connections a corresponding meaning. So the 'work of God' is that which God works in us, the 'wisdom of God' is that by which He makes us wise, and, in the same way, the 'power of God,' the 'salvation of God,' the 'glory of God' are to be understood.

"The more intensely I had before hated the expression concerning the righteousness of God, so much the more lovingly I now had to embrace this gracious conception and thus this expression of the Apostle actually unlocked the gates of heaven for me. Afterwards I read the treatise of Augustine 'Concerning the Spirit and the Letter,' where, contrary to my expectations, I found that he also had understood the righteousness of God as that which God imparts to us, when He justifies us. And although it was not yet fully thought through and this act of impartation was not clearly explained in all its details, I was nevertheless satisfied that here the righteousness of God was explained as that by which we were declared righteous.

"Better equipped by this train of thought, I began the Psalms a second time, and an extensive commentary would have come out of this work, if I had not been faced with a fresh interruption in the following year through the summons of the Emperor Charles V to the Reichstag held in Worms."[71]

That the understanding of the righteousness of God that had been given him brought with it a new phase in his theological ideas, and in his relation to God, Luther had stated very emphatically long before 1545, for example, in the scholia to Gal. 2:16 in his lectures on Galatians of 1516-1517, when he speaks of "the wonderful new definition of righteousness,"[72] and again in his commentary on Galatians of 1519.[73] For this reason he also praised St. Paul, through whose statement in Romans 1:17, he had come to this new understanding, as the most profound of all theologians, for Luther felt indebted to none of his contemporaries, nor to any of the doctors or fathers, but only to St. Paul, for his new understanding of God and his consequent peace of soul.[74] It was also through St. Paul that he found the answer to the question as to how God can be and remain holy, and morally perfect, and yet regard the sinner as righteous. In quite a different way than Staupitz, Paul directed him to the wounds of Christ, to the crucified Christ, who brought a satisfaction to the avenging righteousness of God, and so made it morally possible for God no longer to impute the sinner's unrighteousness to him. The Cross remains what Luther had before regarded it, the unsparing revelation of the consuming judgment of God on all sinners, but just in this judgment on the Son of God, who had taken sin on Himself, there is revealed the saving righteousness which only allows the judgment to fall on Christ so that the requirements of the avenging justice might be fulfilled by Him, and that by His voluntarily shed blood the sins of mankind might be covered. For the sake of Christ crucified God can pardon the sinner. Vogelsang made a valuable contribution to the understanding of the situation when he emphasized the fact that as early as 1513 to 1515 there was a close connection in Luther's mind between the justification of the sinner and the work of Christ.[75]

Luther even mentions the place where this new understanding was given him. It was the tower of the

Black Cloister in Wittenberg, or, more exactly, in Luther's study in the garden tower.[76] This is the reason the experience is known as the *Turmerlebnis* (tower experience). But if it took place in this tower it cannot possibly have taken place in Erfurt but must have occurred in Wittenberg, not during his first stay but during the second, and again not at any time between 1511 and 1513 but during the lectures on the Psalms. Boehmer was quite correct in his observation that Luther three times associates his new discovery with the lectures on the Psalms and particularly with the crushing impression that was made on him by the second verse of Psalm 31: "deliver me in thy righteousness." Now as Vogelsang has pointed out this expression also occurs in Psalm 71:2. It all depends on which of the two places in the lectures on the Psalms shows the stronger reflection of the tower experience. Boehmer thinks he has discovered such an indication, not in the explanation of Psalm 31 itself,[77] but in the summary of Psalm 32. According to this summary Psalm 32 treats of the right way of confessing, showing that sins are not forgiven on account of works but through the pure mercy of God, who does not impute them (W. Ed. 3, 171, 26). Since the summaries were intended for printing and as Luther's manuscript must have been in the printer Gruenberg's hands at least seven or eight weeks before the 8th of July, 1513, the date when the printed copy was delivered, Boehmer believes he can fix the time of the new understanding in the month of April or May, 1513, consequently in the time when the summaries for Psalms 31 and 32 were being prepared for the printer, or, more exactly, in the time when he was engaged in the studies necessary for their preparation. At that time he could not get the phrase, "deliver me in thy righteousness," out of his mind and before he wrote the summary to Psalm 32 he saw the light. But if we accept this view the strange fact remains that the glosses that Luther later wrote into the printed copy (consequently after July 8) display little evidence of this new knowledge while many of them rather show its absence, which is also true of the later scholia. Further the wording of the summary to Psalm 32 hardly presupposes an experience such as took place in the tower, and the exposition of Psalm 32, in particular, shows all too little of the joy of discovery which we would expect after such a happening. The thought of the wrath of God is much more in the foreground, as can be clearly seen in the translation of the scholia which we give in Part II. Out of the beatitudes spoken over those to whom the Lord does not impute their sin, Luther hears only the antithesis — there is therefore none without sin. Every one is full of unrighteousness, everyone is a child of wrath, everyone needs to have his iniquity pardoned. But this only comes through Christ. Consequently no one is redeemed by himself, but solely and alone by Christ. "This is also the meaning of the entire Epistle to the Romans, where Paul says: 'The wrath of God is revealed in the Gospel' and also, 'The righteousness of God is revealed in the Gospel.' The meaning is that no man knew that the wrath of God is upon all men and that we are all sinners in His sight, but that He revealed this to us by the Gospel, and also showed how we are saved from this wrath and by what righteousness we are liberated, namely through Christ."[78] We are looking at Luther's struggle but the victory does not yet seem to have been won. On Psalm 50 we read: "Proclaiming the righteousness of God means proclaiming that God is the judge and that none of the righteousness that man can attain suffices before Him, but that he needs the righteousness of God before he is righteous in God's sight."[79] On Psalm 51, he places in tabular form the two statements "self-judgment is equal to a justification of God" and "self-justification is equal to a judgment on God" (W. Ed. 3, 292). "Whosoever justifies himself condemns God, and whosoever condemns himself justifies God for he says about himself just exactly what God says about him, and so he is already in agreement with God, and as true and righteous as God, with whom he agrees, because they both say the same thing." It is in the scholia to Psalm 71 that the veil is first rent. There Luther comments on the words of the second verse ("deliver me in thy righteousness"): "We are delivered from unrighteousness by righteousness just as we are delivered from sickness by health and from ignorance by knowledge."[80] And to verse 15 and the following ("my mouth shall show forth thy righteousness"): "In this verse the true difference between divine and human righteousness is described in that through the former we attain to the highest, but through the latter to the lowest, because everyone that exalts himself shall be abased. And the entire divine righteousness, on the other hand, consists in abasing ourselves to the depths, for thus we attain to the highest. And that exactly describes Christ, for He is the righteousness of God in the deepest abasement."[81] The dawning of the knowledge is here. That is clearly evident in the lecture on Psalm 72. There he discusses in detail the linguistic usage of the judgment (*judicium*) of God, and of the righteousness of God, and writes: "The expression 'the judgment of God' is to be taken figuratively (tropologically) and it is very often used in this way in Scripture. It is that by which God condemns and turns into a curse all that we have of ourselves, the entire old man with his deeds and even our own righteousness (Is. 64). It is, properly speaking, as much as humility (*humilitas*), or better, as much as humiliation (*humiliatio*). Not the one who regards himself as humble is righteous but the one who, in his own eyes, is deserving of abhorrence and damnation. . . . That is called the judgment of God, just as that is the righteousness and power and wisdom of God by which we are made wise and courageous and righteous. In this same way the righteousness of God, figuratively understood, is faith in Christ. Rom. 1: For the righteousness of God is revealed etc. And this is the most frequent usage in Scripture." To this he adds the corollary: "Oh how exceedingly sweet are these words of the Psalm" (W. Ed. 465 seq.).[82] And again at another place: "Whosoever would rightly understand the Apostle and other portions of Scripture must understand the following figuratively: truth, wisdom, power, salvation, *righteousness*. They describe that by which God makes us courageous, saved, *righteous*, wise."[83] Vogelsang is right when he says: "So we come to the conclusion that in the scholia to Psalms 71 and 72, we have the earliest evidence from Luther's own hand of his understanding of the *iustitia Dei*, in the form in which he later so frequently described the great dawn of the teaching of justification" (*Anfänge d. Christologie*, p. 59). Probably it is not even saying too much when Vogelsang adds: "I like to regard these pages of the Dresden Psalter as an immediate precipitate of the much discussed discovery concerning Romans 1:17." At all events we have here "the most trustworthy theological expression which, in point of time, stands closest among Luther's unmistakable references, to the event itself." But these lectures on Psalms 71 and 72 belong to some time in the fall of 1514. At this time the great transition in Luther's religious thinking began, at this time the Reformation was born in the tower of the Black Cloister.[84]

That this fundamental conception of Luther's was maintained thereafter is shown by the lectures in Romans, Galatians and Hebrews, by his letter to Spenlein, of April 18, 1516, and by many statements in sermons of this period. To follow them in detail here would mean passing beyond the bounds of our present investigation. We have shown what we wanted to make clear, that it was in the course of his use of the Bible that the new, evangelical, Pauline, understanding of Christianity dawned on Luther and that this new understanding, which the Spirit of God had given him through the study of the Bible, became for him, in turn, the key with which he further opened for himself, his hearers and his readers the fuller understanding of the Bible that till then had been closed. If God had not bestowed this key he would never have become the translator of the Bible, as we know him after 1522.

7. *Luther recognizes the fact that final authority belongs only to the original text*

We have already (p. 96) called attention to the fact that while he was in Erfurt Luther had begun the study of Hebrew with the assistance of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta,* soon after that book had appeared in 1506, and that in the marginal notes, of 1510-1511, on the Sentences of the Lombard we have the first proofs of these studies.[85] Whether during his stay in Rome he was further instructed by a Jewish physician in Hebrew is, to say the least, doubtful.[86] That he continued studying Hebrew, however, is evident from the entries he made from time to time in his copy of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*,[87] as well as by the references to the *Rudimenta* that he wrote in his copy of the Vulgate.[88] In his lectures on the Psalms it is evident that, at that time, this language was no longer an unfamiliar terrain, for here he not only cites the *Hebraeus* frequently but makes many correct grammatical comments and occasionally betrays a fine grasp of the peculiarities of the language.[89] Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* contains both a grammar and a lexicon. Besides this lexicon the *Interpretationes nominum hebraicorum,* which was included in many previous editions of the Bible, was of use to him.[90] But we must not overlook the fact that Luther had not yet had access to the original Hebrew text, and that the *Hebraeus* is nothing more than the *Psalterium hebraicum* in Faber's *Quincuplex Psalterium,* which is only Jerome's Latin translation of the psalter from the Hebrew, and that occasionally there is the translation of a Hebrew word that he had found in his commentaries (Lyra and Faber) or in Reuchlin's lexicon. He only had the penitential Psalms before him in Hebrew, in an edition that included a literal Latin translation and a grammatical explanation. This was the *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* of Reuchlin.[91] Luther had secured a copy as soon as it appeared in 1512 and in the summer of 1513 referred to it in the scholia to Psalm Four. So he left nothing undone to secure the latest aids for use in his lectures. Unfortunately during the first decade of its existence the University of Wittenberg had no teacher of Hebrew. It was only in 1518, during his stay in Augsburg, that Luther secured the former Ingolstadt docent, Johann Boeschenstein, for this professorship. However he only remained a short time and Melanchthon was compelled to fill the gap. In the spring of 1520 Matthew Adrian from Louvain undertook the work but he too left very soon. Then Luther, before his departure for Worms, nominated Matthew Aurogallus, who was both a talented teacher and a man of sterling character. In him Wittenberg gained the first evangelical teacher of Hebrew who was congenial to his surroundings and faithful to the University.[92] Before 1518 Luther had to depend entirely on his private studies for which the great press of other business allowed him but little time.

The *Hebraeus* of Jerome, Reuchlin's edition of the Penitential Psalms and probably the Latin version of the Psalms by the Augustinian, Felix Pratensis,[93] formed the basis of his popular exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms, which he issued in April 1517 (Cfr. Part II). Here it is evident that Luther had progressed to a more independent use of Hebrew. When he sent the manuscript of his translation and exposition to his friend Lang in Erfurt, for examination, he probably did so that Lang might critically compare the German translation with the Hebrew original.[94] In these *Sieben Busspsalmen* we have Luther's first attempt to translate the Bible text and so make it accessible to the people. He frequently emphasizes the fact that it was just the common people and not the learned that he had in mind. He wrote expressly to Scheurl in Nuernberg, on the 6th of May, 1517, that the book was written "not for highly cultivated Nuernbergers but for rough Saxons for whom the Christian teaching cannot be repeated too often with a profusion of words."[95] In spite of this high and low, learned and unlearned, alike snatched up the book so rapidly that the first folios had to be set up a second time before the last one had left the press, and a number of other editions followed. It is of importance to us in this connection because it is Luther's first attempt to turn the Bible into German for his people, as well as the first German book, or for that matter the first book of any sort that he published, and because it is not based solely on the Vulgate. The liberation from the authority of the Vulgate text had already begun in the lectures on the Psalms. In them he still has much to say in praise of *nostra translatio*, that is the Vulgate, but as early as in the exposition of Psalm 7:5 (W. Ed. III, 74, 31) the text of the *Hebraeus* seems to him to be "better," and from Psalm 119 on, as Meissinger has shown (p. 61), an increased regard for the *Hebraeus* is evident. But in the Seven Penitential Psalms it becomes much more apparent that the Vulgate is no longer determinative for Luther. The fact is so important to him that in the short preface he stresses it. "It is to be noticed that in several verses, for the sake of greater clearness, besides the common translation (the Vulgate), the text has been taken from the translation of St. Jerome (the *Hebraeus*), and also from the translation of Dr. Johannes Reuchlin as it is found in his Hebrew *Septene*." If Luther does not expressly mention the original text, which was before him in Reuchlin's edition, it was because of his modesty. As Luther, after his tower experience, had commenced unlocking the long-closed Bible in his lectures before an audience of monks and a growing number of outsiders, so he performed the same service for the common people in his "Seven Penitential Psalms." Here, for the first time, they again read the Pauline Gospel. The frankness with which Luther speaks in the preface of the possibly unfavorable judgment of many readers on the new exposition, that some would perhaps feel as contrary to Scripture, as they knew it, gives an intimation that here a spirit exists that knows what it wants and one that it will not be so easy to dampen.[96]

In the year 1516 there appeared the first Hebrew psalter published in Germany. Johann Lang of Erfurt presented a copy to his friend Luther who industriously used it, after the time of the publication of the "Seven Penitential Psalms."[97] When, at the end of 1518 or the beginning of 1519, he commenced a second course of lectures on the psalter (he was able to send *Operationes* — studies — on Psalms 1 to 5 to the Elector on the 27th of March, 1519)[98] he had gained a thorough mastery of the Hebrew language and he based his lectures on the Hebrew as the determinative text. In connection with the Leipzig disputation, which took place in the same year, Mosellanus, the teacher of classic literature at the University of Leipzig, stated it as his opinion concerning Luther's knowledge of the original biblical languages that, "Greek and Hebrew he knows so well that he is able to pass judgment concerning the various interpretations."[99] What he still lacked in his knowledge of Hebrew he energetically set himself out to learn, when, snatched away from the excessive labors that had been loaded on him, he at last found some leisure time on the Wartburg. Ten days after his arrival he writes: "I read the Greek and Hebrew Bible" and a few weeks later: "I am learning Greek and Hebrew."[100] He carried on this study with such energy that he did not even cease from it during his journeys. So the two Swiss students who met him at the Black Bear in Jena, when he was on his way to Wittenberg, noticed a book, lying beside him on the table, in which he had been reading. It was a Hebrew psalter.[101]

We have also heard of Luther's beginnings in Greek and know that he took up the study of this language later than that of Hebrew. Perhaps this was because at the time a Greek companion to Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* was still lacking, for Melanchthon's Greek grammar first appeared in 1518, and perhaps it was because Luther first engaged in lecturing on Old Testament portions of Scripture. In the university itself the cultivation of Greek fared better than the Hebrew.[102] Nicholas Marschalk, who as professor of Greek in Erfurt, in 1499 issued the first book that was printed in Germany with Greek type, and who had been called to Wittenberg at the time of the founding of the university, did much to enthuse even the theologians for the study of Greek. After 1511 we find Johann Lang, who was a thorough Greek scholar, matriculated in Wittenberg, where he was promoted to the Master's degree and lectured on Greek till 1516. In 1518 Melanchthon, the greatest Greek scholar of the century came to Wittenberg. The close association between Luther and Lang had been favorable to Luther's progress in Greek and almost immediately on Melanchthon's arrival at Wittenberg Luther wrote: "Greek lectures have been begun and we are all studying Greek so that we can understand the Bible." Melanchthon lectured on Homer, and Luther "bought a copy of the book so as to become a Grecian." His enthusiasm was so great that the teacher held him up to the students "as an example."[103] That Luther used his spare time at the Wartburg for the further study of this language we have already seen.

Even in his lectures on the Psalms Luther took into account the Greek text of the Septuagint, in addition to the Vulgate, and the Hebrew aids that have been mentioned. Meissinger enumerates 27 passages where this was done.[104] But here too it was not the original Greek text itself that he consulted. Since, according to the best of our present knowledge, there were only three Italian editions of the Greek psalter in existence[105] this is not surprising. In place of the original Greek Faber's *Psalterium Quincuplex* and Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* were the sources he used. This situation was altered during the course of his masterly lectures on Romans that were delivered in 1515 to 1516.[106] In the exposition of the first eight chapters Luther was satisfied with secondary sources, especially with Faber's edition of the Epistles of St. Paul, which had been at hand since 1512.[107] Here Faber's own translation, which was based on the original Greek, was printed beside the Vulgate, and the added *Examinationes,* in sound humanistic style, were always based on the Greek.

Then, in Feb. 1516, there appeared from Froben's in Basel, with Erasmus as its editor, the first printed edition of the Greek Testament, which carried the title: *Novum instrumentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Roterdamo recognitum et emendatum. – – una cum annotationibus.* Besides the Greek text it contained an independent Latin translation, that differed on many points from the Vulgate, and short annotations in which the deviations from the accustomed phraseology were justified, certain difficult passages were explained, and on occasion apostolic conditions and admonitions were compared with the existing situations, with the result that the arrogance and ignorance of the theologians and monks were exposed. In the accompanying dissertations, *Paraclesis ad lectorem, Methodus* and *Apologia,* Erasmus wrote exhortations urging men to study Scripture and pointed out how, in contrast to the scholastic method, this could be done profitably.[108] In August a copy of Erasmus' edition of the New Testament was in Luther's hands and at once, from the ninth chapter on, he began to use it in his lectures. We see once more how Luther, with true scientific zeal, grasped at each new scientific help, as soon as it appeared. The first trace of its use we find in Ficker I, 84, 22, where he remarks on Romans 9:8 concerning the expression *in semine, "Melius 'in semen' quam 'in semine,'* εἰς σπέϱμα." If previously, on the basis of his secondary sources, he had often referred back to the Greek, it now became as a matter of course, the basis of his further work, and we already find many independent explanations of Greek words.[109] The same holds true of the lectures on Galatians, of 1517-1518, whose text was first published by H. von Schubert in 1918, and those on Hebrews from the years 1517-1518, which were just recently, in 1929, made available in two editions, one by E. Hirsch and H. Rueckert, the other by J. Ficker, and in the following year in two German translations, one by Vogelsang, the other by Helbig.[110]

From what has just been said Luther's attitude towards the Vulgate text of the New Testament becomes quite evident. Here it was made easier for him to reach a valuation of the original text above that of the Vulgate, because others had preceded him in this direction. Not only Laurentius Valla (d. 1457), that frivolous but gifted and critical spirit, had disclosed the lack of agreement between the Vulgate and the Greek original in his *Annotationes,*[111] which Erasmus published in 1505, but also Faber, in his *Epistolae Pauli,* that were continuously used by Luther, had sharply criticised the Vulgate. And, last of all, Erasmus, on the basis of the Greek text, had shown the incorrectness of many of the translations in the Vulgate. In the discussion of Romans 11:20 Luther expressed his amazement at the striking inconsistencies (*mira inconstantia*) with which the Vulgate reproduced the verb φρονεῖν (2:260). In the discussion of Romans 4:7 he refers back to Psalm 32 and expresses his displeasure at the failure of the Vulgate to maintain the distinction between "the unrighteous" and "the sinner": "This distinction is maintained most consistently in the Hebrew, but in our translation everything signifies anything and everything is mingled together."[112] On the other hand Luther does not become slavishly dependent on Faber or Erasmus. While he has words of praise for the latter,[113] he does not surrender himself to him.[114] In connection with his own edition of Luther's lectures on Galatians, H. von Schubert writes (p. XIII): "It is surprising how clearly the purely grammatical-exegetical tendency of Luther is here apparent in its earliest form, and likewise in the scholia where the influence of Erasmus is far less apparent than in the glosses." For him the original text of Scripture is determinative, and nothing else.

It was this original text that he had in mind when, from 1518 on, he asserted ever more emphatically the sole authority of Scripture, and thus began to carry out practically what he had first propounded as a theory while he was sententarius in Erfurt (above p. 95). It is true that in his *Resolutiones* of 1518 he admits the teachings of the Fathers who are recognized by the Church and the canons and decrees of the popes as secondary sources of his teaching, but this is the last statement of this sort. In the fall of 1518, in his *Acta Augustana,* he is contending for nothing but the "genuine understanding of the Scripture" (W. Ed. 2, 18, 18), in his *Appellatio ad Concilium* of the same year he expressed the opinion that "the majesty of Holy Scripture" stands above the pope[115] and in *Eine Freiheit des Sermons, päpstlichen Ablass und Gnade belangend,* of the same year, he explains: "Even if – – – all the holy teachers held this or that, they amount to nothing as compared with one single statement of Holy Scripture."[116] And at the beginning of the year 1519 he supported his view of the equality of all the apostles "on the word of the Gospel."[117] On March 5th he wrote to Spalatin: "If the Roman decrees leave me the genuine Gospel and take away all else, I will not turn a hair."[118] The disputation with Eck finally brought him completely into the clear as to his own position regarding the authority of Scripture. When Luther here rejected the infallibility of a general council, he declared the authority of Holy Scripture to be greater than the whole power of comprehension of the entire human race, as he identified Holy Scripture with the Word of God. Thus it was credited with sole authority in matters of faith.[119] In the last disputation the last sentence was a confession of this fact. Its authority he saw established in its freedom from error.[120] In his commentary on the Psalms of the year 1519 he wrote: "What is the pope? What is the world? What is the prince of the world? that on account of them I should deny the truth of the Gospel for which Christ died? Let him be strong who is strong; let him perish who perishes; by the help of God, I will always think thus."[121] In the book *Vom Papsttum zu Rom*, of 1520, Luther declares: "Everything that the pope decrees, establishes and does I will accept after I have first judged it according to Holy Scripture. For me it shall be subject to Christ and be judged by Holy Scripture" (W. Ed. 6, 322, seq.).[122] The following year Luther made his statement at the Reichstag at Worms, where, on the 18th of April, 1521, he proclaimed the formal principle of the Reformation before Emperor and empire: "Unless I am convinced by Scripture proof or evident reason (for I believe neither popes nor councils alone, since they have often erred and contradicted themselves) I am persuaded by the texts of Scripture that I have cited, and my conscience is bound by the Word of God." This declaration he repeated in his letter of April 28th, to the Emperor Charles V and in that of the same date addressed to the electors, princes and estates of the empire.[123]

8. *Luther repudiates the theory of the manifold sense of Holy Scripture*

Since the time of Hippolytus and Origen it had been customary in the Church to speak of a double meaning of Scripture; the literal meaning and the figurative meaning, though many names were given to the latter and it was variously subdivided. This principle of exegesis was adopted by the middle ages as a matter taken for granted. Thomas Aquinas supplied a theoretical basis and others followed him in practice. In actual use the figurative sense was further divided till finally it became usual to speak of a fourfold meaning of Scripture; the literal sense, the allegorical, the tropological and the anagogical. That division was briefly stated in the following mnemonic verse:

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.

Even Nicholas of Lyra did not free himself from the bonds of this theory, but he was distinguished from his contemporaries and from most of his successors in that he not only emphasized the literal sense as the fundamental basis of all interpretation but also practically emerged from the chaos of spiritual, allegorical expositions, and, under the influence of Rabbi Salomon Raschi, limited himself in his explanations to the elucidation of the literal sense. But the traditional custom of a fourfold interpretation proved stronger than Lyra's example. When Ulrich Surgant published his *Manuale Curatorum* in 1502 he advocated the fourfold meaning of Scripture as a matter of course, and Dungersheim discussed it in his *Tractatus de modo praedicandi* of 1514.[124] This theory of a fourfold sense of Scripture not only supplied frivolous individuals with a large field in which to exploit their empty triflings, but it enabled the Church to prove any doctrinal opinions whatsoever from Scripture, and for this reason was very welcome. That it also gave an incentive to assiduous investigation to exhaust the meaning of each text on all sides, as Holl suggests, we will gladly admit.[125]

Luther too followed this theory of the fourfold meaning of Scripture when he undertook to explain the Psalms in 1513. He professed it in his preface and gave examples of the method. So, for example, he says, Jerusalem, according to the literal sense refers to the city in Judaea, according to the allegorical sense it is a designation for good men, tropologically it means the virtues, and anagogically it signifies the reward. Similarly Babylon according to its allegorical sense is equivalent to evil men, tropologically to vices and anagogically to punishments. So the literal sense is the historical meaning, the allegorical relates to the Church, the tropological to individuals and the anagogical (rising above the literal meaning) to the future. In this connection Luther utters the familiar statement that, "The most important thing in connection with Holy Scripture is to distinguish the spirit from the letter, for this makes the theologian." What he wants to say he immediately makes clear by an example: "If we stop with the letter which killeth (*littera occidens*) Mt. Zion historically signifies the Land of Canaan, allegorically the synagogue or one of its leaders, tropologically, the Pharisaic and legal righteousness, anagogically, the future earthly glory. If, however, we arise to the spiritual sense, which quickeneth, then Mt. Zion, historically indicates the race that lives in Zion, allegorically the church or any of her notable doctors or bishops, tropologically the righteousness of faith or any other matter of preeminence, anagogically eternal blessedness in heaven." He realized that this brought with it the danger of arbitrary inclusions of all sorts and so he lays down the rule. "Nothing in Scripture may be interpreted allegorically, tropologically or anagogically that is not expressly stated historically (literally) elsewhere in Scripture."[126] The phenomenal acquaintance with Scripture that he possessed even then sometimes enabled him, in this way, to point out startling connections between different passages, but more frequently he lost himself in quite impossible combinations and often entirely lost sight of his own rule. Many of his expositions seem to the man of today to be mere intellectual conceits and it is this that we feel as one of the chief weaknesses of the lectures on the Psalms. That Augustine in his *Enarrationes in psalmos* displays the same weakness to a still greater degree does not help matters here.

In Luther's exposition of the Psalms the *sensus literalis, anagogicus* and *propheticus* in most cases are combined into one.[127] This was made possible by his conviction that most of the Psalms in their literal meaning referred to the Christ, who was yet to come. The literal sense of the Psalms for him is not what can be deduced from the time and the circumstances of the origin of each Psalm but when it is regarded as a saying of Jesus, as a prayer of the Messiah or at least as a prophecy concerning Him. We have already called attention to the fact (p. 103) that this principle is expressly laid down in the marginal notes to Psalm 6:[128] "Since in this Psalm there is no confession of sins but it only speaks of punishments, they are words of Christ, who, although He was without sin endured many sufferings." Then all the single petitions of the Psalm are applied to the passion of Christ and are understood in the light of its happenings. So over the words "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak," is written the explanation, "As I am in my sufferings" and to the words, "O Lord, heal me," the explanation is given, "from the scourging and the wounds" (*a percussa et vulneribus*). So certain is Luther about this understanding of the text that he regards it as proper to supplement the history of the passion as it is found in the Gospels with these statements. Thus he remarks on the words "I water my couch with my tears," "we have to believe this Psalm namely that the Lord often wept, especially at night, even though it is not recorded in the Gospels."[129] When Luther then turns to the allegorical explanation he applies the Psalm to the Church. What he regards as possible in this particular is best seen in the treatment of Psalm 60:8, for whose explanation he inserts a sermon he had delivered (W. Ed. 3, 343 seq.). There the Vulgate translates *Moab olla spei meae* (Moab is the cookpot of my hope) and he explains the sentence in this way: The cookpot is the world. This pot has three legs. They are the worldly lusts; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life. "The world rests on these three." Christ is the cook. The flesh that is being cooked in the pot is mankind, especially the martyrs, who in this way are being prepared as a refreshment for the saints, for the angels and for Christ. "Sometime in the future we will be poured out of the cookpot into gold and silver vessels and will be placed before God enthroned, and Christ, and His saints in heaven for refreshment. – – – They eat of you but you remain safe and unharmed." Christ again and again rakes the fire when He bestows the good of this world on the ungodly and so makes it possible for them to torment the saints in many ways. On the pot Christ places a lid and when He lifts this lid the vapor ascends. "This signifies that when the trial is slight we do not cry so strongly to the Lord, when it is severe, we fume upward with all our might in fervent prayer." Accordingly the cookpot is called Moab (that is the world), as it is a "boiling and raving tempter." That the genitive, "of my hope," is added means that this trial and temptation is the *operatix spei meae,* namely, it is there to produce my hope. So the purpose and meaning of the expression is, "Why dost thou flee before temptations and tribulations?" Luther is especially fond of applying the personal references of the text to his own life. So he remarks, in the previously mentioned gloss (p. 103) to Psalm 6: "And you also, if you taste and relish the soul experience (*affectum*) of this Psalm then picture before your eyes your Lord and Savior, how in deepest love and devotion he bends His knees before the Father, laden with your sins and those of the whole world, how bitterly He weeps on their account. – – – It is for you for whom such a Mediator so fervently pleads! What will you reply? That you weep yourself and pray with Him, who prays with you and your misery!"[130]

It was necessary to give these passages in detail to show to what the theory of the manifold sense of Scripture leads. When a man like Luther, who sees "the majesty of God" standing behind each Word of Scripture, can be led astray into such explanations what was not done by other exegetes who were not influenced by such a profound feeling of reverence? This extended illustration was also necessary to show what a tremendous step forward was taken by Luther when He completely broke away from this theory.

This break was already beginning in the lectures on the Psalms,[131] and it came in a twofold way. In the first place through his insistence that the literal, or as he liked to call it the grammatical sense, was the indispensible foundation on which everything else had to rest. He calls it, with a profusion of expressions, the *fundamentum* of the rest, the *Magister et lux et author et fons atque origo*. Then, in the second place, came his emphasis, in considering the three other senses, on the tropological sense, which is so great that the other two are shoved completely into the background. He even calls it the *sensus primarius scripturae*.[132] And since he understands by it what the Scripture has to say to the individual today, not in accidental and unrelated ethical directions but as an organic whole, the message of God's wrath over man's sin and His grace, this "marrow of Scripture" (*medulla scripturae,* W. Ed. 3, 291, 4), he only needed to discover the real bond between these two, the *sensus grammaticus* and the *sensus tropologicus* and the explanation of Scripture with a single meaning was attained. This is still truer of Luther's exegetical lectures on Romans and Galatians. It is true that we here still encounter the allegorical meaning, as, for example, right at the beginning of the scholia in connection with the discussion of the words "servant" and "separated" in Romans 1:1, but even so, the chief emphasis is placed on the tropological sense and its related discussions flow through the whole like a mighty stream, so that these together with the grammatical explanations give the general character to the whole course of lectures. That Luther could not free himself from the traditions of a thousand years in a single leap is assuredly nothing strange.[133] But after 1517 the bonds are broken. In his exposition of the Seven Penetential Psalms, in this year, Luther no longer makes use of the fourfold sense of Scripture. In the exposition of the Ten Commandments, which belongs to this same time, he actually refers to it as a sport for children.[134] His opinions finally ripened fully in connection with the Leipzig disputation. He there sets up the thesis of the *single* meaning of Scripture against that of a manifold meaning. As early as the *Resolutiones de indulgentiarum virtute,* of 1518, he wrote: "According to my judgment I think it is not permitted and that the custom that has been previously observed by some is very pernicious, namely that they have divided the simple sense of Scripture into one that is doubtful and dubious (*aequivocum et dubium*). It would be better to say this passage (*haec authoritas*) does not deal with this circumstance, than to attempt to make it apply to both relationships, by which we accomplish nothing except to rob it of certainty in any respect. For, as Isaiah (28:20) says: 'The mantel is too short, it cannot cover both.' "[135] In his defense against Eck, Luther wrote, in 1519: "The word 'Thou art Peter etc.' must have one primary, chief and special meaning (*unum, primum, principalem et proprium sensum*) as Christ first uttered it."[136] And in his letter to Dungersheim, in December of the same year: "It is necessary that the theologians establish themselves against Satan by one simple, solid meaning (*uno simplici solido sensu*). For this is my endeavour and this is also the whole controversy with Eck, who holds fast to the manifoldness (of the sense of Scripture) which is not acceptable to me."[317] In his *Operationes in Psalmos* of 1519-1521, Luther repeated this frequently and was always speaking of the *unus, constans* and *simplex sensus* of Scripture.[138] Luther discussed this subject in detail in his reply to Emser of Leipzig. In it he derived the theory of a fourfold sense from a "lack of understanding," and stressed the idea that "Scripture shall not have a double meaning but shall retain the one that accords with the meaning by the words." Here he also made the well known statement: "The Holy Ghost is the most simple Author and Speaker in heaven and on earth, therefore His words cannot have more than the one most simple meaning.[139]

Holl has rightly pointed out[140] that Luther had not learned this emphasis on the simplicity of Scripture from Humanism, for Faber defended the fourfold meaning and Erasmus, in his *Methodus* had praised the allegories of Origen as the highest art and as a model of exposition. Like him he was only able to take kindly to the Old Testament in this way, and for the one as for the other, the use of the allegorical method was like penetrating through the shell to the kernel. Luther's liberation from the fourfold sense had its origin in his feeling for what was simple and natural, and, above all, in his zealous efforts to find a solid and unchangeable foundation for the truth and for the certainty of salvation. How could any one be sure of the truth and of his salvation if the Scripture, the source of the truth, was manifold in its meaning? It is this that Luther stressed in 1520 in his book, *Von dem Papsttum zu Rom wider den hochberühmten Romanisten zu Leip-*

zig. There we read: "What Scripture attributes to Christ must not be attributed to any other, so that Scripture may ever remain with one simple, individual meaning, on which our faith may build without any wavering."[141] Stronger still in his Christmas Postil of 1522: "If we concede that Scripture has more than one sense then it loses its fighting force."[142] Just because of its having only one meaning Scripture became his keen weapon, which at Worms he did not allow them to wrest out of his hands, and which immediately afterwards, during his sojourn at the Wartburg, he used most effectively in his spirited treatise, *De votis monasticis*.

That Luther with his emphasis on the literal sense did not want to exclude either the possibility of taking certain statements of Scripture in a figurative sense, nor of making typical, tropological or symbolic applications is a matter into the discussion of which we cannot enter here. Where there is evidently a figurative meaning, this does not constitute a second meaning beside the literal one, but is literally the meaning intended by the writer, and the application, when it is of the right sort, does nothing more than take the unchanged meaning of the author into the present and place it in relation to the hearers of today.[143]

This emphasis on the single meaning was coupled in Luther's mind with the recognition of the fact that a single passage dare not be torn out of its context, neither out of the immediate context nor out of its organic connection with the entire Scripture. This too he had defended against Eck at the Leipzig disputation: "The understanding of a statement of Scripture must be sought in the entirety of Scripture, and in the sum total of all the related facts."[144] Just as in the case of Augustine we cannot take a single statement by itself but must know the man completely in order to understand him in a single phrase, so we dare not explain a single statement of Scripture without regard to the entire Scripture.[145] From this point, in conflict with the Roman assertion of the obscurity of Scripture and the necessity of its interpretation by the Church, Luther came to the statement: *Scriptura sacra . . . ipsa per se sui ipsius interpres,* Scripture is its own interpreter.[146]

9. *Luther learns to distinguish between the Law and the Gospel and recognizes in Christ crucified the unity of all Scripture*

For Luther this entirety of Scripture is in Christ, who has been crucified and is risen again, and so it includes the Law and Gospel. The unity of the Old and New Testaments he finds established in Christ, in whose light the Old Testament is to be explained and understood. As early as 1513 in the preface to the Psalter he begins by recalling the saying of Jesus, "I am the door; by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." And in the gloss he begins with this statement: "If the Old Testament could be explained by natural reason without the aid of the New, I will say that the New Testament has been given in vain, just as the apostle argues that Christ has died in vain if the law is sufficient. . . . Others beat around the bush and avoid Christ, as if it were their intention to do so. But if I find a nut in the text with a shell too hard for me to crack, I throw it on the Rock (Christ) and I get the sweetest kernel."[147] In the tower experience the true knowledge of God as well as of Christ had been revealed to him and with it the understanding that the Gospel is not a new law but the glad tidings of God's work, through Christ, for our salvation (Cfr. above p. 105). Space does not permit us to follow Luther's development along these lines in detail. In the Commentary on Galatians, of 1519, he states that the Gospel is the proclamation of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, who has become incarnate, who has suffered and has risen for our salvation, and because the Epistles of Paul, Peter and John likewise contain this record of salvation they are also truly Gospels.[148] And in his sermons of the beginning of 1521 we read: "Almighty God in the New Testament has not commanded us to preach anything except His dear Son Jesus Christ, and sent Him for this purpose and so arranged and determined all things that in Him we learn all the wisdom that serves for our salvation, and thus has closed for us all other books and all other teachings, that we should not consider any of them, but should study alone in that book that instructs us concerning Christ."[149] In his *Unterricht, was man in den Evangelien suchen und erwarten soll* (An instruction as to what we shall seek and expect in the Gospels), with which he prefaces his Christmas postil of 1522,[150] we read: "It is a still worse habit to regard the Gospels and Epistles as law books, in which we are to learn what we are to do and in which the works of Christ are held up to us as examples. Where this opinion is cherished neither Gospel nor Epistle can be read profitably nor as by Christians but those who attempt to do so remain just what they were before, pure heathen." "Do not make a Moses out of Christ, as though He did nothing more than teach and furnish us a good example, as the other saints do, and as though the Gospel were a book of instruction and of law. Therefore you must understand Christ, His words, works and sufferings in a twofold way. Once as an example that has been given you and which you are to follow and imitate, as St.

Peter says (I Peter 2:21) 'Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example'; so as you see how He fasts, prays, helps men and shows forth love, thus you shall also act in your own life and towards your neighbor. But this is the least important thing in the Gospel, on account of which it could not be called the Gospel, for in this way Christ does not profit you any more than any other saint. . . . His life remains His own and does not profit you, in short this way of doing things does not produce a Christian but a hypocrite. You must rise to a higher plane, even though for a long time this most excellent form of preaching has been of rare occurrence. The chief part of the Gospel and its very foundation is that before you understand Christ as an example you receive Him and recognize Him as a gift and donation that God has given you and that is your own, so that when you see or hear what He does or suffers, you do not doubt that He, Christ Himself, in such actions and sufferings is your own; that you may rely upon Him no less than if you had engaged in them yourself, yea, as if you were the very Christ. See, this is the true understanding of the Gospel; the Gospel that is the unbounded graciousness of God, which no prophet nor angel has ever been able fully to describe, no heart has ever been able sufficiently to admire, or understand, which is the great fire of God's love to us, through which heart and conscience become joyful, assured and content; this is the preaching of the Christian faith. That is the reason such preaching is called the Gospel, which in German means as much as joyous, good, consoling tidings."

With the recognition of this fact that Christ, who died and rose for us, is the center and substance of all Scripture, the Bible, which in spite of its use during the middle ages had remained a closed book, now became an open Bible. With this knowledge Luther became a real interpreter and a real translator of Scripture. In this way God Himself had led him upward, step by step and qualified him to become the Bible translator *par excellence.* Nor did He permit the final qualification, without which the work could not have succeeded so admirably, to be lacking: The intimate acquaintance with the Scripture and with the German language.

10. *Luther's intimate acquaintance with Scripture and with the German language*

"Luther's biblical steadfastness, as everyone knows, is a unique phenomenon," writes Meissinger.[151] "No modern exegete, not even a biblicist of the strictest observance, can equal him in this respect." We could also say, acquaintance with the Bible in place of biblical steadfastness. Here neither Bernard of Clairvaux nor even Augustine can be compared with him. How the man must have read, studied and scrutinized the Bible after it was given him in 1506, for even at the beginning of his lectures on the Psalms in 1513, in the explanation of each passage as he is discussing it, related passages of Scripture come to his mind in amazing profusion. And this familiarity was not restricted to the chief books but reaches into every part, even including the Apocrypha. If we possessed an index of the scriptural quotations in the lectures on the Psalms, as Ficker has provided one for the lectures on Romans, H. von Schubert for Galatians and Ficker for Hebrews, it would be of imposing length, especially if it were to include not only the direct quotations but also the indirect references to biblical statements. His whole style, even in these early years, is shot through with a rich tissue of references to biblical statements and events.

The fact that many of the quotations may seem to us, at this day, to be inappropriate and often, especially in the lectures on the Psalms, as foolish trivialities, in no wise alters the fact itself. If Holy Scripture had not been for Luther the Word of God, given by the Spirit of God;[152] if he had not seen the "majesty of God" standing behind it, and if he had not studied it with the certainty that he would find the way of salvation in it, he could hardly have come to this unique familiarity with the Bible. But as it was, every passage was important enough to him to cause him to pause, to grasp its meaning and to permit it to exert an influence on himself.

Hand in hand with this external acquaintance went an inner appreciation and comprehension of Scripture. The oftener, the more regularly and intensively he studied it, the more continuously a reciprocating action was established between his open and redemption-seeking soul and Scripture. By it the words of Scripture awakened new understanding in him and each new understanding became a means for the better understanding of Scripture itself. It is well known that two days before his death he wrote on a scrap of paper: "If anyone wants to understand Vergil's Bucolics and Georgics he must first have been a shepherd or farmer for five years; if anyone wants to understand Cicero's Letters he must have lived for twenty years in a large community; then let no one think that he has sufficiently experienced Holy Scripture unless he has ruled the Church with the prophets for a century."[153] But even in the lectures on the Psalms we read sentences like these: "As anyone is so he judges, whosoever confronts the mysteries of Holy Scripture like a horse or an ox, will never understand anything about them."[154] "No one understands another in spiritual writings unless he possesses the same spirit."[155] The fact that Luther possessed the Spirit of God and let that Spirit work within him, helped to make him an interpreter of Scripture surpassing all who had preceded him. Through this inner spiritual fellowship he became as much at home in Scripture as in his own house. This inner familiarity likewise enabled him as a translator to grasp the real meaning of Scripture.[156]

Finally Luther was also familiar with the German language into which he was to translate the Scriptures. No one else exercised so deep and enduring an influence on the remoulding of that language as did he.[157] In the most flourishing period of Middle High German knightly poetry (1180-1300) the German language had reached a high point of its development, but with the decay of the leading knightly class, after the end of the fourteenth century, it had sunk very low. The rising burgher class was still very circumscribed in its culture. The higher circles of educated people used Latin. The language of the people was despised and split up into many dialects. There was no one medium of communication for the whole nation. Luther himself once said: "Germany has many dialects so that people thirty miles apart can hardly understand each other. The Austrians and Bavarians do not understand the Thueringians and Saxons."[158] It was customary to distinguish between Upper, Middle and Lower German, but the Low German was almost a language by itself, with a literature of its own, while there were also marked differences between Middle and Upper German. In addition, each of these three main groups was again subdivided into numerous dialects that differed more or less from each other. It is true that when Luther came into the public eye and was to give his German people the Gospel in their own language, worth while beginnings of a common language were already in existence. Many of the alterations that had been made to the older text of the Bibles in the late middle ages were a part of this line of development. Most important however were the efforts that were put forth by those in authority, by the chancelleries, for whom written correspondence was absolutely necessary. The Emperor Maximilian (1493-1519), who as an Austrian spoke Upper German, had ventured in this direction, and so the Upper German became the foundation for such attempts. But since it was the purpose to be intelligible to all Germans officials of the chancellery sought to avoid expressions that were exclusively Upper German. It was particularly that highly regarded prince of middle Germany, Luther's sovereign, Frederick the Wise, who had followed this example. Thus transplanted the written language was still further purged of Upper German constructions and expressions. The language of the "Saxon Chancellery" which arose in this way could be understood from the farthest south to the boundaries of Low German territory, which extended from Wittenberg by way of Magdeburg and Brunswick to Cologne. Leading men, resident in lower Germany, beyond those bounds, also understood it, and even to the burghers and common people of the Low German territories it was much closer than the Upper German. In the east and northeast of Germany, however, in Silisia, West Poland and the Duchy of Prussia, the settlers of the land had mostly come from Upper and middle Germany, so that these languages and dialects were carried into those regions. We have only to recall Cranc's fine translation of the prophets, of the fourteenth century, which, though it originated in Thorn, possessed Middle German characteristics and had much in common with the language of Luther's translation of the Bible. Only no one must imagine that the language of the "Saxon Chancellery" was notable for either clarity, simplicity or beauty. The direct opposite was the case. But in its vocabulary, use of words and grammatical construction it possessed valuable beginnings for a common language, with which Luther could and did begin. At a later time he said: "I speak according to the use of the Saxon Chancellery, which is followed by princes and kings in Germany, and which therefore is the most common German language."[159]

Three things had been of special significance for Luther's knowledge of the German language. Even before his Bible translation he was, for the times in which he lived, a widely traveled man. In the year 1769 Magister Lingke published *Dr. Martin Luther's merkwürdige Reisegeschichte* and in it reckoned that Luther had traveled 2,764 German miles. He had hardly covered that number of miles before 1522, even though the journey to Cologne was not included, because it was unknown to Lingke. But his travels had been extensive, for, only to mention some of the regions in which he had been up to that time, we recall that he grew up in Mansfeld, spent a number of years in Magdeburg, Eisenach and Erfurt, and had come to Wittenberg, where preaching was done in Middle German but where the people spoke Low German among themselves. He traveled on foot the long road through Upper Germany to Italy and back again, perhaps passing through Switzerland on his return. Soon afterwards he walked through Westphalia to Cologne, where for weeks he heard nothing but Low German. On business of his order he passed through Thueringia up to Heidelberg. Then he traveled, again on foot, from Wittenberg through Thueringia and Franconia to Augsburg and remained for several weeks in upper Germany or, more exactly, in the Suabian linguistic territory. Finally he journeyed for fourteen days through Hessia and Frankfurt to Worms and then back to Eisenach. On these journeys, and trips on foot, Luther became acquainted with the three main language groups and with many dialects. From chance remarks we learn what a keen ear he had for these differences and how he studied them.[160] To this came another factor; aside possibly from his first years in the monastery, he had never lived within exclusive circles where the language of only *one* part of society was heard. In his childhood he had been in closest touch with the peasantry and with Thueringian miners. "I am," he says, "the son of a peasant, my father, grandfather and ancestors were true peasants." From these contacts he became familiar not only with the coarseness and directness of the German language but also with its living stream and the source from which many a language has been renewed. In Eisenach, in social intercourse with his patrons he not only learned more refined manners but also the more elegant speech that was customary in a cultured burgher home. The changes of his later life brought him in increasing measure into touch with the remaining portions of society, especially after 1517. Students, friends, admirers from all countries became his companions at the table, where Latin was by no means the exclusive language of conversation. Hundreds of letters from and to the most different sorts of people, from the highest and lowest classes of society also bear witness to his widely distributed contacts.

"So from all sides an abundance of linguistic material came to Luther, and as he possessed a fine ear and a sympathetic understanding for such matters, more perhaps than anyone before him, so he came to be fashioned into a German of linguistic universality, as no one before him had been."[161] Finally we must not forget that Luther had learned to know the German of the mystics with all its inwardness. It was probably during a visitation journey which led him in May 1516, while he was district vicar, through Meissen and Thuringia, that he happened on a German book of sermons, while he was with his friend Johann Lang in Erfurt, which so captivated him that he took it with him to Wittenberg to study at leisure. It was a volume of the sermons of Johann Tauler of Strassburg (d. 1361). Soon after he discovered by himself, we do not know when or how, another little book of similar character, which so pleased him that in December he had it printed with a short commendatory preface. In the spring of 1518 a fuller text came into his hands in which the author of this "spiritually noble little book" was designated as a priest and custos of the house of the Teutonic Knights in Sachenhausen near Frankfurt. Luther felt himself called on to publish it a second time and gave it the title *Ein deutsch Theologia.* Beyond any doubt the writings of these two mystics exercised an influence on Luther. This influence in so far as it concerned his theological development has frequently been much overvalued,[162] while their significance for his familiarity with the possibilities of the German language has not always been sufficiently recognized. Here were religious thoughts, full of exalted inwardness, clothed in German speech. It had often been said (p. 70) that the German language was too rude a vessel to contain the full treasures of religious feeling, but here we encounter a theology addressed to the inner life clothed in the most alluring and winning

German. It can easily be shown that these writings enriched and deepened Luther's German.

From the very first Luther was on the side of those who not only preached in German (which aside from the monastery sermons was the universal rule) but who believed that a popular literature, of edifying character, in German was a necessity. The publication of the "German Theology" has been called Luther's first attempt at German, but there was another that preceded it, to which Ficker called attention as long ago as 1908. It was the occasional use of German in the course of his Latin lectures. Luther was not only the first German professor of theology who used and pronounced the newly available Greek text in his lectures but he was also the first German professor who conceded to the mother tongue a place in the academic lecture halls. Even in his lectures on the Psalms he occasionally used single German words to make the matter under discussion closer and more intelligible to his hearers. In the lectures on Romans he did so on a much larger scale, and in his verbal comments doubtless made use of the German oftener than it occurs in his manuscript. In his preface to the first edition of the German Theology, in December 1516, Luther ventured his first German sentences in print. In the preface to the second edition of 1518 he expressed the pleasure he felt because of the simple language, devoid of all rhetorical flourishes, the *ungekränzten und gefränzten* words, and adds the wish: "God grant that more little books like this may come to light." In increasing measure he himself contributed to the realization of this wish. At first, from 1506 to 1516, everything that he wrote was in Latin, with the exception of the German words and phrases inserted in the Latin lectures. In 1516 he published a German book which however was not written by himself. In 1517, two of his own appeared; in 1518, eight; in 1519 out of 31 publications, 14 were German; in 1520, out of 40 there were 15 in German, including two out of the three great reformatory works and the extensive treatise *Von den guten Werken,* while in 1521 only a bare third are still in Latin. If we compare these writings as to the familiarity they display with the German language, we find a rapid ascent. The exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms of 1517, this first attempt of Luther's in writing German, is still heavy in its language and is not free from the use of dialect and an ungermanic word order. The writings of 1518 and 1519 show a distinct progress, especially the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, of 1519. Another tremendous step forward is evident in the *Sermon von den guten Werken,* of 1520. Here for the first time he discourses on an ethical-dogmatic theme of profound implications in the German language; here he stresses the fact that he is not ashamed to preach and write German, and maintains that conditions in Christendom would be much better if more care were taken of the despised mother tongue, and here we begin to perceive that there is material in Luther for the making of a master of language. Much of the language is still forced but there are also indications here that we have a creator of language. Weighty and forceful are the German words of the mighy reformatory writing, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation,* which gushed out of his German heart that same year. "The sentences roar on like the thundering cascade of a foaming mountain stream; they bring conviction with them and carry the reader along with them. But the language in still hard and harsh and is not yet the clear expression of the innermost life."[163] Then to our surprise we find the completed master, even in this detail, in the clarified style of the treatise *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen,* which appeared that same year, 1520. A wonderfully soft fragrance hovers over the *Magnificat,* the exposition of Mary's song, that was begun before the Diet of Worms but only completed at the Wartburg. Here in words that express true depth of feeling Luther pours out the thoughts that he felt were in the soul of Mary. What simplicity, tenderness and heart-compelling power, both in word and thought, lies in many parts of the Christmas postil of the beginning of 1522, particularly in the exposition of the Christmas Gospel! We feel that the one who is speaking here will become a master of expression when he is faced with the greatest task of all. That task God placed on him when he was led to become the translator of the Bible, and in its accomplishment Luther became the Master Translator.

CHAPTER THREE

LUTHER'S TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

From 1517 on Luther had translated single portions of Holy Scripture into German: the Seven Penitential Psalms, in 1517, the 110th Psalm in 1518, the Magnificat in 1521, the 68th and 37th Psalm in 1521, some sermon texts and especially the biblical texts of the first part of the Church Postil (the Christmas Postil; cfr. Part II). The idea of translating the whole Bible does not as yet seem to have been in his mind. The course of his life, especially after 1517, was so stormy and so crowded with work that he could not have found the inner composure necessary for such a task, even if he had recognized its necessity. His later complaints, written in 1522 and 1529, about a lack of time and the overwhelming load of his tasks, applied in a large measure to these earlier years.[1] Between 1517 and 1521 he had actually issued considerably over a hundred publications of larger or smaller extent. But now by God's guidance he had been brought into the quiet of the Wartburg. Here there was time for composure. Not because he had lapsed into idleness, for he had hardly arrived at the Wartburg before he requested his Wittenberg friends to send him some needed books so that he could get to work. During this time he wrote, only to mention the most important items, an exposition of the 68th Psalm, the confutation of Latomus, his exposition of the Magnificat, the dissertations on the 118th and 37th Psalms, his writing on the abuse of the mass, his great treatise concerning Monastic Vows, and the extensive Christmas Postil, which alone fills 739 pages in the Weimar Edition. And yet these three months of residence at the Wartburg were a time of relaxation compared with the tumultuous activity of Wittenberg.

As the opportunity came in this retired place God also awakened in his heart the thought of translating the Bible into German and thus opening the source of all truth to His people in a new way. His intention of doing so, or at least of translating the New Testament is first intimated in a letter from Luther to his friend Lang in Erfurt, dated Dec. 18th, 1521: "I will remain hidden here till Easter. In the mean while I intend to write the Postil and to translate the New Testament into the language of the people. Our friends desire it. I hear that you are engaged in the same work. Continue as you have begun. O that every single city had its own translator and that this Book were found in all languages, hands, eyes, ears and hearts."[2] That statement, however, in no wise precludes the likelihood of the idea having arisen independently in Luther's mind or of his having already been considering its possibility. It seems much more likely that he had first realized the need when he wrote, at the conclusion of his Wartburg Postil, about the end or the beginning of December: "O that God would let my explanations and those of all other teachers perish and every Christian would contemplate nothing but the simple Scripture and the pure word of God. . . . Therefore go to it, go to it, dear Christians, and let my explanations and those of all other teachers be only a scaffold for the real building, that we may grasp the simple, pure Word of God, that we may appropriate it and hold it fast, for here in Zion only God dwelleth."[3] There would have been no sense in writing such words if there had been no prospect of a German translation of the Bible better than the one current in the middle ages. It was just during these months that Luther became conscious of the task that he was to undertake for his German people. On Nov. 1, 1521, he wrote to his friend Gerbel in Strassburg: "I was born for my Germans and I will serve them," and at the conclusion of the list of writings he had completed or in contemplation, he remarks with a certain pride, "All German."[4] Between December the 4th and 9th, during the days of his secret visit to Wittenberg that had been occasioned by the disturbances of the fanatics, the plan of a Bible translation must have been discussed with his friends. Then it must have been that he was urged, particularly by Melanchthon,[5] to carry out his plan. Just because of the false exaltation of the spirit and the undervaluation and contempt of the written Word by the fanatics, the need of a German Bible which the people could understand became daily more necessary.

After his return to the Wartburg, in the second half of Dec. 1521, Luther must have commenced his work. Why he began with the translation of the New Testament he indicates clearly in a letter of Jan. 13th, 1522, written to Amsdorf.[6] At that time he was so overwhelmed with a feeling of his own inability to produce a translation even of the New Testament by himself that he seriously considered living secretly in Wittenberg, so as to have the help of his friends who were living there. In that connection he writes: "I will not be able to touch the Old Testament without your presence and assistance." That was one reason; the translation of the New Testament, difficult as it was, seemed easier to him than that of the Old Testament. Doubtless another reason also influenced him. As highly as Luther valued the Old Testament, and he expressed himself unmistakably on this point in the preface to the first part of his translation of the Old Testament,[7] nevertheless the New Testament was the climax of the divine revelation of salvation and, as the key to understanding of the Old Testament, was for him above the Old Testament (above p. 133f.). His whole inner development led him to the Gospel that was revealed in the New Testament in a form in which it was not yet found in the Old.

From the time of his translation of the pericopes for the Christmas Postil Luther must have had the most important aids for his work at hand.[8] What was still lacking he had sent to him, as we learn from the correspondence of this period. He had with him the Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the edition printed at Brescia in 1494, a copy of the Vulgate printed by Froben in Basel in 1509 and a Greek New Testament. During his stay at the Wartburg he does not seem to have made use of the Septuagint. Just what edition of the Greek New Testament he possessed is a matter of dispute. Formerly it was taken for granted that it was the second edition of Erasmus, that appeared in 1519, but the assertion has been more recently made that he only used the reprint of the Erasmus text that had been prepared by his learned Strassburg friend Gerbel, and that had been printed at Hagenau in Alsace.[9] That he actually had this edition with him at the Wartburg is apparent from his letter to Gerbel, written on Nov. 1, 1521.[10] It by no means follows, however, that this edition was the only one at his disposal. What carries more weight with it is the fact that we can point to translations that would hardly have occurred if Luther had had before him the Latin translation of the Greek that was first printed in the edition of Erasmus. On the other hand we find a series of translations which could hardly have taken the form they have without the influence of Erasmus' Latin translation and its accompanying annotations. While some of these passages could be accounted for by supposing that Luther remembered them from previous use of this edition and its annotations while in Wittenberg, others cannot be explained in this way. Many peculiarities in the printing of Luther's New Testament of 1522 also show that the work of Erasmus must have been before him.[11] As far as the Greek text itself is concerned it does not make much difference which was used since Gerbel's edition was an exact reprint of that of Erasmus except that a number of printer's errors had been corrected. But it would have been strange if Luther had laid aside the text with which he had been so familiar at Wittenberg, both in its first edition of 1516 and in the second of 1519, and if in his task of translation, which he regarded as so important and which, by his own statement he found so difficult, he should have discarded the aids furnished by a man whose exact knowledge of the Greek language he had always recognized. When he had all sorts of other literary aids sent to him at the Wartburg why should he have omitted this valued one? Freitag was unquestionably right when he wrote in 1931: "Beyond any doubt the Greek text of the 1519 edition of Erasmus was before Luther from the very beginning of his work of translating."[13]

Other literary aids were the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which, however, had little to offer, and the *Postilla in Biblia* of Lyra, though in what editions cannot be determined. Perhaps he also had the *Epistolae Pauli* of Faber Stapulensis, of 1512 or 1515, which he had used at other times. Then there were the necessary lexicons[14] like Reuchlin's *Rudimenta linguae Hebraicae* of 1506, Aleander's *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* of 1512 and perhaps, what was the newest work of its kind, the *Dictionarium Graecum*, that had been issued at Basel in 1519. Since his work of translating was to be into German he probably also consulted this or that Latin-German dictionary as, for example, the widely used *Vocabularium ex quo* (edition of 1477 in Berlin) which he had learned to know in his school days, or one of the *Vocabularii praedicantium* (e. g. Strassburg, 1482 or Magdeburg, 1495). Whether in addition to the existing German translations he also used the translation of St. Matthew by his friend Lang, published in Erfurt in 1521, is to say the least questionable.[15] We are fairly safe in assuming that he had at hand one of the many *plenaria* and consulted it. No matter how fine his memory, he would hardly have ventured to depend on it alone, especially with his consciousness of the extent and difficulty of the task before him. Facts that in a general way are probable have been made almost certain through the careful comparisons of Freitag.[16] The *plenarium* published by Zainer at Augsburg in 1474 was that which Luther consulted in making his own translations of the pericopes from his second postil pericope (St. Luke 2:1-14) on. The translation of the first pericope of the Postil (Titus 2:11-15), that was completed on the 10th of June, does not yet show this influence,[17] but on the same day Luther acknowledged the receipt not only of letters but also of *omnia alia*,[18] and among these "other things" was probably the Zainer *plenarium*, so that he could consult it from that date onwards. So from the time of the writing of the Wartburg Postil this *plenarium* was also available for the translation of the New Testament, and here and there the translations of the Wartburg Postil, that were influenced by the *plenarium*, pass over into his New Testament.

It is an old matter of dispute as to whether Luther utilized one of the medieval Bibles for purposes of comparison.[19] For only that and nothing more could have been involved. In Luther's books and letters there is only one reference to these medieval Bibles. It is in the letter to Amsdorf which we have given in note 6, where he writes: "Now I know what translating means and why no one before me has attempted it under his own name." There he is evidently thinking of the medieval Bibles in which the name of the translator is nowhere given. He refers to them but it does not follow that he used them, yet it is a significant fact that just at the time when he was engaged in the work of translating the Bible and when the difficulty of his undertaking weighed heavily on his heart, he should refer to them. As late as 1917 it seemed to me that their use was excluded from consideration and I then collected all the facts that could be mustered against this supposition, but subsequently I have been converted to the other view, not so much by Roethe as by Freitag. It was the Zainer Bible of 1475 that Luther had before him. The tremendous difference that still exists between the medieval translation of Zainer and Luther's New Testament does not preclude his use of the former. The difference is sufficiently explained by his use of the original text, through his unique mastery of language that so far excelled the abilities of the translator of the Mentel Bible and the later reviser who prepared it for Zainer's edition, and by his own inner experiences that had given him a new understanding of the text. Roethe gives his opinion concerning the relation between Zainer's Bible and Luther's translation in these words: "The connection is closest in the Apocalypse, it is freer in the Gospels and particularly free in the Pauline Epistles, where, in the interest of clear teaching, many new renderings, of deeper understanding, appear." The first of these assertions is entirely untenable since the Apocalypse offers so few difficulties to the translator that if two translators went to work, the one translating from the Vulgate, and the other familiar with it and consulting it regularly, they would produce almost similar translations. The single examples that have been pointed out to prove the supposed dependence are by no means of a conclusive character. The other observation that the consideration of Zainer is much less evident in the Pauline Epistles than in the Gospels is truer, but it is also easily explained as both the medieval Bibles and Zainer were most inadequate and unserviceable in this portion of the New Testament. Whoever really translated from the original and had grasped the inmost heart of the Epistles, as Luther had done, would be forced to produce a translation that might here or there be reminiscent of the medieval version, but that, as a whole, would be far above it. With the Gospels the case was different. Here the difference between the Greek original that Luther was using and the Vulgate which the medieval Bibles had followed was not nearly so great as it was in the case of the Epistles and furthermore, as Luther stood at the beginning of such a tremendous undertaking he must have felt much oftener the need of comparing what others had translated before him than he would a little later after he had become more accustomed to his task. We could more properly say that the influence of the Zainer Bible decreased in the same proportion that Luther became more expert in his task. It can be observed in the Gospels and Acts, is very faint in the Epistles and ceases in the Apocalypse. As he went along Luther became more and more independent, more and more free, even of the Zainer Bible. It had aided him occasionally to secure the appropriate phrase, to find a popular expression more readily and to strengthen him in his choice of words and construction of clauses, but no more than that. That he made use of this aid is nothing in the least discreditable nor does it diminish his accomplishment, for in spite of all this his translation towers far above the medieval attempts and it is a credit to his conscientiousness and scholarliness that he passed by no aid without first ascertaining whether or not it had something to contribute towards his great undertaking.

As little as Luther simply modernized the medieval Bible but created something that was completely new, even allowing for his occasional use of the medieval Bible, just as little did he, "taking it all in all, carry over the Vulgate." That Sandvos could make this assertion[20] betrays both a bad spirit and unbounded ignorance. Assuredly, in his younger years Luther had acquired the language of the Vulgate so completely that it could not be forgotten, and we know how even at his dying hour Bible verses from the translation of the Vulgate came into his mind.[21] So it would be very strange if his translation of the Bible did not show some dependence on the Vulgate. As a matter of fact such dependence can be shown in many places. But it is just as certain that Luther instead of merely modernizing the medieval Bible or translating according to the Vulgate version, made his own translation independently from the Greek text.

That this was the case with the later translation of the Old Testament is evident from Luther's original draft, which has been partly preserved and which furnishes indubitable evidence of the fact.[22] "It is evident from his handwriting that while he already had his pen in hand his eyes were still fixed on the Hebrew copy." Under its influence he often mechanically writes German words according to the Hebrew order, in the first draft. So, for example, he frequently strings together principal clauses, in Hebrew fashion, where the spirit of the German language would prefer subordinate clauses, but then in the midst of his writing changes the structure of the sentence he has commenced. He begins I Kings 12:2: *Und Jerobeam . . . hörte,* but before he comes to the end of the sentence he alters it to *Da das Jerobeam . . . hörte, kam er etc.*[23] In I Kings 10:1, the introduction *Und die Königin von Reicharabien hörte das Gerücht . . .*, is crossed out and he substitutes, *Und da das Gerücht Salomos kam vor die Königin . . ., kam sie etc.*[24] If we study these records they also become an evidence of how Luther gradually progressed from a clear grasp of the meaning of the words in the Hebrew original to a comprehension of the meaning of the whole sentence. So in Psalm 89:15 he first wrote down the words *Gerechtigkeit und Gericht sind die Bereitschaft deines Stuhls,* then he altered *Bereitschaft* into *Bereitschaffung.* Then the sentence became *Gerechtigkeit und Gericht wohnen in deinem Stuhl,* but this was again changed into, *Gerechtigkeit und Gericht ist die Wohnung deines Stuhls.* Still later (1531) it took the form: *Gerechtigkeit und Gericht ist deines Stuhles Festung.*[25] In the same way for Psalm 110:3, he first wrote down:[26] *Dein Volk sind die Freien am Tage deines Vermögens in heiligem Schmuck, aus der Mutter der Morgenröte kommt hier der Tau deiner (Kindschaft) Geburt.* Then this is changed into, *Dein Volk wird williglich da sein am Tage deiner Tugend* (afterwards, *Macht*) *in heiligem Schmuck; aus Mutterleibe mit der Morgenröte kommt dir der Tau deiner Geburt.* And on the margin is added the comment: *Entsteht in der Weise der Morgenröte.* In 1531 this becomes *Nach deinem Sieg wird dir dein Volk williglich opfern in heiligem Schmuck; deine Kinder werden dir geboren wie Tau aus der Morgenröte.* The literal reproduction of the Hebrew text furnished the starting point from which the final form was evolved. Frequently Luther met with an unfamiliar Hebrew word, then, not to be delayed for the moment, he simply wrote it with the Hebrew letters into his first draft, or else left an empty space, to be filled in later. In short, it is beyond question that Luther in the translation of the Old Testament always began with the Hebrew original.

So we are justified in concluding that in the translation of the New Testament, while he was at the Wartburg, he always had the Greek text before him and regarded it as the basis of his entire work of translation. We do not possess Luther's original draft of the New Testament, but we nevertheless have corroborative evidence that comes from two different sides. The first is an external circumstance. Had Luther evolved his translation from the Vulgate or the medieval Bible he would have followed the translation of St. John's Gospel with the Epistle to the Romans and would have placed Acts between the Epistle of St. James and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as was done by both of them. Instead of that he inserted Acts between St. John's Gospel and the Epistle to the Romans as his Greek original (Erasmus as well as Gerbel) had it. The same thing occurs in the Sermon on the Mount. The Vulgate and the medieval Bible arranged the Beatitudes so that "Blessed are the meek" comes first and "Blessed are they that mourn" follows as the second. Luther following the Greek text of Erasmus and Gerbel has them in the reverse order. In St. Matthew 6:1, the Vulgate and the medieval Bibel have *iustitiam,* Luther however follows the Greek text of Erasmus and Gerbel that has ἐλεημοσύνην. To these purely external considerations come other significant facts. In St. Luke 2:4, as in all of the pericopes of the Christmas Postil, Luther does not reproduce the historical aorist with the imperfect, as does the medieval Bible, but with the perfect. The imperfect of the medieval Bible agreed with German linguistic usage, when Luther then chose the perfect he did so with the relevant rule of Melanchthon's Greek grammar in mind.[27] In St. Luke 2:8, the Vulgate describes the shepherds as *vigilantes* and in agreement with it all the translations preceding Luther's have *wachende.* Only Luther translated, *Die Hirten waren im Feld.* So he reproduces the Greek ἀγραυλοῦντες, for his Greek lexicon defined ἄγραυλος as *pernoctans in agro.* Many such examples might be cited. Albrecht as well as Freitag, particularly in the *Anmerkungen und Erlaeuterungen* to the reprint of the Luther Bible of 1522 and 1546,[27a] offer abundant materials.

Some one might however object that we are here dealing with observations that indeed hold good for the "Septembertestament" and so come from the work of revision that Melanchthon did after Luther's return to Wittenberg, and it is only possible to conjecture in such particulars what was Luther's own work since his original copy has been lost. But even this objection is not tenable since we have what is, in part at least, a fairly reliable substitute for the missing manuscript. It is the pericopes of the Christmas Postil and of the Advent Postil, connected with it. These were printed without having been revised by Melanchthon, and these, Freitag has shown, were constructed on the basis of the original text. For this reason we took two of our examples from these pericopes. When Luther afterwards took them into his New Testament he smoothed the language and materially improved them, but did not remove the evidence of their Greek origin; in fact rather tried to convey the meaning of the Greek text more completely.[28] So all the evidence helps to establish the fact that the original Greek was the basis of Luther's translation. This gave it a trustworthiness above that of all preceding German translations, that all alike had depended on the Vulgate and, in many cases, on a corrupt text at that. Its solemnity and impressiveness, especially the proper placing of the emphasized words, as we notice it particularly in the Epistles, rests largely on its closeness to the original text.[29]

In about eleven weeks, during the time from the middle of December 1521, till the beginning of March 1522, Luther completed the translation of the New Testament and engaged in other additional labors! This unique accomplishment is only partly explained when we recall his intimate familiarity with the biblical text, which he had gained with diligence in almost twenty years of continuous research; which it had been his duty to study in preparation for his sermons and academic lectures and which he had known since 1516 in the original, or when we remember his ability for doing creative work and his unequalled industry. It still remains an achievement that Luther could not have accomplished without the special assistance of the Holy Ghost. Even his closest friends, who knew his almost unlimited ability to work, were amazed beyond measure that he had been able to translate the whole New Testament in this short time. As early as February 1522 he sent a portion of the translation, probably the four Gospels, to Spalatin and through him to Melanchthon. On the 25th of February Melanchthon was greatly worried lest the precious consignment of manuscript had been lost. Spalatin had sent him word about it but it failed to arrive within the expected time. In the mean time Spalatin, in a letter now lost, had thanked Luther for its transmission. On the 4th of March the manuscript finally reached Melanchthon. In a letter of February the 25th Melanchthon had already written (C. R., I. 563): "Of what profit this translation will be, not only to the people but to us as well, when in ambiguous passages we can counsel with Luther's spirit!" And when it came into his hands on March 4th he expressed the hope that this work might "bring some appreciation" to his much reviled friend (C. R., I. 365). At the same time he stated that he was ready to deliver both manuscripts, that of the *Kirchenpostille* and the four Gospels, to the printer at once. Two days later Luther himself arrived in Wittenberg and probably brought with him the second part of the manuscript (Acts to Revelation).[30]

The first weeks after his return were completely occupied with the fanatical disturbances in Wittenberg. Between the 9th and 16th of March Luther preached his powerful "Eight Sermons" for the purpose of quieting the uproar of the fanatics. But at the end of the month he again turned his attention to the translation of the Bible. He now began the revision of the Wartburg manuscript with the assistance of Melanchthon. On the 30th of March Melanchthon acquainted Spalatin with this fact and on the same day Luther also wrote to him: "Now Melanchthon and I have begun to smooth it down and, God willing, it will be a worthy work."[31] That they encountered many difficulties in the work of revision is evident from the same letters, for in Luther's letter there is the statement: "To rightly reproduce the expressions we will also avail ourselves of your (Spalatin's) help. So be ready to suggest simple words to us, but not such as are used in castles and courts, for this Book must be translated in simplicity. To make an immediate beginning, try to obtain for us from the court (of the Elector) or whence you are able the names and colors, and, if possible, the appearance (*Anblick*) of the jewels mentioned in Revelation 21." Luther must have had in mind that his manuscript needed completion or improvement on this point for the work of revision at the time had proceeded only as far as the last chapter of St. Matthew, as we learn from the letter of Melanchthon to Spalatin of the same date. In it he asks him how best to reproduce Matt. 20:25 and 20:16 and how best to express Matt. 26:37 in German so as to preserve the heightening of meaning between λυπεῖσθαι and ἀδημονεῖν, and also whether he knew a good German equivalent for the Latin *persona*.[32] At another time Luther turned to Spalatin to ask whether he could give him a good German word for εὐνοῦχος (Matt. 19:12, Acts 8:27). From a letter of May 15th we learn that he was not satisfied with Spalatin's answer and he is uncertain as to whether he ought to use the Westfalian designation of "run" or "ron" for this purpose.[33] In what investigation he engaged, even of Low German dialects, to find what was appropriate! From the same letter we learn that Spalatin actually had procured a collection of jewels from the electoral court, so that the desired *Anblick* might be assured. Melanchthon rivaled Luther in striving for an accurate translation. So, for example, he attached much importance to determining the exact value of the coins mentioned in the Gospels, and, on the basis of their value, fixing the names of the corresponding German coins. He exclaimed: "What carelessness on the part of most expositors that they have not bothered themselves at all about such an important matter!" To accomplish his purpose he turned to Spalatin and Camerarius. The latter referred him to the physician Sturtz in Erfurt. So Melanchthon wrote to him but to make sure of his interest in the matter he had him bombarded by a number of other friends. The ancient coins that could be procured in Wittenberg were also examined in the effort to reach a satisfactory result. "It gave me the greatest pleasure," Melanchthon writes, "to investigate such a distracting matter."[34] And then our modern gentlemen imagine that only now men have learned to investigate with scientific exactness!

The publication of this pioneer work was undertaken by Doering and Cranach, who had the work done by the printer Melchior Lotther.[35] As early as the 5th of May a part, at least, of the manuscript was turned over to the printers. On the 10th of May Luther was able to send Spalatin the first printed pages.[36] At the beginning of June Luther hopes Spalatin has received "the entire Matthew." He was anxious to hear how "this work pleased" his friend. He would probably show it to the Elector Frederick and Prince John, for only these two should receive copies. "Not even those working in the printery had a page given them."[37] This caution was to prevent the pirating of the Book so that the Wittenberg publishers and the printer might not suffer pecuniary loss. To speed up the printing three presses were put into operation in July, so that the Gospels and Acts were set up and printed simultaneously with the Epistles and Revelation. It is evident that Luther was not able to prepare the prefaces to Romans and to the entire New Testament in time, and consequently the first had to be inserted afterwards (interrupting the numbering of the leaves), while the second, together with the title and table of contents, was afterwards prefixed to the entire book.[38]

On September the 4th Luther expected that the printing would be completed by St. Matthew's Day, September 21st. By that date the work was actually finished, if not one or two days before. According to one of Luther's letters to Spalatin the printer sent three complete copies to the Elector; according to another Luther sent only three copies of the last printed folios with the preface to Romans, to Spalatin, to complete what had been previously sent. But these letters lack dates and so we cannot speak with exactness.[39] It is clear, however, from Luther's letter of Sept. 21st to Freiherr von Schwarzenberg that the printing was completed no later than that day.[40] On September 25th Luther sent Spalatin a copy for forewarding to Hans von Berlepsch, under whose protection and hospitality the work had been done.[41] At all events the first edition of the New Testament very correctly bears the name of "Septembertestament."

The title page is a woodcut with the inscription "*Das Newe Testament Deutzsch.*" Luther's name is not mentioned, the date of the year is missing and only the place of publication, *Vuittemberg,* is given.[42] At the end of the book there is neither a printer's mark nor a date. The title page (of which a reproduction will be found at the end of this volume) is well drawn but lacks a border and is inferior to those of later editions, especially to the splendid title page of the complete Bible of 1534. It was a book of 222 leaves, in folio size, with 45-46 lines to a page. The numbering of the leaves begins with the text of St. Matthew's Gospel and reaches to the end of Acts. This first part is introduced by

Luther's preface to the whole New Testament, his instruction as to "Which are the finest and best books of the New Testament," and the list of the New Testament books. Since these items were printed last, because Luther did not have them ready any earlier, the leaves are not numbered. For the same reason the preface to Romans, which was inserted after Acts, lacks numbering. The numbering begins again with the text of Romans 1 and reaches to the Ep. of St. Jude. The following Revelation of St. John is again unnumbered. On the outside margins of the pages there are many explanatory glosses, on the inside margins only short explanations and parallel passages. The book is adorned with 10 beautiful picture initials, which stand at the beginning of each single book with the exception of the Epistle to Philemon and Second Peter. Matthew and Mark are adorned with the letter D, Luke with S and John with J. Within the letter, in each case, there is a picture of the respective Evangelist, sitting before a book and at his side his traditional symbol. With Acts we find the letter D once more, in which, this time, there is drawn a picture of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. Each Pauline Epistle begins with the letter P and within it the standing figure of St. Paul with book and sword. I Peter likewise begins with a P which includes a drawing of St. Peter with the keys. Each of the three Johannine Epistles begins with the letter D in which St. John is pictured sitting on the ground, with a book on his knees and a pen in his hand, to his left an eagle, to his right writing instruments, the background a landscape with Mary and the Child in the right corner. Twenty-one wood cuts of full page size accompany the Apocalypse, where the attempt is made to arrange the pictures so that they will fit in with the text.

The pictures probably came from Cranach's studio and if not drawn by him were at least done in his style. Another addition had been contemplated by Luther. He wanted to include a map of Palestine. Melanchthon wrote to Cruciger who was then in Leipzig asking him to try to find one that could be copied.[43] This was quite in harmony with Luther's often advocated principle of objectiveness in presentation.[44] Unfortunately the plan was not carried out.

Although the Septembertestament was printed with care a number of printer's errors crept in. The list of errata published with it by no means covered all of them. Many were of a distinctly annoying character. So in Mark 14:5, where *Hundert pfennig* was printed in place of *drei hundert,* or Galatians 6:5, where the sense was inverted and we have *die Liebe, die durch den Glauben tätig ist* instead of *der Glaube, der durch die Liebe tätig ist.* Then words or clauses were omitted as in I Thess. 4:3 and I Peter 1:25.[45]

The size of the edition of the Septembertestament cannot be determined with certainty. Some put it at 3,000, others at 5,000 copies. These estimates go back to a letter written by Luther to Spalatin on the 26th of July, but it is very doubtful whether anything definite as to the size of the edition can be based on the reference found there.[46] A fortunate accident has preserved the contract which a Nuernberg printer made with Michael Kuder in Wiesensteig, near Ulm, on July 25th, 1526, regarding a reprint of the New Testament, which calls for a printing of three thousand copies.[47] It may be that the first edition was of the same size. The price asked by the publishers for a single copy is another question that cannot be determined with certainty. The usual estimate is one and one-half *gulden.* This is based on an imperfectly preserved letter of Carl Rosen of Nuernberg to Nikolaus von Kniebys in Strassburg, of the month of November (?), 1522. On the other hand the first owner of the Septembertestament, that is preserved in the library of the Francke institutions in Halle, wrote in it: "On the 13th day of November I bought the New Testament for 1 *gulden* in the year 1522." According to a note Buchwald found in the Weimar *Gesamtarchiv,* the court preacher Wolfgang Stein paid two *gulden* for four copies on Dec. 21, 1522.[47a] Since in this case the reference may be to the Decembertestament the difference may perhaps be explained by the fact that experience had shown that a large sale could be expected and so the price of the second edition was reduced, while, on the other hand, by the end of November the edition of the Septembertestament was almost sold out and consequently the price was raised. Again in the one case it may have been a bound, in the other an unbound copy that was involved, and furthermore there may have been a difference in the quality of the bindings. Walther in 1917 reckoned the value of 1½ *gulden* at 40 *Reichsmark,* that is a little less than 10 dollars. That was a high price, especially as Luther then, as always, received no compensation. We called attention before (p. 72) to the fact that a Mainz Breviary was sold in 1510 at the Easter Fair in Leipzig for one gulden.

From these external considerations we will turn to a consideration of the content of the Septembertestament. It begins with a notable preface, which stresses with great emphasis the fact that though the New Testament contains laws and precepts for the true guidance of life and directions for good works that are well pleasing to God, nevertheless, we are not to expect or seek in it a new law book, but a Gospel, a glad tidings of the salvation wrought by Christ and appropriated by faith alone. So at the very beginning there is a declaration of the fundamental view of Scripture, which, in contrast to the medieval view of the Bible, had gradually been given Luther (compare Chapter Two, particularly sections 6 to 9). The emphasis on this fundamental idea is so valuable and so characteristic of the new view of Scripture that we must give the most important passages at this point: "It would be right and proper that this book should appear without preface and without any other name than that of its authors, and convey only its own name and its own language. But many wild interpretations and prefaces have driven the thought of Christians to a point where no one any longer knows what is Gospel or Law, Old Testament or New. Necessity demands, therefore, that it should have an announcement, or preface, by which the simple man can be brought back from the old notions to the right road, and taught what he is to expect in this book, so that he may not seek laws and commandments where he ought to be seeking the Gospel and God's promises.

"Therefore it should be known, in the first place, that the idea must be given up that there are four Gospels and only four Evangelists. The division of the New Testament books into legal, historical, prophetic and wisdom books, is also to be rejected entirely. Some make this division, thinking that by it they are somehow comparing the New with the Old Testament. On the contrary, it is to be held firmly that:

"Just as the Old Testament is a book in which are written God's laws and commandments, together with the history of those who kept and of those who did not keep them; so the New Testament is a book in which are written the Gospel and the promises of God, together with the history of those who believe and of those who do not believe them. For Gospel is a Greek word, and means in Greek, a good message, good tidings, good news, a good report, which one sings and tells with rejoicing. So, when David overcame the great Goliath, there came among the Jewish people the good report and encouraging news that their terrible enemy had been smitten and they had been rescued and given joy and peace; and they sang and danced and were glad for it.

"So the Gospel, too, is a good story and report, sounded forth into all the world by the apostles, telling of a true David who strove with sin, death, and devil, and overcame them, and thereby rescued all those who were captive in sin, afflicted with death, and overpowered by the devil; He made them righteous, gave them life, and saved them, so that they were given peace and brought back to God. For this they sing, and thank and praise God, and are glad forever, if only they believe firmly and are steadfast in faith.

"This report and encouraging tidings, or evangelical and divine news, is also called a New Testament, because it is a testament, when a dying man bequeaths his property, after his death, to heirs whom he names, and Christ, before His death, commanded and bequeathed this Gospel, to be preached into all the world, and thereby gave to all who believe, as their possession, everything that He had, that is, His life, in which He swallowed up death; His righteousness, by which He blotted out sin; His salvation, with which He overcame everlasting damnation. A poor man, dead in sin and tied for hell, can hear nothing more comforting than this precious and tender message about Christ, and from the bottom of his heart, he must laugh and be glad over it, if he believes it true . . ."

"The Gospel, then, is nothing but the preaching about Christ, Son of God and of David, true God and man, who by His death and resurrection has overcome all men's sin, and death and hell, for us who believe in Him. Thus the Gospel can be either a brief or a lengthy message; one can describe it briefly, another at length. He describes it at length, who describes many works and words of Christ. . . as do the four Evangelists; he describes it briefly who does not tell of Christ's works, but indicates shortly how by His death and resurrection He has overcome sin, death, and hell for those who believe in Him, as do St. Peter and St. Paul.

"See to it, therefore, that you do not make of Christ a second Moses or of the Gospel a book of laws and doctrines, as has been done heretofore; and certain prefaces, even those of St. Jerome, speak for this. For the Gospel does not really demand works of ours by which we become righteous and are saved, nay, it condemns such works; but it does demand faith in Christ, that He has overcome for us sin, death, and hell, and thus makes us righteous, and gives us life and salvation, not through our works, but through His own works, death, and suffering, in order that we may avail ourselves of His death and victory, as though they were our own.

"To be sure, Christ, in the Gospel, and St. Peter and St. Paul besides, do give many commandments and doctrines, and expound the law, but these are to be counted like all Christ's other works and benefits. To know His works and the things that happened to Him, is not yet a knowledge of the Gospel, for if you know only these things, you do not yet know that He has overcome sin, death, and devil. So, too, it is not yet knowledge of the Gospel, when you know these doctrines and commandments, but only when the voice comes that says, 'Christ is your own, with His life, teaching, works, death, resurrection, and all that He is, has, does, and can do.'

"We see, also, that He does not compel us but invites us kindly and says, 'Blessed are the poor, etc.'; and the apostles use the words, 'I exhort,' 'I entreat,' 'I beg.' Thus one sees on every hand that the Gospel is not a book of law, but really a preaching of the benefits of Christ, shown to us and given to us for our own, if we believe. But Moses, in his books, drives, compels, threatens, smites and rebukes terribly; for he is a lawgiver and driver.

"Hence it comes that to a believer no law is given by which he becomes righteous before God, as St. Paul says in I Timothy 1, because he is alive and righteous and saved by faith, and he needs nothing more, except to prove his faith by works. Nay, if faith is there, he cannot hold himself back; he shows himself, breaks out into good works, confesses and teaches this Gospel before people, and risks his life for it. Everything that he lives and does is directed to his neighbor's profit, in order to help him, not only to the attainment of this grace, but in body, property, and honor. He sees that this is what Christ has done for him, and he follows Christ's example.

"That is what Christ meant when He gave, at last, no other commandment than love, by which men were to know who were His disciples and true believers. For where works and love do not break forth, there faith is not right, the Gospel does not take hold, and Christ is not rightly known. See, then, that you so approach the books of the New Testament as to learn to read them in this way."

This is followed by a short instruction: "Which are the best and finest books of the New Testament."

St. John's Gospel, St. Paul's Letters, especially Romans, and the first Epistle of St. Peter Luther values above all others. They contain "the true kernel and marrow of all the books." "It would be advisable for every Christian to read them first and most, and by daily reading, make them as familiar as his daily bread. In them you find not many works and miracles of Christ described, but you do find it depicted, in masterly fashion, how faith in Christ overcomes sin, death and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and salvation. This is the real nature of the Gospel, as you have heard." Just because St. John reports so much of the discourses of Jesus Luther calls his Gospel "the one, tender, true chief Gospel, far, far to be preferred to the other three and placed high above them." He closes with these words: "In a word, St. John's Gospel and his first Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles, especially Romans, Galatians and Ephesians, and St. Peter's first Epistle are the books that show you Christ and teach you all that is necessary and good for you to know, even though you were never to see or hear any other book or doctrine." And here he immediately adds the well known statement, "Therefore St. James' Epistle is really an epistle of straw." But, as is so often forgotten, he qualifies this judgment not only through the connection in which it stands, but by the special addition, "compared to them." He is not passing an absolute judgment but only a relative one. Compared with the chief writings that he mentions the Epistle of St. James is only a "straw" epistle to him. Why? "For it has nothing of the nature of the Gospel about it," that is, in comparison with the others, it tells almost nothing about the Person and work of Jesus. He is judging from the standpoint of his own experience of what is fundamental.

In the third place there is a list of the "Books of the New Testament." We are at once struck by the list that numbers 23 books, leaves a blank line and then, without numbering them, mentions four more books. In the first 23 are the 4 Gospels, and Acts (1-5), then the 13 Epistles of St. Paul (6-18), finally the two Epistles of St. Peter and the three of St. John (19-23). The remaining four that are not numbered and are separated from the rest by an empty line, are the Epistle to the Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation. This arrangement of Luther's could have no other meaning than that he wanted to make a distinction of value between the books of the New Testament. It did not satisfy him to make a distinction between the books of the New Testament as he had done in the section "Which are the best and finest books of the New Testament." These 23, in spite of a difference in value, when compared with each other, were for him beyond question apostolic and canonical and thus were produced under the influence of the Holy Ghost so that the writers were raised completely above human fallibility. On the other hand the remaining four were to be marked out as those whose apostolic origin was questionable and so their canonicity was in doubt, with the result that their content could not be regarded, at once, as absolutely inerrant. That we have correctly understood Luther on this point follows from the beginning of his preface to the first of these four books, the Epistle to the Hebrews, where he says, "Up to this point we have been dealing with the true and certain chief books of the New Testament; the four that follow have from ancient times been differently regarded," and also from what he expressly says in the prefaces to these four books about them. We will give these prefaces in the form they had in 1522.

Hebrews: "In the first place, that this Epistle is not St. Paul's, nor any other apostle's is proved by the fact that it says, in chapter II, that this doctrine has come to us and remains among us through those who themselves heard it from the Lord. Thus it is clear that he speaks of the apostles as a disciple to whom this doctrine has come from the apostles, perhaps long after them. For St. Paul, in Galatians I, testifies mightily that he has his Gospel from no man, neither through men, but from God Himself.

"Again, there is a hard knot in the fact that in chapters VI and X it flatly denies and forbids to sinners repentance after baptism, and in chapter XII, it says that Esau sought repentance and did not find it. This seems, as it stands, to be against all the Gospels and St. Paul's epistles; and although one might make a gloss on it, the words are so clear that I do not know whether that would be sufficient. My opinion is that it is an epistle of many pieces put together, and it does not deal with any one subject in an orderly way.

"However that may be, it is a marvellously fine epistle. It discusses Christ's priesthood masterfully and thoroughly, out of the Scriptures, and interprets the Old Testament finely and richly. Thus it is plain that it is the work of an able and learned man, who was a disciple of the apostles, learned much from them, and was greatly experienced in faith and practiced in the Scriptures. And although, as he himself testifies in chapter VI, he does not lay the foundation of faith, which is the work of an apostle, nevertheless he does build finely thereon gold, silver, precious stones, as St. Paul says in I Corinthians III. Therefore we should not be hindered, even though wood, straw or hay be mixed in with them, but accept this fine teaching with all honor; though to be sure, we cannot put it on the same level with the apostolic epistles.

"Who wrote it is not known, and will not be known for a while; it makes no difference. We should be satisfied with the doctrine that he bases so constantly on the Scriptures, showing a right fine grasp upon the reading of the Scriptures and the proper way to deal with them."

James and Jude: "Though this Epistle of St. James was rejected by the ancients, I praise it and hold it a good book, because it sets up no doctrine of men and lays great stress upon God's law. But to state my own opinion about it, though without injury to anyone, I consider that it is not the writing of any apostle. My reasons are as follows:

"First: Flatly against St. Paul and all the rest of Scripture, it ascribes righteousness to works, and says that Abraham was justified by his works, in that he offered his son Isaac, though St. Paul, on the contrary, teaches, in Romans IV, that Abraham was justified without works, by faith alone, before he offered his son, and proves it by Moses in Genesis XV. Now although this Epistle might be helped and a gloss be found for this work-righteousness, it cannot be defended against applying to works the saying of Moses in Genesis XV, which speaks only of Abraham's faith, and not of his works, as St. Paul shows in Romans IV. This fault, therefore, leads to the conclusion that it is not the work of any apostle.

"Second: Its purpose is to teach Christians, and in all this long teaching it does not once mention the Passion, the Resurrection, or the Spirit of Christ. He names Christ several times, but he teaches nothing about Him, and only speaks of common faith in God. For it is the duty of a true apostle to preach of the Passion and Resurrection and work of Christ, and thus lay the foundation of faith, as He Himself says, in John XV, 'Ye shall bear witness of me.' All the genuine sacred books agree in this, that all of them preach Christ and deal with Him. That is the true test, by which to judge all books, when we see whether they deal with Christ or not, since all the Scriptures show us Christ (Romans III), and St. Paul will know nothing but Christ (I Corinthians XV). What does not teach Christ is not apostolic, even though St. Peter or Paul taught it; again, what preaches Christ would be apostolic, even though Judas, Annas, Pilate and Herod did it.

"But this James does nothing more than drive to the law and its works; and he mixes the two up in such disorderly fashion that it seems to me he must have been some good, pious man, who took some sayings of the apostles' disciples and threw them thus on paper; or perhaps they were written down by someone else from his preaching. He calls the law a 'law of liberty,' though St. Paul calls it a law of slavery, of wrath, of death and of sin (Galatians III; Romans VII).

"Moreover, in chapter V, he quotes the sayings of St. Peter, 'Love covereth the multitude of sins' (I Peter IV) and 'Humble yourselves under the hand of God' (I Peter V), and of St. Paul (Galatians V), 'The Spirit lusteth against hatred'; and yet, in point of time, St. James was put to death by Herod, in Jerusalem, before St. Peter. So it seems that he came long after Sts. Peter and Paul.

"In a word, he wants to guard against those who relied on faith without works, and is unequal to the task (in spirit, thought, and words, and rends the Scriptures and thereby resists Paul and all Scripture), and would accomplish by insisting on the Law what the apostles accomplish by inciting men to love. Therefore, I cannot put him among the chief books, though I would not thereby prevent anyone from putting him where he pleases and estimating him as he pleases; for there are many good sayings in him.

"Concerning the Epistle of St. Jude, no one can deny that it is an extract or copy from St. Peter's second epistle, so very like it are all the words. He also speaks of the apostles as a disciple coming long after them, and quotes sayings and stories that are found nowhere in the Scriptures. This moved the ancient Fathers to throw this Epistle out of the main body of the Scriptures. Moreover, Jude, the Apostle, did not go to Greek-speaking lands, but to Persia, as it is said, so that he did not write Greek. Therefore, although I praise the book, it is an epistle that need not be counted among the chief books, which are to lay the foundation of faith."

The Revelation of St. John: "About this book of the Revelation of John, I leave everyone free to hold his own ideas, and would bind no man to my opinion or judgment; I say what I feel. I miss more than one thing in this book, and this makes me hold it to be neither apostolic nor prophetic. First and foremost, the Apostles do not deal with visions, but prophesy in clear, plain words, as do Peter and Paul, and Christ in the Gospel. For it befits the apostolic office to speak of Christ and His deeds without figures and visions; but there is no prophet in the Old Testament, to say nothing of the New, who deals so out and out with visions and figures. And so I think of it almost as I do of the Fourth Book of Esdras, and can nohow detect that the Holy Spirit produced it.

"Moreover, he seems to me to be going much too far when he commends his own book so highly,—more than any of the other sacred books do, though they are much more important,—and threatens that if anyone takes away anything from it, God will deal likewise with him. Again, they are to be blessed who keep what is written therein; and yet no one knows what that is, to say nothing of keeping it. It is just the same as if we had it not, and there are many far better books for us to keep. Many of the fathers, too, rejected this book of old, though St. Jerome, to be sure, praises it highly and says that it is above all praise and that there are as many mysteries in it as words; though he cannot prove this at all, and his praise is, at many points, too mild.

> "Finally, let everyone think of it as his own spirit gives him to think. My spirit cannot fit itself into this book. There is one sufficient reason for me not to think highly of it,—Christ is not taught or known in it; but to teach Christ is the thing which an apostle is bound, above all else, to do, as He says in Acts I, 'Ye shall be my witnesses.' Therefore I stick to the books which give me Christ, clearly and purely."

From this it is evident that Luther in no wise denies the value of these four books but rather recognizes it, especially in the case of Hebrews. However, because of their questionable attestation by the ancient Church, as well as because of their contents, he does not regard them as either apostolic or inerrant, nor to be placed on an equality with the rest, but he will not attempt to bind others by this subjective judgment. In later editions of the New Testament Luther somewhat modified this judgment but did not essentially change it.

How was it that he came to consider the question of the canon at all? There were a number of factors that almost compelled him to do so. Towards the end of the middle ages uncertainty had arisen in the Church not only concerning the canonicity of the Old Testament Apocrypha but also concerning the extent of the New Testament Canon; an uncertainty that existed in actual usage rather than in the attitude of the official Church. Many medieval Bible manuscripts included a fifth Gospel, the Gospel of Nicodemus; many manuscripts and all the printed German Bibles included an additional epistle of St. Paul, the so-called Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is even to be found as late as 1544 in Dietenberger's Roman Catholic translation of the Bible. On the other hand Erasmus had assumed a critical attitude towards these four books in the *Annotationes* added to his Greek New Testament of 1516, especially as to the canonicity and the whole character of the Apocalypse, and as a result he had come into a sharp controversy, especially regarding the apostolic character of Hebrews, with Faber Stapulensis, in 1517.[48] Even among the leaders of the Roman Church there were those who agreed with Erasmus as became evident when Cajetan openly accepted his conclusion.[49] It is possible that the position of Erasmus had influenced Luther in some particulars. Luther had first expressed his critical attitude towards the Epistle of St. James in his *Resolutiones* of 1519;[50] afterwards more energetically in *De Captivitate Babylonica.*[51] Under such conditions we have no reason to be surprised that Luther entered into the question in his New Testament of 1522, especially as the fundamental understanding of Scripture that had come to him compelled him to take a stand, at least concerning James, and furthermore, he did not think that these matters were to be kept hidden from the congregations but even discussed them in his sermons.[52] Till this day the same order of books has been retained in the German Bible, even though but few know how it originated. But the distinction, by which the first 23 books were numbered and the last four were not, seems to have been made for the last time in 1689.[53]

Luther not only provided a preface for the entire New Testament but one for each book as well. We saw before (p. 35) that this was no innovation of Luther's, but we cannot help seeing how superior his prefaces are to those of the middle ages and even to those of Jerome and Erasmus. Almost all of them really introduce us to the heart of the book in question and so are a genuine aid to the Bible reader, sometimes in so notable a way that we wonder why similar editions of the Bible are not issued today. The palm belongs to the preface to Romans. This differs from that of Jerome (p. 36) like day from night. If according to Jerome's preface this Epistle had a real significance only for the ancient Roman congregation, here, in contrast, its present significance rises tangibly before our eyes. With its explanations of the order of salvation and its careful interpretation of the chief biblical concepts, this preface can still become, for its readers, a key to the right understanding of the whole New Testament. For that reason we give it unabridged in Part II, according to the translation of Dr. C. M. Jacobs, who translated all of the prefaces in the Philadelphia edition of Luther's selected works (1932, vol. 6).

As the preface to the entire New Testament, which we have just been considering could also be considered a preface to each of the Gospels and to Acts, this "second portion of the Gospels," these five historical books were given no special prefaces in the edition of 1522. Not till 1533 was one prepared for Acts. Each one of the Pauline Epistles and both Epistles of St. Peter were provided with a preface; the three Johannine Epistles with one in common; Hebrews with one of its own; James and Jude with one in common, and one was supplied for the Apocalypse.

If we now turn to St. Matthew we find three additions to the actual text; the parallel passages on the inner margin, and short verbal explanations or longer glosses on the outer margin. The parallel passages are sparingly given but are usually instructive. Here Luther only followed the example of the Vulgate which had indicated parallel passages and Luther's naturally often coincide with these. The verbal explanations were more needed at that day than now, but even today the simple Bible reader often needs them. The various glosses are of very dissimilar character. Sometimes they furnish an archeological or chronological explanation, sometimes they throw a side light on the current situations of Reformation times, sometimes they briefly apply the truth of the text to the hearer. So alongside the genealogy of Jesus in St. Matthew 1, we find on the margin: "Abraham and David are principally mentioned because Christ was especially promised to them," and "St. Matthew omits several links and traces Christ's descent from Solomon, according to the law, but St. Luke traces it according to nature, from Nathan, Solomon's brother, for the law also designates those as children who are thus born from the widow by the brother, Deut. 25." In the same chapter there is a simple verbal explanation for *Joseph wollte Maria nicht rügen,* "That is he did not want to put her to shame before the people, as he could do according to the law, and so St. Matthew praises Joseph's piety, that for the sake of love he surrendered his right." To the quotation from Jeremiah in St. Matthew 2: *es war aus mit ihnen,* Luther remarks on the margin, "St. Matthew specially quoted this statement that by it he might show the usual situation of Christianity, for it always appears to the world as though Christianity was done for; yet in spite of all the powers of hell it is wonderfully preserved by God, and here, in these children, we see how a real Christian character is subjected to suffering." The marginal note to St. Matthew 3:15 is: "All righteousness is fulfilled when we renounce all our own righteousness and honor, so that we esteem God as the only one who is righteous and who makes believers righteous. This John does when he relinquishes his own righteousness and desires to be baptized and justified by Christ. This Christ also does, as He does not hold fast to His righteousness and honor, but permits Himself to be baptized and put to death, for baptism is nothing else than death." To St. John 6:35 seq. Luther adds the remark: "This chapter does not speak of the Sacrament of bread and wine but of the spiritual eating, namely, the belief that Christ, God and Man, has shed His Blood for us."

As in the medieval Bibles, the chapters are not yet divided into verses, but, as in the earlier version (p. 34), into larger or smaller paragraphs. However convenient the division into verses is for purposes of quotation there has been a frequent return in our own day to the arrangement adopted by Luther, where each verse does not begin a new line, thus breaking up the text, but where such divisions are only made with the beginning of a new thought; an arrangement that is an aid both to reading and to the comprehension of the thought. The prologue to St. John is divided into five sections; verses 1-5, 6-10, 11-13, 14, 15-18. In this way the main thought, "The word was made flesh," is made very clear.

The impression made by Luther's New Testament at its appearance was tremendous. In less than three months a new edition became necessary to take care of the demands of the public. Doubtless many others said or wrote what was written at the beginning of December by Karl Rose, to whom we had occasion to refer before (p. 165), to Nikolaus von Kniebys in Strassburg:[54] "I am momentarily expecting the New Testament that Luther has translated into the common tongue, and as soon as it arrives I will send it to you." In the month that the New Testament appeared Heinrich von Zuetphen was in Antwerp, from whence he had to flee to Bremen. In spite of the great distance from Wittenberg, according to his letter of December 13th, he had already seen a New Testament but was unable to buy a copy because the stock was sold out.[55] Lazarus Spengler in Nuernberg was able to realize what he had so ardently wished for,[56] and Anton Corvinus rejoiced over this epoch making event.[57]

Still more significant was the hostile echo from the Roman camp. Duke George forbade the circulation of Luther's New Testament in his territories and whosoever possessed a copy was to surrender it. The theological faculty in Leipzig, at the Duke's direction, framed an opinion justifying the prohibition. As the Duke missed a list of the "falsifications" occurring in Luther's New Testament in this opinion, he commissioned his chaplain and secretary, Jerome Emser, to construct such a list.[58] As a result in September 1523, Emser's work appeared with the title, *Aus was Grund und Ursache Luthers Dolmetschung über das Neue Testament dem gemeinen Mann verboten worden sei.* In it he asserted that he could prove Luther guilty of 1,400 "heretical errors and lies," but in fact was only able to mention several hundred and these were only deviations from the Vulgate. He had to submit to the rejoinder of Urbanus Rhegius of Augsburg, a theologian with a humanistic culture, who in his notable little book of 1524, *Ob das new testament yetz recht verteutschet sey, kurtz bericht durch D. Vrbanum Regium, M. D. xxiiii,*[59] made short work of him; extolled Luther's translation because it was made from the original text, and brilliantly justified the principles underlying his translation. When in 1527, again at the command of the Duke, Emser published his own translation this turned out to be, after a relatively independent beginning, nothing but a sorry plagiarism of Luther's own translation, only corrected to conform to the Vulgate.[60] So Rome had to thank Luther for securing a better translation than she possessed in the medieval German Bibles. As Rome had never officially recognized the medieval Bible and had even prohibited its use in the Diocese of Mainz through the decree of the archbishop, so now she could only defend herself against Luther's Testament by the action of one of her most loyal princes in giving to his people another translation which actually rested completely on Luther's! Luther could rightly rejoice that "his book was being read even when passing under the name of his enemies." And this becomes all the more true as subsequent Roman editions very largely incorporated Emser's New Testament, resting as it does on Luther's, into their own translations. That is especially true of the Bible of the Romanist Johannes Dietenberger, of 1529, which besides the New Testament contains only the pericopes that were taken from the Old Testament, as well as of his complete Bible of 1534, where the Old Testament was to a large degree modeled after Luther's as far as that was then finished and easily accessible. Walther has placed a number of examples in evidence.[61] There were 58 editions of Dietenberger's complete Bible, 14 of his New Testament and 20 of the Psalter and other portions of the Old Testament. Thus Lutheran property was widely distributed in the Roman Church. The same holds good of Eck's German Bible, which he published in 1537 at the command of the Duke of Bavaria and in which he appropriated Emser's New Testament.[62]

Hans Lietzmann made a bold assertion, but not one that was too bold, when in 1922 (*Luther Jahrbuch* 1922, p. 33) he described Luther's New Testament as a "miracle of God performed for the German race." Between 1522 and 1546 21 different editions of the New Testament appeared in Wittenberg,[63] and, in addition, 11 editions of the complete Bible. If we allow 3,000 copies for each edition, the total would reach 96,000 copies. To this must be added an enormous number of reprints that were made outside of Wittenberg. In the bibliography given by Pietsch in *Deutsche Bibel,* 2 (W. Ed.), I have counted not less than 95 separate editions of the New Testament appearing between 1522 and 1546, and 10 editions of the complete Bible. If we may again reckon 3,000 copies for each edition we have a total of not less than 315,000 copies printed during these years. That is something unique in the earlier history of printing. In comparison the figures we believed correct for the medieval Bibles seem quite small. Even in the number of copies of the New Testament circulated among the people the Reformation commenced a new era.

And still Luther was not satisfied with his first attempt but continued indefatigably smoothing and improving it. The December edition already shows more than 500 substitutions. Printers errors are corrected, there are substitutions of single words for those first used, frequently the order of words is changed and even stylistic and syntactic alterations occur, as Rich. Kuhn showed, and which H. Weber examined in detail in 1912.[64] The four following editions, of the years 1523 to 1525, show only slight changes. But in the year 1526 there is renewed activity in the work of correction. The two editions of this year furnish more than 200 new readings and a considerable number of new translations. In the 1526 edition printed by Lufft (D. B. 2, 389f.) there is also appended (leaves e e 4 – f f 3) : *Register zu finden die Episteln vnd Euangelien an Sonntagen vnd namhafftigen Festen.*[65] The edition of 1527 which was probably printed by Lufft but which has only been preserved in prints published outside of Wittenberg must be regarded as a newly revised edition. Much that was changed in this edition was again given up in the printing of 1530, but much is also retained even by all of the subsequent editions. And yet this edition of 1527 is only a preparation for that of 1530, which has a completely revised text. In the Gospel according to St. Matthew alone there are 285 passages that have been more or less altered. In the entire New Testament the changes are about ten times as numerous as in the edition of 1527. Fortunately we are able to trace the origin of most of these changes. Luther made them during his sojourn at the Coburg, and very probably in the months of June, July and August. During this time he planned to write an extensive work *de justificatione,* and with this purpose in view again carefully read through the Old and New Testament. The Old Testament passages that seemed relevant to his subject are treated in detail in his draft, which is found in W. Ed. 30, 2, pp. 657 ff. But on the New Testament passages that he considered as of special value for his purpose as well as on those that seemed to require revision, he made marginal notes — here, mostly in Latin — in his copy of the New Testament that Hans Lufft had published in the winter of 1530 in Wittenberg (D. B. 2, 480). This copy has not as yet been found. But we do have copies of the notes. They were carefully compared and edited by O. Reichert in 1923, and are found in D. B. 4, 450-505. They consist of emendations of the text, new marginal notes and lengthier expositions on those passages which Luther regarded as valuable evidence in support of his doctrine of justification. The most fruitful sources were the Gospel of St. Luke and the Book of Acts. Those marginal notes which Luther wished to have entered in the third printing of the New Testament which Lufft carried out in 1530 (D. B. 2, 482 ff.) were, probably still from the Coburg, forwarded by Luther to the corrector for Lufft's printery. In keeping with the character of his notes, these changes consisted more of modifications of and additions to the glosses and less of emendations of the text.[66] We can understand why Luther prefaced just this edition of 1530 with the request and warning: "I beg that all my friends and foes, my masters, printers and readers let this New Testament remain my own; if they find it defective let them produce one of their own. I know very well what I am doing and see quite clearly what others are doing. But this Testament is to be Luther's German Testament; though censuring and criticising is here without limit or end. And let everyone be warned against other editions, for I have learned by experience how careless and incorrect others are in their reprints." Even after 1530 Luther's industry continued and the separate edition of 1533 again brings a number of improvements to the text of the New Testament, as well as the text of the New Testament in the complete Bible. In the sixth and seventh volumes of the *Deutsche Bibel,* in the Weimar Edition, the first form of 1522 and the last of 1546 are printed in parallel columns and in the foot notes all the variants of the intervening editions are recorded. What an abundance of unwearied labor spent in little details, what a riches of love for the subject and what a profound reverence for the inspired Word of God is hidden behind these corrections!

CHAPTER FOUR

LUTHER'S TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE COMPLETE BIBLE IN 1534

After his return to Wittenberg, even while the printing of the first edition of the New Testament was still in progress, Luther began the translation of the Old Testament with the greatest energy, anxious to give the German nation the complete Bible in its own language as soon as possible. We already know what literary aids he had at hand. These were again used in this part of his work but we must now add to those enumerated on page 149f. an edition of the Septuagint, probably the one printed in Venice in 1518. Possibly he now also compared, on occasion, some of the commentators among the earlier writers of the Church instead of contenting himself with the excerpts in the *Glossa ordinaria* or other aids of similar character. So he remarks in passing that the Greek translation was "inexperienced and inept in Hebrew; its translations very patchy and inappropriate; they ignored the letters, the words and the (Hebrew) manner of speaking." He even, on one occasion, says of Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, "Whosoever regards Jerome as a Hebraist does him violence and injustice." Lyra he criticises for following too largely the rabbis who were hostile to Christ.[1] He did not even follow the statements of the dictionaries slavishly or blindly. He observed quite correctly that the manner of speaking or the grammatical construction can give a word a different meaning. "If I should say, Imitate me! I would mean that he could *not* do so. But if I should say, I will set you an example, Imitate me, I would mean that he could and would do so."[2] In spite of these criticisms Luther was glad to avail himself of these aids, in so far as they could be of use to him. That he here and there used the medieval German Bible for purposes of comparison has been shown conclusively, from Luther's own notes, by Freitag in his lecture delivered before the Prussian Academy in 1929.[3]

As a matter of course, Luther began his work on the translation of the Old Testament with the Hebrew original.[4] First he tried to grasp the meaning of the Hebrew. In this he was greatly aided by his splendid memory and his unusual gift of detecting subtle variations in the use of words. Then came the next task; to frame the meaning as he had grasped it in language that conformed to the peculiarities of the German tongue. This was often the more difficult of the two. Amsdorf, who was often called in to assist in finding the proper idiomatic expression, once complained: "It is a shame that I know and understand the meaning of a word but cannot express it. Often we have to pour it four times from one pitcher into another before we can bring it to rights."[5]

As a result of these difficulties Luther did not progress as rapidly as he had hoped. By the beginning of November he had translated about the first half of the Pentateuch. That was surely a considerable accomplishment. But in the second half with its detailed laws of sacrifice, which distinguish between the internal organs of the animals, he met with the greatest difficulties. How was he, who had never studied physiology or anatomy, to understand the Hebrew text and find the correct corresponding words for its translation into German? But he knew how to help himself. As before, through the good offices of Spalatin, he had secured a collection of jewels from the Elector's collection, to help him in determining the proper names of the jewels mentioned in Revelation 21 (p. 160), so with similar resourcefulness, he went to a butcher, saw several sheep slaughtered and learned from the butcher what each part was called in German.[6] In spite of these difficulties. Luther had finished the second half of the Pentateuch in the next four weeks. In order that the size of the book should not be too large, the price too high and that the reading public should not be kept waiting too long for the continuation of the German Bible, he resolved, before the close of 1522, to issue the Old Testament in three parts. The Pentateuch was to constitute the first part.[7] But before the printer could begin, the manuscript had to be thoroughly revised with the assistance of the Wittenberg friends, particularly Melanchthon and Aurogallus. Unfortunately no minutes of this revision have been preserved. However Luther's concern for securing a correct translation and attaining a really idiomatic German is apparent from the correspondence he carried on with Spalatin during this time. Here we learn how on the 11th (?) of December he asked Spalatin how certain passages in Genesis (1:27; 5:2; 3:16; 2:18) might best be reproduced in German. He describes the meaning quite correctly but cannot find the appropriate expressions in German. On the following day he urges him to help him in the translation of the names of the birds of prey, game and reptiles mentioned in the Old Testament and gives a list of those about which he wanted information.[8]

In the first third of the year 1523 this part of the Old Testament was ready in book form. The printing had been done by Melchior Lotther and it bore the title

Das Alte Testament deutsch. M. Luther. Vvittemberg.[9] It was a volume of 148 leaves (not counting the pictures), in folio size, with a splendid title page. The title is framed between two columns, surmounted by an arch. Eight angels are pictured hovering over the arch, two stand by the pillars, holding fast to a ring inserted in the side. Under the arch Christ is depicted hanging on the cross and also surrounded by angels. Here as well as in the illustrations of the book itself we see that Luther in the whole make-up of the book is progressing along the road that began with the comparative simplicity of the Septembertestament and ended with the splendid edition of the complete Bible in 1534. The Septembertestament, beside the picture initials, had only been provided with the pictures illustrating Revelation, but here we find, besides 6 picture initials, eleven full page wood cuts. The initials get their inspiration from the respective books in which they find their place. The first initial which stands at the beginning of the preface and recurs at the beginning of the fifth book, represents Moses preaching. The eleven wood cuts depict: 1. The Deluge; 2. the angel preventing the sacrifice of Isaac; 3. Jacob's ladder; 4. Joseph interpreting the dreams; 5-10. various views of the interior and exterior of the Tabernacle; 11. The high priest in his vestments. The last seven wood cuts are particularly characteristic of Luther, who was probably responsible for their insertion. As he wanted to include a map of Palestine in the New Testament "that what was read might become clearer, because it is a great advantage to see actual pictures," (p. 164), so here he provided that the Old Testament cultus, so remote from the experience of the readers, but a knowledge of which is presupposed in the New Testament, should be vividly portrayed before their eyes in pictures. On the reverse side of the title page is a numbered list of the canonical books of the Old Testament. The names of the apocryphal books are also given, but like the four last books of the New Testament, they are separated from the others, and, like them, are unnumbered; a procedure that gives added significance to the previous treatment of those New Testament books.

The book itself begins with a notable preface concerning the Old Testament as a whole, with particular reference to the Pentateuch.[10] In it Luther warns the reader against despising the Old Testament and thinking he can confine himself to the New, since the New is founded on the Old. Then he emphatically notes the great difference between the Old and the New Testaments; that the Old Testament is a law book that commands, while the New Testament is a book of the Gospel, that proclaims grace. But that in no wise diminishes its value nor lowers it to the place of a book that is of value only to a few. Whosoever reads it in the light of Christ recognizes how the law reveals sin and drives us to Christ, and also recognizes how the prophetical and historical books refer back to the law of Moses and like that law reveal sin and then, by their prefiguring and promising of grace they look forward to the coming Christ. Dr. C. M. Jacobs has given us a translation of this preface in the Philadelphia edition of Luther, so that we need only call attention to its high points:

"There are some who have a small opinion of the Old Testament, thinking of it as a book that was given to the Jewish people only, and is now out of date, containing only stories of past times. They think that they have enough in the New Testament and pretend to seek in the Old Testament only a spiritual sense. Origen, Jerome, and many persons of high standing have held this view, but Christ says, "Search in the Scriptures, for they give testimony of Me," and St. Paul bids Timothy continue in the reading of the Scriptures, and declares, in Romans i, that the Gospel was promised by God in the Scriptures, and in I Corinthians xv, he says that Christ came of the seed of David, died, and rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures; and St. Peter, too, points us back, more than once, to the Scriptures.

"They do this in order to teach us that the Scriptures of the Old Testament are not to be despised, but to be read, because they themselves base the New Testament upon them, and prove it by them, and appeal to them, as St. Luke writes, in Acts xvii, saying that they at Thessalonica searched the Scriptures daily to discover whether it agreed with what Paul taught. The ground and proof of the New Testament are surely not to be despised, and therefore the Old Testament is to be highly regarded. And what is the New Testament except an open preaching and proclamation of Christ, appointed by the sayings of the Old Testament and fulfilled by Christ?

"But in order that those who know no better may have incentive and instruction for reading the Old Testament, I have prepared this introduction, with whatever ability God has given me. I beg and faithfully warn every pious Christian not to stumble at the simplicity of the language and the stories that will often meet him there. He should not doubt that however simple they may seem, these are the very words, works, judgments, and deeds of the high majesty, power, and wisdom of God; for this is Scripture, and it makes fools of all the wise and prudent, and stands open to the small and foolish, as Christ says, in Matthew xi. Therefore let your own thoughts and feelings go, and think of the Scriptures as the loftiest and noblest of holy things, as the richest of mines, which can never be worked out, so that you may find the wisdom of God that He lays before you in such foolish and simple guise, in order that He may quench all pride. Here you will find the swaddling-clothes, and the mangers in which Christ lies, and to which the angel points the shepherds. Simple and little are the swaddling-clothes, but dear is the treasure, Christ, that lies in them.

"Know, then, that the Old Testament is a book of laws, which teaches what men are to do and not to do, and gives, besides, examples and stories of how these laws are kept or broken; just as the New Testament is a Gospel-book, or book of grace, and teaches where one is to get the power to fulfill the law. But in the New Testament there are given, along with the teaching about grace, many other teachings that are laws and commandments for the ruling of the flesh, since in this life the spirit is not perfected and grace alone cannot rule. Just so in the Old Testament there are, beside the laws, certain promises and offers of grace, by which the holy fathers and prophets, under the law, were kept, like us, under the faith of Christ. Nevertheless, just as the peculiar and chief teaching of the New Testament is the proclamation of grace and peace of Christ, through the forgiveness of sins; so the peculiar and chief teaching of the Old Testament is the teaching of laws, the showing of sin, and the furtherance of good. Know that this is what you have to expect in the Old Testament."

Then Luther briefly considers each of the five books in detail; how in Genesis — "almost a Gospel book" — the Gospel has preceded the Law, and the law was made necessary only through sin and because of the redemptive purposes of God, who desired to prepare the way for salvation through Christ. In this connection, in agreement with St. Paul, he writes these golden words concerning the temporary as well as the permanent significance of the Law:

> "Then, when Christ comes, the law ceases, especially the Levitical law, which, as has been said, makes sins of things that are not in their nature sinful. The Ten Commandments do not cease, in the sense that they are no longer to be kept or fulfilled, but Moses' part in them ceases, and no longer strengthens sin by the Ten Commandments, and sin is no longer the sting of death. For through Christ sin is forgiven, God is reconciled, and man's heart has begun to be inclined to the law. Moses can no longer rebuke it and make it sinful, because it has not kept the commandments and is guilty of death, as he did before grace came and before Christ was there.
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> "St. Paul teaches this, in II Corinthians iii, when he says that the glory in the countenance of Moses ceases because of the glory in the countenance of Jesus Christ; that is, the work of Moses, which makes sinners of us and puts us to shame with the brightness of the knowledge of our wickedness and nothingness, no longer causes us pain and no longer terrifies us with death. For we now have the glory in the face of Christ, that is, the work of grace whereby we know Christ, by whose righteousness, life, and strength we fulfill the law and overcome death and hell. The three apostles saw Moses and Elias on Mt. Tabor, and yet were not frightened at them, because of the tender glory in the face of Christ; but in Exodus xxxiv, where Christ was not present, the children of Israel could not endure the glory and brightness in Moses' face, and he had to put a covering over it.
>
> "There are three kinds of pupils of the law. The first are those who hear the law and despise it, and lead an impious life, without fear. To these the law does not come. They are signified by the calf-worshipers in the wilderness, on whose account Moses broke the tables; he did not bring them the law.
>
> "The second are those who attempt to fulfill it by their own power, without grace. They are signified by the people who could not look on Moses' countenance, when he brought the tables a second time. To these the law comes, but they endure it not; therefore they put a covering over it and lead a life of hypocrisy, with outward works of the law, though the law makes everything sin,

if the covering is removed. For the law shows that our ability is nothing without Christ's grace.

"The third are those who see Moses clearly, without a covering. These are they who understand the meaning of the law and how it demands impossible things. Then sin comes into power, death is mighty, Goliath's spear is like a weaver's beam and its head weighs six hundred shekels of brass, and all the children of Israel flee before him, but David only. Christ, our Lord, saves us from all that; for if Christ's glory did not come along with this glory of Moses, no one could bear the glory of the law, the terror of sin and death. These pupils fall away from all works and presumption and learn from the law nothing else except to recognize sin and to sigh for Christ; and this is the true work of Moses and the true purpose of the law."

Then Luther discusses his translation and remarks, in the first place, that he has invariably given the Hebrew "Yahveh" as HERR in the German, and the Hebrew "Adonai" as HErr (The first always in capitals and the second with but two capitals), so that the German reader might perceive what is written in the Hebrew, and so could learn how to distinguish the names of God, while the other name of God, "Elohim," is also given in Scripture to "angels and saints," these two names are only applied to the true God. The name "Yahveh," though he does not mention it in this connection, was of peculiar significance to Luther because he saw in it (quite correctly) an unmixed expression of the Gospel. Then there follows a statement concerning his own translation and its critics, who doubtless would not be lacking. The first we will give completely:

"Herewith, I commend all my readers to Christ, and ask that they will help me get from God the power to carry this work through to a profitable end, for I freely admit that I undertook too much, especially in trying to put the Old Testament into German. The Hebrew language, sad to say, has gone down so far that even the Jews know little enough about it, and their glosses and interpretations (which I have tested) are not to be trusted. I think that if the Bible is to come up again, we Christians are the ones who must do the work, for we have the understanding of Christ, without which the knowledge of the language is nothing. Because they were without it, the old interpreters, even Jerome, made mistakes in many passages. Though I cannot claim that I have got everything, nevertheless, I venture to say that this German Bible is plainer and surer, at many points, than the Latin, and so it is true that if the printers do not, as usual, spoil it with their carelessness, the German language has here a better Bible than the Latin language. I call upon its readers to say whether this is so."

The second we will give in part. Here Luther emphasizes the use of genuine German and acknowledges the cooperation of his friends:

"If there is anyone who is so far above men in scholarship, let him undertake to translate the whole Bible into German, and let him tell me, after that, what he can do. If he does better than I, why should he not be preferred to me? I thought I was a scholar, and I know that, by God's grace, I am more learned than all the sophists in the universities; but now I see that I cannot handle even my own native German tongue. Nor have I read, up to this time, a book or letter which contained the real German language. No one thinks of speaking German rightly either, especially the people in the chancelleries and the miserable preachers and wretched writers who think they have the right to change the German tongue, and invent new words for us every day,—*beherzigen, behandigen, erspriesslich, erschiesslich,* and the like. Yet, my dear man, there are also *bethoren* and *ernarren.*

"In a word, if we were, all of us, to work together, we would have plenty to do in bringing the Bible to light, one with his knowledge, another with his language. Even as it is, I have not worked at this alone, but have used the services of anyone whom I could get. Therefore I ask everyone to desist from abuse and leave the poor people undisturbed, and help me, if he can. If he will not do that, let him take up the Bible himself and make one of his own. Those who only abuse and worry others, are certainly not so godly and honest that they would care to have a pure Bible, since they know that they cannot produce it; but they would like to be clever masters of another's science, though in their own science they have never been even pupils.

"May God complete the work that He has begun. Amen."

During 1523 Luther continued unceasingly with his work on the Old Testament, so that the second part, containing Joshua to Esther was printed in 1524. As it was to be bound up with the preceding part it had no further title than: *Das Ander Teyl des alten testaments,* with a picture of an armored warrior holding a marshal's baton in his right hand and a helmet in his left, a picture that was perhaps chosen because these books record so much that was about kings and wars.[11] At the end of the 217, or more correctly 218 pages we find only this statement, *Gedruckt zu Vuittenbergk.* The name of the printer is missing, but this part was also published by Chr. Doering and Lukas Cranach, and printed by Melchior Lotther. The final page shows two shields; the one on the left bearing the Lamb with the banner of victory; the one on the right Luther's coat of arms, the rose with the heart and cross. Beneath them are these words: "These signs bear witness that such books have passed through my hands, for of counterfeit printing and of the corrupting of books there is no end." The second part has no picture initials but contains 23 illustrations of the text, of which 3 take in a whole folio page. Here again 5 pictures depict the temple and its arrangements.

The manuscript of the greater portion of this second part as Luther prepared it for the printer has been preserved and since 1906 has been available in the Weimar edition. There is so much crossed out and corrected, sometimes for the fourth time, that it must have been a hard task for the compositor to decipher. It remains the most striking proof of the painful exactness and the exemplary conscientiousness of Luther's work, especially as we find these continual attempts at improvement not only in passages that are religiously significant but even in those that deal with unimportant statements. We will give one example from Walther's *Festschrift,* p. 71. The seventh chapter of First Kings deals with the splendid buildings of King Solomon. If we disregard the corrections of mistakes made in copying Luther first wrote in verse 9: *Solches alles waren köstliche Steine, nach der mass behauen—von innen und von aussen von Masad bis zu tepaha und von inwending bis an den grossen Hof.* Because he did not know those two Hebrew words, so as not to interrupt the progress of the work he had simply inserted them into the manuscript, written in Latin letters. When he had learned their meaning he crossed them out and wrote above them: *Von Grund bis an das Dach.* The dash we have given after the word *behauen* he had drawn because the two Hebrew words in this place he also failed to understand. In the later correction, made in red ink, he wrote above the line: *Mit Sägen geschnitten.* At once it occurred to him that stones are not worked with saws *von innen und von aussen,* and so it evidently became clear to him that these words intended to say that the house was built within and without with such smoothed stones. At all events the sense became far clearer when the substitution was made: *auf allen Seiten.* So he crossed out with red ink the *von innen und von aussen.* Now he also noticed that he had made a mistake in writing: *von inwending,* that it should read *von aussen.* So he crossed out *inwending* and wrote above it *haussen.* But what was to be made of the words *Dazu von aussen bis an den grossen Hof?* Evidently *von aussen* was a Hebraism, that should be expressed in German by the mere *aussen.* And without any doubt it meant that the large courtyard in front of the house was paved with stones. For this reason he crossed it all out with red ink and began to write above it *Und beide Haussen.* But this again did not suit him, so he crossed it out once more and wrote: *Dazu der grosse Hof.* But now the *aussen* was missing, and so he wrote above it: *auch aussen.* Now the whole verse read: *Solches alles waren köstliche Steine, nach der Mass gehauen, mit Saegen geschnitten auf allen Seiten, von Grund bis an das Dach, dazu auch aussen der grosse Hof.* So at last he arrived at a clear sentence that correctly rendered the Hehrew and that excelled the translation of the Vulgate.

In February of 1524 we find Luther already at work on the third part. This was intended to contain the so-called didactic and prophetic books but in fact did not yet include the latter. In Job particularly Luther met with almost unsurmountable difficulties. Not without a trace of humor he wrote in the midst of these difficulties to Spalatin, on Feb. 23rd:[13] "All is well with us. Only we have had hard work with the translation of Job because of the sublimity of its exceedingly grand style, so that he seems to be much more impatient with our translation than with the consolation of his friends; or he will certainly persist in sitting on his ash heap, if it was not perhaps the desire of the author of this book that it should never be translated. This situation is delaying the printing of the third part of the Bible." Recalling this in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* in 1530, he could write: "In Job we had such hard labor, M. Philipp, Aurogallus and I, that sometimes we could hardly finish three lines in four days. Beloved, now that it is translated into German and is completed, everyone can read it and master it; He can run over three or four pages with his eyes without stumbling, but he is unaware what pitfalls and hindrances lay in the way over which he now travels as smoothly as over a planed board, but we had to worry and sweat before we could clear the stocks and stones out of the way, to enable them to go along so nicely."[14] We can easily recognize from such statements, that while Luther availed himself of the help of his friends in dealing with the more difficult passages it did not cease to be *his* translation, for, as we will later see in the protocol of the revision that was made after 1531, he always had the final and determinative word. We are fortunate too in possessing Luther's original copy of the translation of this third part.[15] Here is the best evidence of the difficulties that have been referred to, and it shows, with its three and fourfold corrections, how the final form was attained, step by step. So, for example, in the first draft of Job 30:1-19 he met with Hebrew words about whose meaning he was not at once sure. These he wrote down in Hebrew and later wrote over them the corresponding German words. Again in the same passage he first noted in Latin what seemed to him to be the correct meaning and then wrote the corresponding German above it.[16] In many places the correct German word is first found in the printed copy so that it would seem as though it was first inserted while reading the proofs. How tireless Luther was in this work we can see for instance in chapter 7:1. Here the original attempt read: *Ist nicht* (*führt nicht*) *der Mensch ein Heer* (*Ritterschaft*) *auf Erden? Und seine Tage sind wie eines Tagelöhners Tage* (*i. e. expectat finem operis*)*? Wie ein Knecht schnaubet nach dem Schatten und ein Tagelöhner wartet auf seine Arbeit. Also habe ich erarbeitet leere Monde und arbeitsame Nächte habe ich gerechnet.* From this the revision, written in red ink, evolves the moving complaint: *Muss nicht der Mensch immer im Streit sein auf Erden und seine Tage* *sind wie eines Tagelöhners? Wie ein Knecht sich sehnt nach dem Schatten und ein Tagelöhner, dass seine Arbeit aus sei, also habe ich wohl ganze Monate vergeblich gearbeitet und elende Nächte sind mir viel geworden.*[17]

The Psalms did not prove as difficult as Job because Luther had been working with them ever since 1513 and had already translated several of them into German. But even here the original manuscript copy that has been preserved, with the exception of Psalms 48:3-80:8 and 95:5-109:1, again shows how Luther wrestled with both the Hebrew and the German before he reached the form that is found in the printed copy of 1524. We can see this clearly in Psalm 46.[18] Here he first wrote in verse 2, *Gott is unsere Zuversicht.* This was corrected to *Gott ist unser Trotz,* only to be again crossed out in favor of *Zuversicht.* In verse 3 he first wrote: *Darum fürchten wir uns nicht, ob auch die Erde einfiele.* That he changed into *Wenn gleich die Erde unterginge,* only to return again to *einfiele.* Verse 4 first reads, *Ob auch seine Wasser wüteten,* but the last word is turned into *tobten.* Originally it contained: *Und zu Haufen plumpen.* The last word is changed into *fallen,* but then he crossed out the whole verse and wrote: *Wenngleich das Meer tobete und auf einen Haufen führe.* There follows: *Und die Berge bebten von seinem Ungestüm,* which he corrected, during the reading of the proofs, into *von desselben Ungestüm.* Verse 5 reads: *Die Bäche des Stroms erfreuen die Stadt Gottes.* This he changes into *Der Strom mit seinen Bächen erfreut die Stadt Gottes.* To this he adds a note on the margin *mala letificant* as giving his understanding of the passage at the moment. According to Walther, he wanted to say in this way: The waterfloods are a picture of misfortune (*mala*), but whoever dwells in the city of God can rejoice over misfortune. In verse 9 Luther first wrote: *Hie her und schauet die Werke des Herrn, der auf Erden solche Verwüstung hat angerichtet.* The first words he then changes into *Kommt her* and *Verwüstung* into *Zerstören.*

After the first part of the Old Testament had been printed three times in Wittenberg, four times in Augsburg and three times in Basel during 1523, and once in Wittenberg and in Basel in 1524, the second part was printed twice in Wittenberg and once in Augsburg during the latter year.[19] Thus the editions followed on each other's heels, and then, still during 1524, the third part was printed by Melchior Lother in Wittenberg[20] with the title: *Das dritte teyl des Alten Testaments. Wittenberg. M. D. xxiiij.* In contrast to the second part, the title is here set with a splendid border that shows above a group of twelve men who are gathered together before an open book, in the lower half, David is portrayed on the left side, Moses on the right and beneath, the crucifixion of Jesus. The book itself possesses only one full page wood cut, on which the afflicted Job is shown, to whom, in the presence of his mocking wife and his three friends, a messenger is bringing his evil tidings. In the background we see a ruined house and cattle that are being driven away. On the reverse of the title page is *Das Register über die Bűcher dieses Teils,* which includes the prophets, since Luther, at the beginning of the printing, had intended to include them in this part but, while the book was in press, had to give up the idea. The book consists of 100 leaves in folio, the Psalms and Proverbs being set in double columns and provided with glosses. In contrast to the second part four prefaces are included; one to Job, one to the Psalter, one to Proverbs,[21] and one to Ecclesiastes.

The preface to Job briefly and well characterizes the contents of that book in these words:

> "The book of Job deals with the question, whether misfortune can come to the righteous from God. Job stands fast, and holds that God chastises even the righteous without reason, to His praise, as Christ also says, in John 9, of the man who was born blind.
>
> "His friends take the other side and make a great, long talk, defending God's justice, and saying that He punishes no righteous man; if He punishes, then the man who is punished must have sinned. They have a worldly and human idea of God and His righteousness, as though He were like a man and His law were like the world's law.
>
> "Job, to be sure, when he is in danger of death, talks, in his human weakness, too much against God, and thus sins amidst his sufferings; nevertheless, he insists that he has not deserved this suffering more than others have; and that is true. But at last God decides that Job, by speaking against Him, has spoken wrongly, in his suffering; but that he spoke the truth in what he said, replying to his friends, about his innocence before the suffering came.
>
> "Thus this book leads the history up to this point,—God alone is righteous, and yet one man is more righteous than another, even before God. It is written for our comfort, in order that we may know that God allows even His great saints to stumble, especially in adversity. Before Job comes into fear of death, he praises God at the theft of his goods and the death of his children; but when death is in prospect and God withdraws Himself, his words show what kind of ideas a man, however holy he may be, has against God, when he gets the notion that God is not God, but only a judge and wrathful tyrant, who applies force and cares nothing about a good life. This is the finest part of this book. It is understood only by those who also experience and feel what it is to suffer the wrath and judgment of God, and to have His grace hidden."

Finally Luther speaks of his translation of the book:

> "The language of this book is more lofty and splendid than that of any other book in all the Scriptures, and if it were translated everywhere word for word (as the Jews and foolish translators would have it done), and not, for the most part, according to the sense, no one would understand it; as, for example, when he says, 'The thirsty will drink up his goods,' meaning, 'Robbers

shall take them from him'; or 'The children of pride have not gone therein,' i. e., 'the young lions, that stalk proudly'; and many similar cases. Again, by 'light' he means 'good fortune,' by 'darkness,' 'misfortune,' etc.

"Therefore, I think that this third part must take its medicine, and the wiseacres must say of it that it is an entirely different book from the Latin Bible. Let them go. We have done our best to use language that is clear and that everybody can understand, giving the genuine sense and meaning. We can allow anyone to improve on it."

The preface to the Psalter is devoted almost wholly to its ideas and their reproduction in Luther's translation, so it must be given in its entirety:

"The Hebrew language is so rich that no other language can satisfactorily equal it, for it has many words meaning singing, praising, honoring, rejoicing, sorrowing, etc., where we have hardly one. And it is so especially rich in words referring to divine and holy things, that it easily has ten names with which it refers to God, where we have but the one word, God, so that it may indeed be called a holy tongue. Therefore no translation can reproduce the richness of the Hebrew speech, without even considering the embellishing words, that are called *figuras*, in which it also surpasses all other tongues. But that the Psalter may become clearer in some places I will here further explain certain words.

"In the Psalter and in other places, we now and again find these two words together: mercy and truth, which have been wildly and wretchedly interpreted by many. I have given them in German as *Güte* (favor) and *Treu* (fidelity) which is actually, when freely rendered into German, love and fidelity. But I have not ventured to give it so freely in German. For *chesed,* which they have translated into the German *Barmherzigkeit* (mercy) and I have given as *Güte* (favor), really means to show friendship, love and kindness to some one, as Christ Himself interpreted Hosea when He says: I will have pleasure in mercy and not sacrifice; that is, that we should show friendship, love and kindness rather than to offer sacrifice.

"So truth and fidelity mean that we can depend on some one and seek his aid, that he is true to the word, which he has spoken and what we expect from him. So God suffers Himself to be extolled to us everywhere in Scripture as merciful and faithful, that is, that He shows love and fidelity, and displays friendship and kindness towards us, and that we may confidently trust in Him that he will faithfully accomplish and keep whatever we commit to Him. Such fidelity and truth is called *emeth.* From this *emunah* is derived which St. Paul himself translates from Habakkuk in Romans 1, the just lives by his faith. And in the Psalter it is often said to God, Thy faith, or, in Thy faith, because He gives such faith and establishes it on His faithfulness, so that the two words, truth and faith, are almost identical in the Hebrew and one can almost be substituted for the other, just as we say in German, he keeps faith who is honest and true, and again, the one whom we mistrust we regard as false and untrustworthy.

"Then come the two words, judgment and righteousness, which we likewise cannot give exactly. For the little word judgment, when it stands by itself signifies the office of judging, as in Psalm 7; 'Awake for me the judgment that thou hast commanded,' and judging means the same as ruling. Again it means God's commands as in Psalm 119, 'Teach me thy statutes,' and again a custom or right, as Exodus 20, (21) 'He shall deal with her after the manner of daughters,' that is the daughter's right, or as it is customary to deal with a daughter, etc. But when it stands in connection with the word righteousness it means half of the act of judgment, namely, the condemnation by which what is ungodly and unjust is condemned, becomes odious and is punished. And righteousness refers to the other part, namely, that by which innocence is protected, sustained and promoted. I would like to translate that in German, honestly and fairly, as when we say, he accomplished the business honestly and fairly. But I dare not depart so far from the words themselves.

"When in the Psalter and elsewhere you perceive that the reference is not merely to judgment and justice but to God's judgment and justice, or when the address is to God, Thy judgment and justice, then you must understand justice to be faith and judgment; the killing of the old Adam. For God does both through His Word; He judges and condemns, punishes and kills what is flesh and blood, but justifies and purifies the spirit through faith. This then is called God's judgment and righteousness. Judgment He exercises through the word of His law, Romans 7, The law killeth, righteousness He works through the word of the Gospel, which the spirit appropriates through faith, Romans 1, as the flesh must suffer its mortification in patience. Personal experience will in time make many other details clear and evident."

In the preface to the Proverbs of Solomon Luther says what is most necessary concerning the oft recurring ideas, "wisdom" and "folly" and concludes with these words:

> "From this we see what a splendid, wise, and fine man King Solomon was. He took things so seriously that amid so many royal duties, he undertook to be a teacher, and especially a teacher of the most necessary thing of all, teaching and training the young people how they should act blessedly before God according to the spirit, and wisely before the world with body and goods. For this is the most important thing that men can have on earth, as King Solomon saw very well; and they cannot have it unless they are trained in youth. This book, therefore, ought early be impressed on the young people throughout the world and put into daily use and practice;[22] undoubtedly it was for this purpose that it was made and written by King Solomon, as an example to all kings and lords to take an interest in the young people. To this may God give His grace. Amen."

The meaning and purpose of Ecclesiastes Luther thus briefly states in his preface:

> "Now this book ought really have the title, "Against the Free Will," for all of it tends to show that all men's counsels, proposals, and undertakings are vain and fruitless and always have a different end from that which we want and expect. Thus he would teach us to be passive and let God alone do everything, above and against and without our knowledge and counsel."

In 1524 Luther issued an additional edition in octavo of the Psalter: *Der Psalter Deutsch. Martinus Luther. Wittemberg. 1524.* He evidently wanted to make the Psalter easily accessible to everyone.

The appearance of the third part of the Old Testament was followed by a decided pause in Luther's work of translating. The struggles with the fanatics, the peasant revolt, the controversy with Erasmus and the conflicts about the Sacrament of the Altar, his participation in the Visitation, the Diet of Augsburg and all kinds of physical suffering combined to prevent him from securing the quiet necessary for the translation of the prophets. So as not to drop the work completely, during the years 1524 to 1526, he gave a number of lectures not only on Deuteronomy[23a] but also on the minor prophets and after May 1527 on Isaiah. As a result of these labors a German translation of Habakkuk appeared in 1526 and one of Zechariah and Isaiah in 1528.[24] Concerning his work on the latter translation he complains to Link in a letter of June 14th, 1528: "We are now sweating over the translation of the prophets into German. O God, what great and hard toil it requires to compel the writers against their will to speak German. They do not want to give up their Hebrew and imitate the barbaric German. Just as though a nightingale should be compelled to imitate a cuckoo and give up her glorious melody, even though she hates a song in monotone." Fifty-five leaves of the copy he sent to the printer have been preserved. They cover chapters 1-23. From the fact that they contain almost no corrections, Walther[26] was probably justified in concluding that we have here a rewritten copy. The original probably contained so many corrections and erasures that it became necessary to make a new copy to insure correct printing.

Meanwhile Luther was again drawn to the Psalter. The translation of 1524, which, besides the new edition in the third part of the Old Tesament, had appeared by the end of 1527, in various places, in twelve different editions,[27] no longer satisfied him and so he had a thorough revision printed in 1528. It even seemed proper to him to indicate its revised character in the title, which now read: *New Deutsch Psalter, Wittem-*

berg, 1528.[28] It was an octavo volume of convenient size, with 152 leaves, containing 27 lines on a page. Hans Lufft is given at the end, as the printer, while Luther's name is not mentioned. A new preface has taken the place of the one of 1524. It is the one that is usually quoted as appearing first in the edition of 1531. Here we read:[29] "The Psalter ought to be a dear and beloved book, if only because it promised Christ's death and resurrection so clearly, and typifies His kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom that it might well be called a little Bible. It puts everything that is in all the Bible most beautifully and briefly, and is made an Enchiridion or handbook, so that I have a notion that the Holy Ghost wanted to take the trouble to compile a short Bible and example-book of all Christendom, or of all saints. Thus, whoever could not read the whole Bible would have almost an entire summary of it, comprised in one little book." Here we also find the beautiful passage that tells how in the Psalter we can look into the hearts of all the saints. We give the entire preface in the second part.

Because of this delay in Luther's work of translation it came about that two other translations of the prophets and even a complete German Bible appeared before his own. These were the Worms and Zűrich translations of the prophets of 1527 and 1529 and the complete so-called "combined" Worms Bible, of 1529. The first came from the two Anabaptists, Haetzer and Denck. It was printed by Peter Schoeffer in Worms, with the title, *Alle Propheten nach Hebraisher sprach verteutscht, O Gott erlöss die gfangenen MDXXVII.*[60] It was, on the whole, a creditable translation, which Luther praised as well as criticised. The translators really knew Hebrew and at the same time had caught the spirit of Luther's

German. The second contained a translation of the Apocrypha besides the translation of the prophets. The work on the prophets was done by the "preachers in Zürich"; that on the Apocrypha by the Zürich preacher Leo Jud, alone. Both were printed by Christoffel Froschauer in Zürich and appeared in 1529 as two separate publications with these titles: *Alle Propheten, auss Ebraischer sprach, mit guten treuwen vnnd hohem fleiss durch die Predikanten zu Zürich, inn Teutsch vertolmetschet,* and, *Diss sind die bücher die bei den alten vnder byblische gschrifft nit gezelt sind, auch bey den Ebreern nit gefunden. Neuwlich widerumb durch Leo Jud verteutschet.*[31] As the first three parts of the Old Testament in Luther's translation, though altered into the Swiss dialect had been published by Froschauer in 1527 (as well as earlier), and in the same year the New Testament as well,[32] the Swiss had, together with the translation of the Prophets and Apocrypha of 1529, a complete translation of the Bible before Wittenberg, or Germany as a whole. Then in the same year, 1529, Peter Schoeffer of Worms issued his so-called "Combined Bible"[33] which for the first time included everything in one volume, under the title: *Bjblia beyder Allt vnnd Newen Testaments Teutsch.* It is called the "Combined Bible" because it is a combination of Luther's translation of the first three parts of the Old Testament, the Prophets according to the translation of the Zürich preachers (but in *gemeyner Teutschen sprach*) and the Apocrypha in the translation of Leo Jud. Froschauer in Zürich first published his complete Bible in 1530. It was in one volume with the title: *Die gantze Bibel, der Ebraischen vnd Griechischen waarheyt nach, auff das aller trewlichst verteutschet. Anno MDXXX.*[34]

Luther himself published a translation of the Wisdom of Solomon in 1529. Afterwards, influenced by the events of the times he followed it with a translation of Daniel, which was printed the beginning of 1530.[35] Then came his stay at the Coburg. Here he wanted to devote himself completely to the Prophets. In fact he had mastered Jeremiah by the end of June. In Ezekiel he first attempted chapters 38-39. As he had applied the prophecy of God and Magog that occurs in this portion to the Turks he had these two chapters issued separately in 1530 by Nickel Schirlentz in Wittenberg, with explanatory marginal glosses.[36] Then he began work on the translations of the minor prophets that were still missing. Ezekiel was not completed till he was again in Wittenberg but for some unknown reasons the printing was delayed. On Oct. 10, 1531, Luther wrote to Spalatin "Every day I spend two hours in revising the prophets." It was not till February 1532 that he wrote the preface to the complete edition of the Prophets, which appeared in March with the title:[37] *Die Propheten alle Deutsch. Dr. Mart. Luther. Wittemberg. MDXXXII.* It was a book of 194 leaves with 43 and often 44 lines to the page. The title page shows a round arch with two openings. At each of the two supporting columns are two cupids of whom two hold festoons. At the end is *Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Hans Lufft. Im jar MDXXXII.* At the beginning there is a preface to all the prophets and an additional preface is given with each of the prophets. These as well as all single chapters have wood cut initials. The few illustrations are those which were found in the previous separate editions of Isaiah and Daniel. The general preface stresses the significance which the prophetical books still possess for the present:

"They proclaim and bear witness to the kingdom of Christ, in which we now live, and in which all believers in Christ have heretofore lived and will live until the end of the world. It is strong encouragement and encouraging strength to have for our Christian life such mighty and ancient witnesses by whom our Christian faith is greatly encouraged in the belief that it is the right station in the eyes of God, in contrast with all other wrong, false human holiness and with the sects, which are a source of great offense and temptation to a weak heart, because of the great show that they make and of the multitude of their adherents, and, on the other hand, because of the cross and small number of those who hold to the Christian faith. So, in our days, the hands of the Turk, the pope, and others are great and powerful causes of offense."[38] In the *preface to Isaiah,*[39] to give the reader a better understanding he gives a survey of the nations that lived around Israel and that are mentioned by the prophet, as well as describing their geographical location. The book, he explains, does three things: first it condemns and admonishes the Israelites because of their sins, keeps them in check with threats of punishment and promises of good; and it "disposes and prepares them to expect the coming kingdom of Christ, of which it prophesies more clearly and more often than does any other prophetical book. It describes, in Chapter 7, the mother of Christ, how she is to conceive and bear Him without injury to her virginity, and in chapter 53, His Passion together with His Resurrection from the dead. It proclaims His kingdom powerfully and in plain language, as though it had then come." Then, in the second place, it deals especially with the kingdom of Assyria and, thirdly, with the kingdom of Babylon and the destruction of both. In this connection Luther notes that Isaiah however, does not treat these three points in order, and give each of these subjects its own place . . . "but they are so mixed up together that much of the first matter is brought in along with the second and third, and the third subject is discussed somewhat earlier than the second. But whether this was done by those who collected and wrote down the prophecies (as is thought to have happened with the Psalter), or whether he himself arranged it this way according as time, occasion, and persons suggested and these times and occasions were not always alike, and had no order,—this I do not know." His translation Luther characterizes thus: "We have done our best to make Isaiah speak good, clear German, though he has accommodated himself to it with difficulty and done his best to prevent it. Those who know both German and Hebrew well, will easily see that, especially the hair-splitters, who persuade themselves that they know everything; and there are enough words of threatening and terror against the stubborn, proud, hard-heads,—if that would help."—In the *preface to Jeremiah*[40] we read: "In the third place, like all the other prophets, he prophesies of Christ and His kingdom, especially in the twenty-third and thirty-first chapters, where he clearly prophecies of the person of Christ, of His kingdom, of the New Testament and the end of the Old Testament." Here again he remarks: "But these three subjects do not follow one another and are not separated in the book in the way that they actually came along. Upon the first subject, indeed, there is often something in a later chapter which happened before that which is spoken of in an earlier chapter, and so it seems as though Jeremiah had not composed these books himself, but that parts of his utterances were taken and written into the book. Therefore one must not care about the order, or be hindered by the lack of it." In the *preface to Daniel*[41] which had already been printed in the separate edition of this prophet, of the year 1530, we read among other things: "This Daniel we commend to the reading of all good Christians, to whom he is comforting and profitable in these wretched, last times; but to the godless he is of no profit, as he himself says, at the end, 'The godless remain godless, and do not heed.' For the prophecies of Daniel, and others like them, are written, not only in order that men may know the events and the tribulations that are to come, and satisfy their curiosity, but in order that the righteous shall be encouraged and made happy, and strengthened in faith and hope and patience, since they here see and hear that their misery has an end, that they are to be freed from sins, death, the devil, and be brought into heaven, to Christ, into His blessed, everlasting kingdom. So Christ, too, in Luke xxi, encourages His own with terrible news, and says, 'When ye shall see these things, then look up and lift up your heads, for your redemption is near, etc.' So here, too, we see that Daniel always ends all his visions and dreams, however terrible, with joy; namely, with Christ's kingdom and advent, and it is on account of this advent, as the most important and final thing in them, that these visions and dreams were given, interpreted, and written.

"One who would read them with profit must not depend entirely on the histories or events, or cling to them and go no farther, but must pasture and comfort his heart with the promised and certain advent of our Savior Jesus Christ, which is the blessed and joyful redemption from this vale of misery and wretchedness. To this may this same Lord and Savior help us, praised with the Father and the Holy Ghost forever. Amen."

For the other prefaces to the Prophets we refer the reader to Jacobs' translation in volume 6 of the Philadelphia edition of Luther's works.

With this edition of the Prophets Luther had arrived at the end of his tremendous work. Only the most of the Apocrypha, that he wanted to incorporate in the whole undertaking, were still missing. Of these Ecclesiasticus and Maccabees appeared in 1533,[42] the others with the exception of the Wisdom of Solomon which had already appeared in 1529, we first find in the complete Bible in 1534.

And still Luther did not regard his work as completed. On the contrary he assembled a commission to cooperate with him in thoroughly revising the translation of the Bible. The favorite account has been that Luther on his return from the Wartburg called together his friends and that as a result of their combined efforts the translation had come about. But there is nothing to support this view, except the frequent use of "we" in Luther's correspondence, that refers to his work of translation, where we would expect to find "I." But the use of the first person plural is easily explained by Luther's habit of discussing the more difficult passages with Melanchthon and other Wittenberg friends. This, however, was only the occasional discussion of particular passages with this or that friend, never the regular meetings of a commission that examined the entire translation by united effort. Not even Melanchthon revised the whole before it was printed and when conferences took place they were confined to the discussion of Luther's completed translation, so that he has to be recognized as the actual author of the entire translation. Thus Melanchthon expressed himself on the subject, for while he discussed the entire translation of the Septembertestament with Luther before its publication, he emphasizes, in a letter to Cruciger (end of November 1522)[43] that the German New Testament was a gift of Luther's to the Church. Mathesius whose thirteenth sermon on Luther's Life was, until 1894, our only source of information concerning the revision of the Bible translation, speaks expressly of such meetings of a commission as being held only after the publication of the complete Bible in 1534. His account refers to the revision which took place between 1539 and 1541. It is important enough that we will insert it here:

"When the entire German Bible had been published, as each day, besides its trials, teaches the next, Dr. M. Luther again took the Bible and reviewed it from the very beginning, with great zeal, industry and prayer, and because the Son of God had promised that wherever two or three are gathered together in His name and prayed in His spirit He would be present, Dr. M. Luther at once gathered his own Sanhedrim of the best persons available, which assembled weekly, several hours before supper in the doctor's cloister, namely, D. Johann Bugenhagen, D. Justus Jonas, D. Creuziger, M. Philippum, Mattheum Aurogallum; Magister Georg Rörer the *Korrektor* was also present. Frequently other friends, doctors and learned men came to take part in this important work, such as Bernhard Ziegler and D. Forstemius.

"Then, when D. (Luther) had reviewed the previously published Bible and had also gained information from Jews and friends with linguistic talents, and had inquired of old Germans about appropriate words, as when he had several rams slaughtered in his presence, so that a German butcher could tell him the proper name for each part of the sheep, he came into the assembly (*Konsistorium*) with his old Latin and a new German Bible, and always brought the Hebrew text with him. M. Philipp brought the Greek text with him, D. Creuziger a Chaldean Bible in addition to the Hebrew. The professors had their rabbinical commentaries. D. Pommer also had the Latin text, with which he was very familiar. Each one had studied the text which was to be discussed and had examined Greek and Latin as well as Hebrew commentators.

"Thereupon the president submitted a text and permitted each to speak in turn and listened to what each had to say about the characteristics of the language or about the expositions of the ancient doctors. Wonderful and instructive discussions are said to have taken place in connection with this work, some of which M. Georg (Rörer) recorded, which were afterwards printed as little glosses and annotations on the margin."

Here, in contrast to previous occasional consultations with single Wittenberg scholars, there is a regular commission which in regular meetings revised the text of the Bible in 1534. If this were the only revision made in this way we could not consider it at this point, for we are still considering the period before the completion of the entire translation of the Bible in 1534. But in Zwickau a list has been found of the sermons of Luther that were copied by Georg Rörer. According to this list, which was made in 1552, before the publication of the new edition of the Psalter of 1531 and again before the publication of the complete Bible of 1534 a revision by a commission had taken place.[44] Further, in 1894 Geo. Buchwald found the detailed protocol of the commission for the revision of the Psalter of 1531, written by Rörer, in the library of the University of Jena[45] and O. Reichert published it in the third volume of the *Deutsche Bibel* in the Weimar Edition.[46] By this protocol it can be shown that from about the middle of January, 1531 to the 15th of March, about 16 meetings were held for the purpose of providing a better translation of the Psalter than that of 1528, which no longer satisfied Luther. Luther came to these meetings well prepared. In the *Stadtbibliothek* of Breslau there is a volume containing two editions of the Psalter bound together; one in German and one in Latin. The German one is the Wittenberg edition of 1528 to which we have referred above (p. 205): *New Deutsch Psalter. Wittemberg, 1528*; the Latin one is the *PSALTERIUM Translationis veteris, Correctum. Vuittembergae. 1529,* which was an improved text of the Vulgate provided by Luther and which was regarded as a continuation of the revised text of the Vulgate that, with Luther's assistance, had appeared in 1529, and which, up to that time, contained only the historical books. These two Psalters, bound together, were known as the *Kunheim Psalter,* because Kunheim had once been their owner. They came from Luther's library and contain a large number of written entries in his own handwriting, which, in the German copy, are largely German, in the Latin are almost exclusively in that tongue. Since 1911 these entries are to be found printed in the Third Volume of the *Deutsche Bibel* in the Weimar Edition (LIII-LXII) and since 1923 also those in the Latin Psalter, printed in the Fourth Volume of the same edition (pp. 520-575). The entries consist mostly in proposals for a better translation, or sometimes in glosses, that are to insure a correct understanding of single passages. Most of these entries were made by Luther before his stay at the Coburg, for when he there dictated a detailed explanation of the 25th Psalm to Veit Dietrich, he had both Psalters with his written insertions before him. That becomes apparent as soon as we compare these entries with the explanations, dictated to Dietrich. With the aid of these two Psalters Luther prepared himself for the meetings of the revision commission of the winter of 1531, which were to provide a better translation of the Psalter. From a comparison with the protocol it is again apparent that he took them with him to the meetings and doubtless made his proposals for improvements and his glosses the basis for the considerations of the commission. But in the sessions themselves, as we can see from Rörer's protocol, a great deal of very thorough and important work was accomplished. No one who is unfamiliar with these protocols is in a position even to discuss the question of the thoroughness with which the task of providing a German Bible was undertaken, or as to the complete immersion in the work that made it possible. How the Hebrew idiom was weighed in all its usages; how they were ready to learn from the Greek and Latin translations and their comments; how, above all, they sought always to gain the best word and most correct German expression! It was Luther's purpose that the chief difference between this revised version and that of 1528 was to be in the new edition becoming a truly *German* Psalter. When, in connection with the deliberations of the commission on Psalm 14, Luther said: *Aliud est psalmum intelligere et aliud est eum loqui possum,* or, according to the more exact account, *Aliud est psalmos intelligere et aliud perspicuis verbis eum tradi aliis posse,*[47] he expressed the principle that was determinative for the whole undertaking. Then when he or some other member of the committee had found the correct expression he probably exclaimed, full of joy, "So our sentence will read best," or "So it should be," or "I am pleased with that," or "So I rendered it formerly and so it shall remain." Frequently he must have admitted that the goal was not yet reached: "We have no corresponding German word," or "That is the meaning but it cannot be reproduced in German." Now and again he finds what to his feeling is the German equivalent but sometimes it seems to him to be too daring, often too coarse and vulgar to put it into the Psalter. In such cases he probably said, "That would be fine," "That would be German," but in the end discards it. He is always insisting that it must be *Teutonice, Germanice.*[48] So the familiar forms of Psalms 23, 46, 90, 103 etc. gradually assumed their present form. They rest entirely on the Hebrew and are yet entirely new, and are true expressions conforming to the German nature and thought. The protocols give vivid pictures of the deliberations of the commission and its animated debates. We hear Melanchthon, Cruciger and Aurogallus speak, now and again Justus Jonas and Veit Dietrich, but only occasionally, as they only attended a few sessions. How appropriate the discussions were, and yet tinged with humor; how Luther, in particular, in this small circle of friends spoke his mind without restraint in passing judgment on his contemporaries, whom he cites as examples, as well as in expressing his innermost faith! Whoever in the future wants to draw a true picture of his inmost being, of his knowledge of the spirit and language of the people, his command of the biblical languages, of the satirical, polemical, humorous and poetic elements of his character, will find here a wealth of materials that frequently are far more reliable than the *Tischreden.* Space permits only a few characteristic examples.

In the 1524 and 1525 editions of the Psalter, Psalm 4:9 reads: *Damit du giebst Freude in mein Herz, Sie aber werden gross, wenn sie Korn und Most für sich haben.* This translation was to be changed. So Luther first determined the sense of the words by all sorts of paraphrases. What Luther said in this connection is related in a curious mixture of German and Latin (which evidently reproduces the actual discussions) in the following words of the protocol: "First Luther cited the verse as it was given in the Latin Bible and then he continued: "Make my heart to rejoice, that is, Thou art the joy of my heart, I have no other joy but Thee, It is Thou that makest my heart to rejoice. They puff themselves up because they have so much wine and corn; They do not care for the joy of the heart, but the joys of the belly they desire. Thou makest the heart rejoice, but they are troubled about nothing." Now Melanchthon had evidently added something for Luther continues: "Yes, that is spoken right softly, genuinely Philiplike and soft stepping. I will speak clearly. They desire to be emperors and though they had an abundance of bread and wine, that is, they attain plenty, they are still not profited. But they only wish that they have to eat and to drink. The meaning of the Psalm verse is: The righteous suffer want, while the ungodly eat and drink. They regard, seek, value much corn and much wine. They believe in Mammon. Let them have it. Thou delightest my heart, even though they have their fill of corn and wine." Once again, in one of the subsequent sessions Luther returns to this passage and says: "Not sad, nay, Thou makest my heart glad, givest me a glad heart or Thou canst make the hearts glad. They however despise the joy of the heart in faith and in God's Word, in a good conscience and in grace. They want to appear great, with joy on their face, but it is nothing more than eating and drinking. Therefore they have introduced this verse into the Mass. Thou makest my heart glad. Thou alone dwellest in me, that is, Thou dost nourish and protect and provide all things, and that applies not only to the individual but to all."[49] After the meaning of the text as Luther saw it was established by such paraphrases we do not wonder that in the Psalter of 1531 the verse is given in these words: *Du erfreuest mein Herz, ob gleich jene viel Wein und Korn haben.* In Psalm 24:7, Luther had first translated literally: *Ihr Thore,* *hebt auf eure Häupter.* But he cannot adopt the oriental imagery, that speaks of doors and gates as men; he wants to translate it so that his Germans will understand it. So he pictures, in real German fashion, the entrance of a king into a German castle, and frames the Advent salutation: *Machet die Tore weit, und die Türen in der Welt hoch.* In the protocol we read: *Capite: i. e. macht er grösser; sie sind zu eng und zu niedrig. Es kommt ein grosser König, er wird oben anstossen, brecht die Steine aus, macht die Thore hoch, brecht die Thore auf. Vult dicere: angustae sunt vestrae portae. Dilata os tuum. Macht die Thore weit (Germanice dicimus) und höher. Apostrophe ad portas. Einziehen ist nomen pompae.*[50] In Psalm 42:8 Luther first had this awkward literal translation: *Eine Tiefe ruft der andern über dem Brausen deiner Fluten, alle deine Wasserwogen und Wellen gehen über mich.* But in the meeting of the commission he pictures what happens very vividly. He recalls how the raging waves closed on Pharoah and his host, and now he remolds the words so that they read: *Deine Fluten rauschen daher, dass hie eine Tiefe und da eine Tiefe brausen, alle deine Wasserwogen und Wellen gehen über mich.* In the protocol we read: *'Eine Tiefe ruft der andern' das ist eine seltsame Figur; ich wills nicht so haben. Wenn eine aufgehört hat Zeter zu schrein, schreit die andere. Eine Tiefe brauset um die andere. Vult dicere confusio aquarum, eine Flut, dernach wird ein See daraus et postea fit ein Sausen, der Strom rauscht von ihm selbst und darnach wird eine Tiefe nach der andern, dass hier ein Sumpf wird und dort. Er (der Psalmist) meint, dass die Wasser schiessen und grosse inundationes machen. Ipse loquitur de mole aquarum concurrentium, ut factum cum Pharone. Alludit ad mare rubre, vult dicere; es geht mir wie dem Pharoah: auf allen seiten sind Wasser et me demergunt etc.*[51] . . . In the discussion of the superscription to Psalm 46, we notice that Luther pronounces the Hebrew Tau with an "s" sound, for he reproduces *alamoth* as *alamos.* Recalling that *alam* means to hide, according to the protocol, he says of the *al alamoth* of the superscription, which today is often given as "In the manner of maidens," indicating the soprano: *Alamos, chorus muliercularum. Abscondit primaria. Significatio inde venit; elem, alam, adulescentula, quod sit abscondita viro vel domi educata, abscondita, postea redeunt in publicum, Postea per metalepsin Juventus, almuth: Von der Jugend.* In the second verse the translation of 1528: *Wenngleich das Land sich verkehrte und die Berge mitten ins Meer führen* no longer satisfies him. He remarks: The Psalmist means to say: If the earth were to sink and the mountains should fall into the sea, so that there were no longer any earth or any mountains. That is the greatest confidence if even then we did not fear, even though the world perished. The Hebrew *mir* signifies to change. It is almost an oath: If the world were no more; this is indeed defiance. The Psalmist is recalling Noah's Ark. Thus it happened in the deluge. The world perished and the mountains were submerged. Even though the earth and the sea were mingled together, as happened in Noah's time, he was still preserved. (As when we say:) *Es wallt mir im Leibe.* This arrogance of the sea; as if they plunged down, as if they were moved by the same violence. It is an exalted form of speech; they are tragic pictures." In the Psalter of 1531 the verse now reads: *Wenngleich die Welt unterginge und die Berge mitten ins Meer sünken; wenngleich das Meer wütete und wallete und von seinem Ungestüm die Berge einfielen.* Now the translation of verse 5, *der Strom mit seinen Bächen erfreut die Stadt Gottes, die heiligen Wohnungen des Höchsten,* seemed to Luther to be too literal and not German enough. He paraphrases the words in the meeting of the commission thus: "Even then it will be a fine happy little city possessing good wells and water. Happiness shall hover over her, she shall rejoice and remain a fine city, possessing her little wells. 'With her little wells,' that is, she will be rich in youth and nothing shall fail her. The city shall not suffer drought. We say: If they should inflict all manner of torments on us a little well and spring will remain from which others will always spring up." The image before Luther's eyes is that of a medieval city with its walls and towers and with its unfailing spring within the walls. Even though the enemy should besiege the city, as long as it has this spring in its midst it has sources of strength and does not need to fear for the future. Out of such reflections grew the translation: *Dennoch soll die Stadt Gottes lustig bleiben mit ihren Brünnlein, da die Wohnungen des Höchsten sind.* The sixth verse is also changed. The original translation was: *Die Heiden toben und die Königreiche neigen sich. Da er sich hören lässet, zerschmilzt das Erdreich.* At the meeting of the commission he said among other things "King Ferdinand and Duke George shall indeed persecute the city but they shall also fall into ruin and come to shame. The heathen fear, they flee away and kingdoms fall, they are put down, when He causes Himself to be heard. When He thunders the earth melts. Our Lord God makes a great noise; the thunder. So, I believe, He has always done. He smote Sennecharib with the thunder. When He lets Himself be heard, that is, when He thunders." So the way was prepared for the translation *Die Heiden müssen verzagen und die Königreiche fallen; das Erdreich muss vergehen, wenn er sich hören lässt.*[52] Psalm 90:12 he first translated: *Dass wir unsere Tage zählen, tue uns kund, so wollen wir kommen mit weisem Herzen.* In the protocol we read: *Dass unser Leben gezählt ist. Doce sic nos, ut credamus, quod unser Tag gezählt ist, gezãhlt sind. Impii vivunt, quasi haberunt infinitos dies, non cogitant esse in numerato, Das ist meditatio mortis sapientium. 'Initium sapientiae timor domini.' Wenn man unsern Herrgott beginnt zu fürchten und vor ihm zu erschrecken, so geht die sapientia an. Doce nos, ut sciamus, credamus, dass unser Leben ein Ende muss haben und dass wir davon müssen, bedenken, wie unser Leben seine Zahl hat, gezãhlt ist, ein Ende haben muss, dass wir sterben müssen dicimus nos. Das wir lernen weislich leben, auff dass wir weise, klug werden.* This was then crystalized into the translation: *Lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen, auf dass wir klug werden.*[53] In 1524, Psalm 73:25 had read, *Wen habe ich im Himmel? Und auf Erden gefällt mir nichts, wenn ich bei dir bin. Mein Fleisch und mein Herz ist verschmachtet, Gott ist meines Herzens Hort und mein Teil ewiglich.* In the protocol we read the following ideas of Luther: *Was frag ich nach dem Himmel, wenn du nicht darinnen bist? Auf Erden frag ich nach nichts, wenn ich nur dich habe. Ich wollt nicht im Himmel sein, wenn du nicht da wärest und tecum wollte ich wohl in der Hölle sein; wenn ich dich nur haben kann, so frage ich nicht nach Himmel und nach Erden, d. h. nach Gutem noch nach Argem. Mein Herz vergeht, verzehret Leib und Seel (es) verschmacht mir. Summa summarum: Wenn es mir übel geht, halte ich mich an dich, so bist du mein Trost.* Out of this came the translation: *Wenn ich nur dich habe, so frage ich nichts nach Himmel und Erde; wenn mir gleich Leib und Seele verschmachtet, so bist du doch, Gott, allezeit meines Herzens Trost und mein Theil.*"[54]

The result of this revision was the new Psalter of 1531: *Der Deutsch Psalter D. Luthers zu Wittemberg, 1531.*[55] It was a volume of 152 leaves in octavo, with wood cut initials but without illustrations. Here the coat of arms of Melanchthon is found beside Luther's on the title page. The preface of 1528 is repeated. We can readily understand why Luther closed the work with the epilogue: "If anyone wants to criticize and asserts that we have gone too far from the literal meaning of the words, let him be wise in his own mind but let him leave us this Psalter unblamed. For we have done this consciously and have indeed weighed all the words in the balances and have translated with all care and fidelity. And plenty of learned men assisted in the task. Yet we will also permit our previous German Psalter to remain for the sake of those who want to observe our example and our footprints and see how one comes nearer and nearer in translating. For the former German Psalter is closer, in many places, to the Hebrew and further removed from the German. This one is closer to the German and further removed from the Hebrew."[56]

The whole text of the Bible underwent a similar revision before it reached the form that we finally find in the complete Bible of 1534, for the same source that gave us the account of the Psalter revision of 1531 and the reference to Rörer's protocol, continues[57]: "Anno Domini 1534, on Jan. 24th, the aforementioned men (who had taken part in the revision of the Psalter) undertook to revise anew the whole Bible and in many passages made the German distincter and clearer than it was before. They had to labor particularly with the prophets, to turn them into good German, from Jeremiah to the end of the prophets, for Isaiah and Daniel had appeared several years before in German. Jesus Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) especially required much labor before he spoke good clear German, as can be seen at length in Volume B, *signato in quarto*." When, in 1552, Magister Stols added these notices concerning the Bible revision to the list he prepared of the sermons of Luther that had been written down by Rörer, the protocol of the Bible revision of 1534, according to his statement was still in existence. After 1557 it disappeared and has not been found since. As the notices of Stols regarding the Bible revision of 1531 and the Bible revision of 1539-1541 have been completely confirmed by documentary evidence, we can be sure that his notices concerning the Bible revision of 1534 are in the main true to facts. All the more as they throw light on statements in two letters of that period. On Jan. 1, 1534, Veit Dietrich wrote to Johann Fasel in Coburg: "Luther is entirely occupied in correcting the whole German Bible, together with the Apocrypha,"[59] and Luther informed Amsdorf in March: "Then the task of translating the Bible claimed us completely."[60] This does not mean that Stols' statements are correct in every particular. So the separate edition of Ecclesiasticus of 1533 and 1534 compared with the text of the complete Bible of 1534, according to Reichert's testimony, shows much fewer changes than we should expect from Stols' statements, while the text of 1534 shows a great improvement in the Maccabees over that of the preceding separate editions. Similarly the text of Jeremiah and the following prophets varies far less in the Bible of 1534 from the edition of all the prophets of 1532, than does that of Isaiah. The revision of the complete Bible could not be as thorough as that of the Psalter in 1531, because of a lack of time, as the printing was largely done concurrently with the work of revision. An exact idea of the extent of the revision would only be possible through a comparison of all the editions following 1523 with the edition of 1534, and that is a task that could only be performed in Germany.

At all events, everything that Luther and his friends had possessed from the beginning, particularly after 1522, of wisdom and ability, of conscientiousness and fidelity, of labor, and of prayer and supplication and spiritual experience in the preparation of a German Bible was poured into the preparation of the first complete Bible in 1534. The printing was still going on vigorously in June and the electoral privilege of printing, conferred on the Wittenberg printery of Johann Lufft, is dated August 6th. On October 17th, Lewin Metzsch in Mylau was in possession of a complete copy for which he paid "two florins and eight groschen," unbound.[61] It was a volume of 908 leaves with 49 to 52 lines on a page, the Psalms and a part of Proverbs being printed in two columns.[62] Like the Septembertestament it was a folio. The main title reads: *Biblia, das ist die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. Begnadet mit Kürfurstlicher zu Sachsen freiheit. Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft. MDXXXIIII.*

Of the many beautiful books of the sixteenth century that have passed through my hands none is as fine as this Bible of 1534. Albert Schramm, who is one of the best judges of the printing of this period says[63]: "All in all, this first complete edition of the Luther Bible belongs to the most beautiful printing of the time of the Reformation." Its very first page is beautifully executed. The title is framed in a rich border. On a balcony, in the middle of the upper lintel, an old man with a halo sits writing. The page hangs down over the balcony and on it we read: "The word of God endureth forever." To the left of the balcony are two angels with an open book. To the right one angel with a closed book, and one with a sealed document, which he holds downwards over the parapet. On the two pilasters that, with their columns, support the balcony, stand two angels in armor carrying banners, on the left hand is visible a coat of arms with the electoral swords; on the right the rhombohedral Saxon coat of arms. Below five angels are nailing fast the title of the Bible, while on the two steps at the base sixteen angels are grouped, surrounding one of their number who is reading from a book. Compare the reproduction at the end of this book. As elaborate as the title page are the decorative initials. Besides small wood cut initials, large picture initials of remarkable beauty are to be found at the beginning of almost every biblical book. There are 124 pictures of which 7 are used twice. While the first one, depicting God as the Creator, that is placed between the preface and the beginning of Genesis occupies a full page, the rest are less than half page size. All of them were prepared especially for this edition, even when they repeat previous *motifs*. They are evidently the work of one artist, who was probably influenced by suggestions given by Luther. In spite of the monogram M S that appears on certain pictures the identity of the artist has never been determined. As certain pictures bear the dates 1532, 1533 or 1534, it is evident that careful preparation had been made for this edition. Space does not permit a description of the 117 pictures. Whoever is interested will find both reproductions and descriptions in Schramm's work. We will only call attention to the fact that also in this edition Luther saw to it that the pictures of the tabernacle and of Solomon's buildings were included.

Besides the electoral privilege to print, which we have mentioned, and which is printed on leaf two, we find, as with the first part of the Old Testament of 1523, a list of the Books of the Old Testament. This enumerates, as in 1523, the canonical books of the Old Testament and then, printed separately and without numbers, the apocryphal books. To the right are the names given in the Vulgate and the names of the minor prophets. After this list comes the preface to the whole Old Testament, as it appeared in 1523. The Old Testament is divided into three parts as had already been planned in 1523. The first part contains the Pentateuch; the second, which has a special title page (*Das Andere teil des alten Testaments. Wittemberg. MDXXXIIII*), includes the other historical books Joshua to Esther; the third part, which likewise has its special title page (*Das Dritte Teil des Alten Testaments. Wittemberg. M. D. XXXIIII*) was originally to contain not only Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon, but also the prophets, but as in 1529 because of circumstances that hindered Luther, they could not be included, so now, they appeared, not as a fourth part but with a title page of their own (*Die Propheten alle Deudsch. Dr. Mar. Luth. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg durch Hans Lufft. M.D. XXXIIII*). On leaf 59a is the end of Malachi, and then, to show that the canonical writings have come to an end, leaf 59b and the following one (K. 6) remain blank, while the following Apocrypha begin with a new title page and a new numbering of the leaves, as, for that matter, each division begins a new numbering. The title reads: *Apocrypha. Das sind Bücher so nicht der heiligen Schrift gleichgehalten: vnd doch nützlich vnd gut zu lesen sind. I. Judith. II. Sapientia. III. Tobias. IIII. Syrach. V. Baruch. VI. Maccabeorum. VII. Stücke jnn Esther. VIII. Stücke jnn Daniel. D. Mart. Luther. Wittemberg. M.D. XXXIIII.* Here, as in the list of books in the first part of the Old Testament in 1523, the Apocrypha are removed from the canonical books, placed in a special section and, by its title page, marked as something secondary in contrast to the canonical books. Next comes the New Testament, again with a new title page and separate numbering. *Das Newe Testament. D. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. M.D. XXXIIII.* First there is the preface to the whole New Testament, which is the same as that of the Septembertestament, except that the beginning ("It would be right and proper – – – on the contrary, it is to be held firmly that") and the conclusion ("From all this you can now judge all the books and decide among them which are the best – – – But more of this in other prefaces") are omitted. The omission of the beginning is quite natural for in its first paragraph it had to do with the first edition of the New Testament. On the other hand the omission of the conclusion is significant for this contained the distinction in value between certain canonical books, as well as the statement concerning St. James. Luther had not altered his position in regard to these questions, certainly not as far as the Epistle of St. James was concerned (see above p. 170ff.), but now he deemed it wise to keep his personal opinion more in the background, especially as the German Bible was intended for the whole congregation. For this reason there was also a change in the preface to the Epistle of St. James. In the Septembertestament Luther had written[64]: "In fine, he wanted to guard against those who tried to rely on faith without works but he was too weak in spirit, understanding and words, and so he rends Scripture and opposes Paul and all Scripture, trying to accomplish by the occasion of the Law what the other apostles effect by incentives to love. Therefore I will not have him reckoned in my Bible in the number of the real chief books, but will not prevent anyone from esteeming him as he pleases, for otherwise it contains many good sayings. *One* man is reckoned as no man in worldly affairs. How then should this one alone count against Paul and all the rest of Scripture?" That is softened, as it had already been modified in 1530[65] to: "In fine, he wanted to guard against those who tried to rely on faith without works but was too weak for the undertaking, trying to accomplish by the coercion of the Law what the other apostles effect by incentives to love. Therefore I cannot place him among the real chief books but will not prevent anyone from esteeming him as he pleases. For it contains many good sayings."

The New Testament not only shows changes in the prefaces that had been in use since 1522 (one such, which is abbreviated, is the preface to First Corinthians) but it also has some entirely new prefaces. There are none for the four Gospels, these, as before and always, remain without special prefaces, but Acts is provided with a preface.[66] This appeared for the first time in the edition of 1533, but in its beginnings reached back to Luther's stay at the Coburg. While there Luther had gathered the Scriptural proofs from the Old and New Testaments for a treatise *De justificationis loco,* which he had in mind but which unfortunately was never written (Compare W. Ed. 30, II, pp. 657 seq.). As he read through the New Testament for this purpose he found, besides St. Luke 15 and other sections in the Gospels, a great number of proof passages for his fundamental teaching in the Book of Acts. He then determined in the future to provide a preface for Acts in his edition of the New Testament, and noted on the margin of his New Testament of 1530 the chief ideas he wanted to emphasize in that preface (W. Ed. D. B. 4, pp. 457 seq.): *Actus Apostolorum liber est proprie pertinens at pro-*

bandum, iustificationem contingere sine operibus et sola fide. The resulting preface was written between 1530 and 1533 and was first printed in the New Testament of 1533[67] and then was taken over into the complete Bible of 1534. Space prevents including more than its beginning here. It shows that the preface was a development of Luther's marginal note of 1530. The whole is found in Jacobs' translation and so we will only give the characteristic beginning:

> "This book should be read and regarded not as though St. Luke had written of the personal work and lives of the apostles for an example of good works and good lives only; though this is the way it has sometimes been taken. Even St. Augustine and many others have looked upon the fact that the apostles had all things in common with Christians as the best example which the book contains; though this did not last long and had to stop after a time. On the contrary, it is to be noted that by this book St. Luke teaches the whole Church, to the end of the world, the true chief point of Christian doctrine: namely, that we must all be justified only through faith in Jesus Christ, without any addition of law or help from good works.
>
> "This doctrine is the chief intention of the book and the author's principal cause for writing it. Therefore he stresses so mightily, not only the preaching of the apostles about faith in Christ and how both Gentiles and Jews must be justified by it without any merits or works, but also the examples and the instances of this teaching, telling how Gentiles as well as Jews were justified through the Gospel only, without the law. So St. Peter testifies in chapters 10 and 15, that, in this matter, God made no distinction between Jews and Gentiles, but just as He gave the Holy Ghost to the Gentiles through the Gospel though they lived without the law, so He gave Him to the Jews through the Gospel, and not through the law or because of their own works and merits. Thus he puts side by side in this book, both the doctrine about faith and the example of faith.
>
> "This book might well be called, therefore, a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. For what Paul teaches and insists upon with words and passages of Scripture, St. Luke here points out

and proves with examples and instances which show that it has happened, and must happen, as St. Paul teaches, to-wit, that no law, no work justifies men, but only faith in Christ. Here, in this book, you find, then, a fair mirror, in which you can see that it is true. *Sola fides justificat,* for all the examples and instances of this doctrine contained in it are sure and comforting testimonies, which neither lie nor deceive you."

The New Testament of 1522 had already provided a preface for the Apocalypse. In the far reaching revision of 1530 this was supplanted by a more extensive one that was retained in the subsequent editions, including this of 1534.

The first little known preface (Erl. Ed. 53, pp. 169-170) reads thus: "In this book of the Revelation of St. John, I would also let each one's opinion have free play and would not have anyone bound by my fancy or opinion. I say what I believe. I miss more than just one thing in this book so that I do not regard it as either apostolic or prophetic. First and foremost, the apostles do not deal with visions but use clear and dry words in prophesying as Peter, Paul and Christ in the Gospels, also do, as it is fitting for the apostolic office to speak clearly concerning Christ and His work, without allegories or visions. There is also no prophet in the Old Testament, let alone in the New, who deals so completely with visions and allegories, that it appears to me to be almost on a level with the Fourth Book of Ezra and certainly cannot perceive that it is occasioned by the Holy Ghost. It further seems to me to be going too far when he so commends his own book, more than any other sacred books do (though they deal with more important matters) and severely threatens that anyone who shall take away anything therefrom, from him God will also take away etc. Again those shall be blessed who keep what is written therein, though no one knows what that is, let alone how he shall keep it, and that is as much as though we did not possess it; and there are many other better books in existence that are to be observed. Many of the fathers have rejected this book in former times and though St. Jerome commends it highly and says it is above all praise and is filled with as many mysteries as it contains words, though he cannot explain them, while at other places his praise is too mild. Finally let each one esteem it as his spirit dictates. My spirit cannot accommodate itself to the book, and it is reason enough that I do not esteem it so highly that Christ is not taught nor confessed therein, which is the duty of all the Apostles, above all other, as He says in Acts 1, Ye shall be my witnesses. Therefore I remain with the books that offer me Christ clearly and purely." The second preface which took the place of the first after 1530[68] has been made accessible to the English reader in the 6th vol. of the Phila. Ed. by Jacobs, so that we shall simply refer to it. In its beginning Luther obviously refers to the first preface when he writes:

> "There are many kinds of prophecy in the Church. One is prophecy which interprets the writings of the prophets. Paul speaks of it in I Corinthians 12 and 14, and in other places. This is the most necessary kind and we must have it every day, because it teaches the Word of God, lays the foundation of the Church, and defends the faith; in a word, it rules, preserves, establishes and administers the preaching-office.
>
> "Another kind foretells things to come which are not previously contained in Scripture, and this prophecy is of three sorts. The first does it in express words, without symbols and figures. So Moses, David, and more of the prophets prophesy of Christ, and Christ and the apostles prophesy of Antichrist, false teachers, etc. The second sort does this with symbols, but sets alongside them their interpretations, in express words. So Joseph interprets dreams and Daniel both dreams and symbols. The third sort of prophecy does it without either words or interpretations, like this

book of Revelation and like the dreams, visions and symbols that many holy people have from the Holy Spirit. So in Acts 2, Peter proclaims, out of Joel, 'Your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your youths shall see visions, and your elders dream dreams.' So long as this kind of prophecy remains without explanation and gets no sure interpretation, it is a concealed and dumb prophecy, and has not yet come to the profit and fruit which it is to give to Christendom.

"This is the way it has been with this book heretofore. Many have tried their hand at it, but until this very day they have reached no certainty; and some have brewed into it many stupid things out of their own heads. Because its interpretation is uncertain and its meaning hidden, we, too, have let it alone hitherto, especially since some of the ancient Fathers held the opinion that it was not the work of St. John, the Apostle, as is found in the Ecclesiastical History, Book III, Chapter 25. This question we, for our part, still leave open, so that no one may be compelled to hold it for the work of St. John, the Apostle, or of whomever else he will. Since, however, we would gladly be certain of its meaning, or interpretation, we will give other, and higher, minds something to think about, and also state our own ideas." Luther then, for his part, favors the socalled church-historical explanation for he continues: "Since it is intended as a revelation of things that are to happen in the future, and especially of tribulations and disasters for the Church, we consider that the first and surest step toward finding its interpretation is to take from history the events and disasters that have come upon the Church before now and hold them up alongside of these pictures and so compare them with the words. If, then, the two were to fit and agree with each other, we could build on that, as a sure, or at least an unobjectionable interpretation." The contents of chapter 17 he describes this way: "In Chapter 17, the imperial papacy and papal empire is included, from beginning to end, in a single picture, and it is shown, as in a summing up, how it is nothing,—for the ancient Roman Empire is long since gone; and yet, exists,—for some of its lands, and the city of Rome besides, are still here. This picture is presented here as one presents a malefactor publicly before a court, so that he may be condemned. It is to be known that this beast, too, is shortly to be damned, and 'brought to nought by the manifestation of the Lord's coming,' as St. Paul says in II Thessalonians 2."

After the general preface to the New Testament the list of the books of the New Testament printed on leaf 3b, just as in 1530 only numbers 23 books, gives the last four separated and set back from the rest and unnumbered. The marginal glosses of the edition of 1522 are also retained, though occasionally somewhat changed and enlarged.

Chapter Five

LUTHER'S WORK ON THE BIBLE FROM 1534 TILL HIS DEATH

Anyone supposing that Luther's work on the German Bible ended with the appearance of the complete Bible in 1534 would be completely mistaken. He regarded it as a duty to continue correcting and improving to the very end of his life. It is true that from 1534 till 1540 the text of the first complete Bible was reprinted with only slight changes. This includes the four Wittenberg editions of 1535[1]; 1536[2]; 1538-1539[3]; and 1540[4]. But the edition of 1540-1541[5] and still more that of 1541[6] shows such important changes that a thorough revision must have preceded it. This was in fact what happened. In July 1539 the sessions of the Bible commission were resumed for the purpose of subjecting the Bible of 1534 to a thorough revision. This revision was first mentioned by Johann Stols, in the frequently quoted list of the Luther sermons copied by Rörer, in these words: "Anno domini 39 they again revised the Bible from the beginning as far as the Apocrypha and turned certain words and phrases into clearer German, as can be seen in the book that contains the sermons that the same man (Dr. Luther) delivered in the years 1541 and 1542. See leaf 71." This is the undertaking to which Mathesius refers in the previously mentioned thirteenth sermon (p. 212). In Luther's letters and in those of the members of the commission we find almost nothing about this revision or that of 1534.[7] It is surprising how little was known of this great and farreaching work outside of

Wittenberg. But today we are fortunate in possessing two exceedingly important documents, which not only prove the fact of the revision but permit us to follow the work in all its details. In 1894 Buchwald discovered in Jena the protocol of this revision, written by Rörer[8] and since 1911 the first half, since 1923 the second half has been printed in the Weimar Edition. In the same publication we can also find Luther's entries in his own copy of the German Bible of 1539, which stand in closest connection with this Bible revision. The two together, the protocol and Luther's notes, occupy pages 167-577 in the third volume of the *Deutsche Bibel* in the Weimar Edition and pages 1-278 in the fourth volume. Here a tremendous amount of material is placed at our disposal, even if we only take into account its physical extent. But its greatest value lies in its content, to which all we have said about the protocol of 1531 (above p. 215) applies, only to a still greater degree. From the protocol we learn that between 60 and 70 sessions of the commission were held from July 17, 1539 to Feb. 8, 1541, for the purpose of reviewing the canonical books of the Old Testament, to which the work was limited at this time. Considering the extent of the material and the importance of the work this was not excessive but our respect for the members of the commission is further increased when we consider that each one had a full assignment of work for each day. Besides Melanchthon, Aurogallus, Cruciger and Justus Jonas, Bugenhagen was also a member of the commission, as he had probably been of the previous one in 1534. If we compare the two sources, Rörer's protocol and Luther's entries in his German Bible of 1539, a task that has been made comparatively easy by the Weimar Edition, we can get a still better idea of the progress of the work of revision.

The initiative throughout came from Luther. He called the commission together, he largely outlined the assignment for each session, he led the discussion and usually spoke the deciding word. How carefully he prepared himself for each meeting we can see in the *Neuen deutschen Bibel,* mentioned by Mathesius, which is still preserved at Jena. It is a copy of the 1538-1539 edition of the Old Testament. Before each session Luther worked through a number of chapters, noting in the printed copy his proposals for the improvement of translations or of marginal glosses, that seemed to him to need revision. How painstakingly he went about the work we can see from the various erasures in these entries. Frequently Luther's proposals were accepted; in other cases Luther made changes in his entries, either during the meeting or afterwards, as is apparent from a comparison of these with Rörer's protocol and sometimes is evident in Luther's own copy. We can follow the discussions and debates quite clearly in Rörer's protocol as he frequently, though not always, identifies the speakers with their initials, as he had done in the protocol of the Psalter revision. It is evident that even with all his unequaled rapidity as a writer Rörer could not set down the animated discussions word for word. He always, however, followed the main line of the learned discourse, with all its ramifications, and even accurately noted the chance emphasis and the intimate idioms of Luther's familiar speech. O. Reichert, the editor of the protocol and the one most familiar with it, remarks about these meetings[10]: "Sometimes it sounds almost like good natured chattering, spiced with proverbs, jokes and allusions; sometimes the speeches blurt out hard and coarse, and ridicule, polemic and satire are poured out on the opponents. But they always stick to the point and never lose sight of the goal, that of coming to a true understanding of the text by all the means available, and then giving it the clearest and simplest German expression. With all its ease in expression and form the revision is still a result of painstaking scientific method. There are innumerable detailed examinations of the original text; there is no fear of criticism or of frank judgment; the old Christian and Jewish commentaries, like Lyra's postils, Münster's Hebrew Bible with quotations from rabbinical commentaries, and Jerome are cited and discussed. As Mathesius had noted (above p. 213), the friends contributed from their special funds of knowledge. Ruling over all is Luther's spirit; his comprehension of Scripture, his power of speech, his linguistic intuition and ability for finding the right word, everywhere leave their impress on the protocol. While the terminology of the protocol is still that of medieval exegesis (Metalepsis, Metathesis, Epitasis, Epichresis, Synechdoche, Allusio, Allegoria, Tautologia etc.) we have in the protocol an exegetical work and a translation into German of an entirely new sort. The bonds of a merely verbal exegesis are broken, the spirit of Scripture as a whole, in free sovereign mastery, is the guide which it follows and to which it gives expressions."

The result of the revision of the canonical books of the Old Testament from 1539 to Feb. 1541 are partly to be found in the Bible of 1540-1541, that was published by Lufft with the notation: *Auffs new zugericht,* but we only find them fully given in the edition of the same printery, that was issued in 1541. When the former appeared in 1540 the prophets were included but at that time the commission had hardly begun its work on the revision of the prophets. Only the historical books, which were first set up in 1541, show throughout the use of Luther's annotated copy. Aside from the changes in the marginal notes, of about 290 corrections in the text of Genesis alone, which we find in the editions of 1540-1546, 262 are already found in this edition. The proportion is about the same in the remaining historical books as far as II Kings.[11] The full results of the revision as it is noted in Luther's annotated copy are first found in the Bible of 1541. So this edition is correctly known as the "second main edition." It bears the title[12]: *Biblia das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft: Deudsch, Auffs New zugericht D. Mart. Luth. Begnadet mit Kurfürstlicher zu Sachsen Freiheit. Gedrückt zu Wittemberg durch Hans Lufft. M.D. XLI.* It consists of two parts of which each has a separate numbering of the leaves. The first part contains the Old Testament books from Genesis to the Song of Solomon and covers 353 leaves. The second includes the remaining Old Testament books and the New Testament and covers 416 leaves. There are copies in existence in one as well as in two volumes, both in demi-folio, with 52-53 lines on a page. Glosses and notes of contents are found on the outer margins, short explanations and parallel passages on the inner margin. The Psalms and Proverbs 10 seq. are printed in double columns. The title is surrounded by a new border, which shows on the left side, at the top, God surrounded by angels, ruling in the clouds, beneath, the camp of the Jews and the brazen serpent, at the very bottom, death and the devil are driving a man into hell, in which a monk, a pope and other persons are visible. On the right hand side, at the top, the annunciation to Mary and to the shepherds, beneath Christ, treading under foot death and the dragon, at the very bottom, Christ on the Cross, beneath it the Lamb with the banner, before the Cross John the Baptist and a man clad only with a loin cloth, on which the blood from the pierced side is flowing. The page is divided by a tree having bare branches on the left side and green ones on the right. At the trunk of the tree two men are depicted, of whom the one holds the tables of the Law. Other copies, that were specially ordered by the various princes, in place of this border, have one with coats of arms. It shows either the fourteen shields of the Saxon coat of arms, or the nine shields of Anhalt. Chr. Walther who for many years was a proof reader in the Lufft's printery, in his book: *Von der Biblia und Vorrede zu Jhena gedruckt* (1564), says that the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and the princes of Anhalt "had several Bibles printed on parchment." These title pages were also used for copies printed on paper, particularly that with the Anhalt coat of arms, for we know that George of Anhalt had copies prepared on "good writing paper" for the churches of his principality.[13] The illustrations of this edition are almost exactly the same as those of the edition of 1540 for which Lufft had procured 117 wood cuts, most of them new.[14] The style of printing also follows that which Rörer had introduced in the edition of 1540-1541, and had justified in his colophon to that edition (Bindseil 7, XVIII, *Deutsche Bibel*, 7, XIII) : 1. The beginning of a new paragraph is marked by a large letter; 2. Whole statements are marked out by letter spacing, especially Old Testament passages quoted in the New Testament; 3. Likewise such statements as are distinguished by their consoling character; 4. The German letters 𝔄 𝔅 ℭ are placed before passages of a consoling character, before those that speak of wrath instead of grace he put the Latin letters A B C.[15] In his colophon to the edition of 1541

Rörer emphasizes the fact that Luther himself had indicated to him that "the chief sayings, that are necessary and profitable for all, should be printed with other and larger type, so that they could be found readily and quickly.[16] To this *aufs neue zugerichteten* Bible of 1541 Luther also added an earnest "warning" against faulty and careless reprints.[17] He attacks the greed of foreign printers who decreased the legitimate profits of the original Wittenberg printers. In this connection Luther does not forget to add: "Although it means nothing to me, for I have received without cost and have given for nothing (Luther never received pay for his writings) and desire nothing in return. Christ my Lord has requited me many hundred thousand fold." He was most of all concerned that his writings and especially this revised translation of the Bible should not be carelessly or faultily reprinted. "But I do have to complain because the greedy bellies and pirating printers do not handle our work faithfully. Because they only seek to satisfy their own greed they do not care how correctly or how falsely they reprint. And it has often happened to me that I have read their reprints and found them so distorted in many points that I could not recognize my own work and have had to correct it anew. They do it any old way, it means money. If they are good printers they should know from their own experience that in the work of printing no care can be too great. And who has ever tried it will bear me out as to what great care is required. Therefore if anyone wants to obtain our revised Bible for himself or for a library, let him be herewith warned by me, that he see to it, what and where he buys and that he acquire this edition which has been corrected by our own company and is published herein. For I do not expect to live long enough to revise the Bible once more, and even if I were to live long enough I am now too weak for such work."

If we now examine the text of this second main edition, we see that many improvements have been made in the translation of the canonical books of the Old Testament, as well as in the marginal glosses, as a result of the revision of 1539-1541. We will again make this clear by giving some examples.

In Genesis, v.2, the Hebrew word *ruach* occurs which can mean either wind or spirit. In the complete Bible of 1534 the passage still reads: "Der Wind Gottes schwebet auf dem Wasser." When Luther again undertook the work of revising the Old Testament in 1541 he wrote in his printed copy: "Wind did not yet exist; in Psalm 33:6, it says, 'All the host of them is made by the breath of his mouth.'" This thought he turns into the gloss: "Wind at that time did not yet exist, therefore it must mean the Holy Ghost." He now proposes this passage to the commission for consideration. What was there said is thus reported in the protocol: "Wind did not yet exist, Ps. 33:6 says: 'Through the word, through the spirit.' At that time the wind did not yet exist. Lyra explains: The will of God; so it is the will of the Holy Ghost. And through the spirit of his mouth; in Job (37:21) the wind is used of the night wind, that cleanseth the heavens." The result was that Luther's correction was adopted and in the Bible of 1541, besides the new translation: *Der Geist Gottes schwebete auf dem Wasser*, we also find the marginal gloss: *Wind ist dazumal noch nicht gewesen; darum muss es den Heiligen Geist bedeuten.*[18] In Genesis 1:4 the translation, up to this time, had been: *Gott sahe das Licht für gut an.* Here we read in the protocol: "Our Lord God does not see like men, that is He does not deceive Himself. The look of God brings forth what is good. Through His looking it becomes good. It is not good so that God would be pleased by its sight, but He saw that it was a useful and precious thing, He accounted it good, precious. God saw that the light was good, by this we see that He did not need it. We enjoy it as a divine thing when we enjoy the light. It was useful, pleasant, delightful, not for Him, He did not need it. Through His looking He had caused the light to be. It was 'good' because it pleased God and because it was useful." Here the Manicheans are recalled with their two principles of good and evil, for Rörer writes in the protocol in parentheses: "Propter Manichaeos." Melanchthon also interjected a remark at this point for Rörer, evidently condensing what he said, puts these words into his mouth: "Aristotle indeed says a great deal about this chapter but explains very little." As a result of this consultation Luther now altered the old text and wrote in his own copy the new translation: *Gott sahe dass das Licht gut war*, and added the remark, *Weil es eine nützliche Sache war, wenn er sie begehret, d. i. sahe, dass das Licht gut war, d. i. nutze, köstlich.* This translation passed over into the printed Bible and the words *nützlich, köstlich* were given as marginal explanations of the word *gut.*[19]—Genesis 39:6 is today usually translated *Und er überliess alles, was er hatte, in Josephs Hand und bekümmerte sich neben ihm (scil. Joseph) um nichts als um das Brot, das er ass.* Then Potiphar is regarded as the subject of all three verbs and the passage is explained in this way: "Potiphar left Joseph to attend to everything that another one could take care of, so that nothing remained for him to do except eat, which naturally he had to do himself." For Luther, however, Joseph was the subject of the second and third verbs. So his original translation of this verse was: *Und er (Joseph) hatte nichts davon, denn nur das Brot, das er (Joseph) ass.* This he changed and wrote in his own copy: *er nam sich keines Dinges an, denn dass er ass und trank.* In this way the Hebrew verb seemed better reproduced, but the protocol shows that in spite of this change Luther still made Joseph the subject. In the protocol there is namely this statement: *Servit fideliter, non rapit, hatte nichts davon, bekam nicht einen Heller etc. Non cognovit. Er nahm sich um Joseph nichts an ihm zu geben. Der Herr wusste, dass Joseph nichts anrührte denn das Brot.* And it came into the printed Bible: *Er nahm sich keines Dinges an, denn dass er ass und trank.* But either Luther himself noticed or else during the session his attention was directed to the fact that the Hebrew *itho* had not yet been given its proper value. So he entered into his copy with red ink the words: *Weil er ihn hatte,* which is a free but not incorrect rendering of the Hebrew word. This addition also finally found its way into the printed Bible.[20]—In Genesis 45:26 the earlier translation is: *Aber es wollte ihm nicht in Sinn.* In place of that he wrote in his copy *und sein Herz entsank ihm.* This he next changed into *Aber sein Herz dachte gar viel anders,* then into *Aber sein Herz stand gar viel anders,* only to return to: *Aber sein Herz dachte gar viel anders.* In this shape the sentence finally came into the printed Bible.—In I Samuel 13:1, there is a manifest slip of the pen in the Hebrew text which must have come there before the time of the Septuagint, as that translation is based on the same text we now have in the Hebrew. The traditional text can hardly be translated otherwise than: *Ein Jahr alt war Saul, da er König wurde.* From the protocol we learn that Luther did not deal with the passage as a clerical error, as he did in other cases, but tried to overcome the difficulty in another way. The protocol says: *Saul hat ein Jahr regiert, non loquitur de anno aetatis, sed regni, Vorhin ist er im Regiment gewesen, postea etc.*[21] So the translation came about: *Saul war ein Jahr König gewesen, und da er zwei Jahre über Israel regiert hatte etc.*—What difficulties Luther encountered in the narrative of the building of the temple is very clear from the account of the protocol of I Kings 5 and 6. Here Luther is reported to have said: "We will have trouble enough with the ungodly building. I would like to see where 80 and 70,000 carpenters with their axes should have come from. Perhaps the Jews have corrupted the text. Two hundred thousand were about 2,000. They would have had no wagons and would have been compelled to carry everything. I wish I were out of the book: I am building at Solomon's temple very unwillingly. Around Pentecost it was finished. It must have been very high, 100 ells. Our tower is not much more than 60 ells." *Und bauet eine Halle zu dem Tempel* (6:3). Here Luther remarks: *Halle, d. h. ein Leichenhaus.* "Their windows (v. 4) were only holes. The Romans had windows that widened towards the outside, and the question now is whether they were for the purpose of looking out or for admitting light." "By the passageway *(Umgang)* at the wall of the temple (v. 5) the little chapels and chambers are meant," was Luther's opinion. To this some one answered: "The people did not come into the church, they looked in through the windows." But Luther answered: "I hold that the passageway was inside." "No," said Melanchthon, "for it would have been much too narrow since the width of the temple was only 20 ells." Finally Bugenhagen also entered into the discussion: "The question is," he said, "whether the temple was of stone or wood; I am of the opinion it was of wood and only the foundation was of stone."[22] That the description of Solomon's houses also gave him considerable trouble we know from his own written entries (p. 196). According to these in I Kings 7:9 and 11 he had finally come to this translation: *Solches alles waren köst-*

liche Steine nach der Mass gehauen. But as German masons did not hew the stones according to a measure but according to a square, Luther, in his own copy, crossed out the words: *nach der Mass,* and in their place wrote on the margin: *nach dem Winkeleisen.*[23] So it appeared in the printed Bible and so it has remained.—The Psalms were again reviewed for this revision of the Old Testament. In Psalm 46:1, the sentence as it was finally adopted in 1531 read: *Eine Hilfe in den grossen Nöten, die uns troffen haben.* In the meeting[24] some one seems to have recalled that in the Hebrew the *gross* was not connected with the *Nöten,* and so it would be exact to say: *Als eine Hilfe in den Nöten kräftig (oder gross) erfunden.* But Luther defended his translation and explained: "The word powerful *(kräftig)* I do not like to see connected with the word *(erfunden).* It could then be understood as meaning that God was not powerful but was so regarded by us. The meaning is rather, we find Him a great help in need. But as the word find *(erfinden)* has a number of meanings in German, it is better to say: "He is a great help," and as this shows itself as He helps, even in great need, so it is most intelligible if we say: *Er ist eine Hilfe in den grossen Nöthen die uns troffen haben.* So Luther held it was best after all to stick to the translation of 1531.—In Job 19:25 he changed *Ich weiss* in his copy into *Aber ich weiss,* and writes it in capitals.[25] At the same time he added to the word *ERLOESER,* the gloss: *Erlöser, Retter, vindex quia Christus vindicat nos contra homicidam nostrum diabolum sicut proximus sanguinis.* The accusative *keinen andern* in v. 27, he now changes to a nominative, *und kein Fremder.*—In Isaiah 40:10, he improves the former translation: *Seine Arbeit und sein Tun wird nicht ohne Frucht sein* and writes in his own copy: *Sein Lohn ist bei ihm und seine Vergeltung vor ihm.*[26] On v. 11 the protocol records: *Ist das der Rex? Er will ein Schäfer werden! Da ist doch Christus so eigentlich gemalt, als wärs im Evangelio.* On v. 12: *Wer? Der in der Krippe liegt.*—In 58:10 Luther first writes, following the Vulgate, *Und wirst deine Seele dem Hungrigen herausschütten,* but he does not stop there. In the word *herausschütten* (pour out) he sees an indication of passionate love towards another, which he elsewhere ascribes to the "heart" and not to the "soul." So he is about to change the word *Seele* into *Herz* and he actually wrote down the first letters when, just as he was writing, he remembered that the expression *Das Herz ausschütten* has a meaning for him elsewhere that does not fit in here.

So he decides for the form: *Und wirst dein Herz den Hungrigen lassen finden,* but still the order of words does not suit him, for it does not sufficiently emphasize the word *Herz,* therefore he again alters it and writes: *Und wirst den Hungrigen lassen finden dein Herz.*[26a]—In Isaiah 61:10 for the passage: *Wie ein Bräutigam in seinem Schmuck, wie ein Priester pranget*[27] he substitutes in his copy: *Wie ein Bräutigam mit priesterlichem Schmuck geziert.*[27] In Jer. 23:6 his copy gives: *HERR, der unsere Gerechtigkeit ist;* the form that remained.[28] The translation of the visions of Ezekiel 40-48 gave Luther and the commission a great deal of trouble. No where else are the entries in his copy so numerous and extensive. Here are even drawings to illustrate the meaning of the text.[29]—In conclusion, just a few more examples of how Luther illustrated the meaning of the text in the course of the meetings by applying it to his own times. The evil spirit that took possession of Saul he paints thus: "'The devil rides you' is the German expression; he is angry, rages like Duke George . . . nothing suits him, nobody can get along with him."[30] In Psalms 73 and 74 he sees a castigation of the proud attitude of the princes of the Church.[31] On Psalm 119:18 he comments: "When somebody has labored so long and is followed by a Münzer, Carlstadt, Agricola."[32] Elsewhere he refers to the pope, the Turks, the Peasant Revolt, the Diet at Augsburg, the simonists, the usurers (Lev. 25:35 seq. "Write that to those in Leipzig: now it has to do with grain; the laws are good but who keeps them?"). In Isaiah 24:20 he sees God's judgment on Germany: "Germany must perish, it cannot remain, our evil deeds are too great, they oppress us," and still he remembers it in prayer.

Further changes and additions taken from Luther's copy of the Old Testament appeared in the later Wittenberg editions, both in the text and in the glosses, as in the two editions of 1543,[33] that of 1545,[34a] in that of 1546, as well, and even in several still later editions.

The revision of July 1539 to the beginning of February 1541 had been exclusively devoted to the Old Testament. We know today, though neither Mathesius nor the often quoted Stols refer to it, that in the spring or summer of 1541 a joint revision of the New Testament also took place.[34b] For this we again have a twofold documentary basis. 1. In Luther's copy of the New Testament; 2. In Rörer's manuscript protocol of the meetings that has survived. There is namely in the university library at Jena a copy of the New Testament printed by Lufft in Wittenberg in 1540[35] that contains a number of written entries, which, with a very few exceptions, are in Luther's or Rörer's handwriting. In 1914 Otto Albrecht by a clever investigation was able to prove that this Jena New Testament shows a close connection with the alterations of the New Testament portion of Luther's translation in the edition of 1541 and 1546. It has the same important relation to the work of the commission and the final form of the text of the New Testament in Luther's translation that his copy of the Old Testament, which we have so frequently cited, had to the text of the Old Testament and to the work of the commission engaged in its revision.[36] O. Reichert published these entries for the first time in 1923. But he also discovered the protocol of the commission that revised the New Testament in the spring of 1541, which he also published in 1923.[37] This omits the four Gospels and has only one short comment on Acts, discusses Romans 1 to II Corinthians 7 more in detail and contains only a few thoughts on the other Pauline Epistles and Hebrews. How it came about that the four Gospels, Acts, a number of the Epistles and Revelation were passed by, or at least were not noticed, in the protocol of the revision we do not know. It is evident however that the printer was waiting for the results so that he could incorporate them in the *aufs neue zugerichtete* Bible of 1541, that was completed in September.[38] Therefore it is so much the more important that in Luther's own copy we have his entries for the entire New Testament, especially as these entries give the source of all the changes in the New Testament portion of the Bible that followed 1541. Much that we find in Luther's Bible today first appears here. Space only permits a very few illustrations: St. Matt. 3:3: *eine Stimme eines Rufenden*; 8:12, *Heulen und Zähneklappen*; 12:31, *darum sage ich euch . . alle Sünde und Lästerung*; 13:57, *ein Prophet gilt nirgend weniger denn in seinem Vaterland und in seinem Hause*; 21:31, *die Zöllner und Huren mögen wohl eher ins Himmelreich kommen denn ihr*; 26:37, *fing an zu trauern und zu zagen*; 27:15, *er hatte aber zu der Zeit einen gefangen, einen sonderlichen für andern, der hiess Barabbas*; Luk. 11: 39, *Ihr Pharisäer haltet die Becher und Schüsseln auswendig reinlich*; 16:23, *als er nun in der Hölle und der Qual war*; 16:20, *doch eure Traurigkeit soll in Freude verkehrt werden*; 19:31, *dass ihre Beine gebrochen und sie abgenommen wurden.* — Most of the changes are unimportant as far as the meaning is concerned, but for the emphasis and the order of words they are significant. Just in the attention he paid to such apparently unimportant matters we can see Luther's meticulousness. The marginal glosses show more important changes than the translation. In Acts 13:20 both are changed. First it read: *Danach gab er ihnen Richter bei vierhundert und fünfzig Jahr lang bis auf den Propheten Samuel,* and the gloss was: *Diese Rechnung soll man anfangen vom Auszug aus Egypten, wie die Schrift pflegt. Exod. 12 und nicht vom ersten Richter Iüd. 1.* In his own copy Luther changed the number 450 in the text into 350, erased the gloss and substituted for it the following: *Etliche Texte haben 400* (zusammen 450), *aber die Historien und Rechnungen der Jahr leidens nicht. Ist des Schreibers Irrtum, der Vier für drei ge-*

schrieben hat, welches leicht ist geschrieben im Griechischen. This gloss was taken into the edition of 1541.

That here the chief work of revision was again done by Luther, just as had been the case in the previous revision of the Old Testament is quite evident from Luther's own copy. It was probably no accident that just in this second main edition of Luther's Bible the Bible proof reader, Rörer, again added the colophon that he had appended to the editions of 1540 and 1541 (p. 238), though with numerous changes. The beginning is quite new and as follows[39]: "Whosoever thinks back a few years must admit that no book was so unknown as the Holy Bible (what was the reason cannot be told here), which properly should be familiar to all Christians, but especially to the parsons and pastors who are to teach and direct others. But now, for the past few years, through the grace of God, the teachings of the holy Gospel have again come to light and are by many devout Christians (The false Christians read them also, but to their own condemnation) with great devotion, zeal and understanding, and not without special enjoyment, joy and consolation for their conscience. Which is a certain sign that the joyous and blessed day of our redemption cannot be far from us. For Christ Himself testifies that shortly before the end of the world the Gospel shall be preached. And the angel says to Daniel, Dan. 12, that, at the last times, many shall come upon his book, which was so long hidden and sealed, and shall find great understanding therein." (W. Ed. D. B. 7, p. XV).

The text of the Bible as it was revised in 1541 we find once more, with slight alterations, in the Lufft edition of 1543.[40] *Biblia: Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deutsch, Auffs New zugericht. D. Mart. Luth.*

Begnadet mit Kürfürstlicher zu Sachsen Freiheit. Wittemberg M. D. XLIII. The colophon of Rörer mentions four passages that have been given "more lucidly and more clearly by the Doctor since that time" (namely, since the edition of 1541): Lev. 15:20; Proverbs 28:22; Dan. 9:23 (?), 26 (?), and adds: "Know that no word herein has been altered without the express consideration of the Doctor." The "warning" Luther had included in the Bible of 1541 (p. 239) made this assurance desirable. In the same year, 1543, Lufft published a second edition of the complete Bible, which is chiefly distinguished from the first in that it is printed in double columns.[42] Here Rörer in his second colophon[43] names three more Old Testament passages that have been altered: II Samuel 7:19; II Samuel 23:1 seq. (Here "the last words of David have been turned from Hebrew into German in quite a different way"); I Chron. 18:17. In justification of these changes Rörer refers to Luther's book, published in 1543, *Von den letzten Worten Davids,* He had evidently received directions from Luther to bring the translation into harmany with the passages in this book. The next Wittenberg edition of the complete Bible, printed in 1545[44] is of particular significance. Not so much because it again has a text that is changed in many places, as because it is the last edition that was printed under Luther's supervision, though not corrected by him.[45] It consisted of two parts, as had been the rule in the Lufft editions after 1541: 1. Genesis to the Song of Songs; 2. The Prophets, Apocrypha and New Testament. The first part concludes with the printer's notice: *Gedrückt zu Wittemberg: durch Hans Lufft. M.D. XLIIII,* which quite agrees with other records that state that this edition was already in course of printing on Feb. 5th, 1544.[46] The printing of the second part, at least in its commencement, also belongs to the year 1544, for at its beginning stands the title: *Die Propheten alle Deutsch. D. Mart. Lut. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg: Durch Hans Lufft. M. D. XLIIII,* but for reasons unknown to us the printing of this second part ran over into the following year and was not ready for delivery till the 2nd of March, 1545. Therefore the end of the second part has this printer's notice: *Gedruckt zu Wittemberg: Durch Hans Lufft, M.D.XLV,* and the common title for both parts, which was printed last, also carries the date 1545. This common title reads: *Biblia: Das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft: Deudsch Auffs new zugericht. D. Mart Luth. Begnadet mit Kurfürstlicher zu Sachsen Freiheit. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg. Durch Hans Lufft. M.D.XLV.* As the edition of 1541 had special title pages for the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and the princes of Anhalt, so there was a special printing of the edition of 1544-1545 with its own title page that shows the fourteen shields of the coat of arms of Electoral Saxony. From the long colophon of Rörer[47] we learn that this new edition contains two Old Testament passages (Genesis 4:1 and II Samuel 7:19) and four New Testament passages (Eph. 3:15; 3:19; 6:13; 6:15) that have been revised. In Genesis 4:1, *Ich kriege den Mann des HERRN* is changed into, *Ich habe den Mann, den HERRN.* Rörer remarks that this change was of special concern to Luther, and that for this reason he had added an explanatory gloss. The new translation is already found as an entry in Luther's copy, and the gloss in Rörer's handwriting says: *Ei, Gott sei gelobt; da habe ich den HERRN, den Mann, den Samen, der dem Satan oder Schlangen den Kopf zertreten soll; der wirds tun* (D. B. 3, 173 seq.). In II Samuel 7:19, the previous translation, *Ach HERR HErr, erzeigest du dich also gegen einen Menschen?* has been corrected to read: *Das ist eine Weise eines Menschen, der Gott der HERR ist,* and this translation, with a reference to Luther's book, *Von den letzten Worten Davids,* is given a scholion: *Das ist, du redest mit mir von solchem ewigen Reich, da niemand kann König sein, er muss Gott und Mensch sein, weil er mein Sohn ist und doch für und für soll König sein, welchs allein Gott gehört.* Here too, the translation as well as the scholion is already found in Luther's copy but (probably later than 1541) entered in Rörer's handwriting in the place of the earlier form (*Ach HERR HErr erzeigest du dich also gegen einen Menschen*), which was itself a correction of: *Ist das Menschen Recht, HErr HERR* (Cfr. D. B. 3, 398). The New Testament passages that Rörer points out in his colophon as having been altered are, strange to say, all in the Epistle to the Ephesians. None of them, however, are found in Luther's copy or in the revision protocol (either of 1541 or 1544). The most we can say is that the new form of Ephesians 6:13 has been partly indicated in Luther's copy (D. B. 4, 389). In Eph. 3:15, *über alles, was Vater heisst* is changed into, *über alles, was Kinder heisst*; In 3:19, *auch erkennen die Liebe Christi, die doch alle Erkenntniss übertrifft* now becomes, *auch erkennen, dass Christum lieb haben viel besser ist denn alles wissen.* There is a scholion with each alteration. In Ephesians 6:13 *auf dass ihr widerstehen könnt etc.* is changed into, *auf dass ihr, wenn das böse Stündlein kommt, Widerstand tun möget.* In Eph. 6:15, in place of *gestiefelt an Füssen etc.* we have the substitution, *und an Beinen gestiefelt, als fertig zu treiben das Evangelium des Friedens* and a scholion is added.

We might think that Luther had now completed the work of revising the Bible. Together with the revision of the New Testament in the summer of 1541, the complete Bible had now been revised twice and the Psalter three times with the assistance of the commission, and there were contributed some further corrections to the editions of 1543 and 1545. But the Reformer was not yet satisfied. It is true he had written in the "warning" that accompanied the Bible of 1541, "I do not expect to live long enough to revise the Bible once more, and even if I were to live long enough I am now too weak for such work." Yet in spite of this, we now know that in the fall of 1544 Luther again called the commission together and worked through with it, at least portions of the New Testament (Rom. 1-II Cor. 3.). For this we have a threefold proof: 1. The colophon of Rörer to the edition of 1546. Here he says: "In this edition there are sometimes words, sometimes whole sentences or passages throughout the Epistle to the Romans, likewise throughout I Corinthians, and also in II Corinthians as far as the fourth chapter, that have been changed and revised by our dear master and father D. Mart. Luther, who was also ready to treat the other Epistles in the same way, also St. John's Revelation and afterwards all the Gospels (*with the aid of the other gentlemen on whom he always called for assistance*), so as to bring certain words and sentences into clearer and plainer German, *as he had begun to do in the aforementioned Epistles*, if the good Lord had not taken him out of this world into His eternal Kingdom (as for many years the dear man of God had desired He would do)."[48] 2. In Luther's own copy of the New Testament, to which we have so often referred, a number of entries have been found that do not appear in the editions of 1541 or 1545, but that we do find in the edition of 1546.[49] These are the final results of Luther's last labors on the German Bible. 3. Even Rörer's protocol of this last revision was found in Jena and published by Reichert in 1923.[50]

Romans, First Corinthians and the first three chapters of Second Corinthians, if we can judge from the entries in Luther's copy and from Rörer's protocol, were thoroughly examined first by Luther and then by the commission. Even the translation of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in Rom. 1:17 by *Gerechtigkeit die vor Gott gilt* was again examined by Luther as to its correctness. In Luther's copy, over the words: *Gerechtigkeit die für Gott gilt* is written in Rörer's handwriting, in red ink: *Die Gott gibt* and in the protocol is recorded: *Iustitia Dei, die für ihm gilt, die er macht, wirkt.* But there follows: *sed placet prior sententia.* So Luther decided for the retention of the previous translation.[51] On the passage, *Aus Glauben in Glauben*, in the same verse, the protocol remarks: *Ex fide promissionis in fidem exhibiti Christi. Non volo, quod tantum Christiani crescamus in fide. Vult dicere, ex fide istius praeteriti temporis in fidem praesentis et futuri, quod una fides patrum et nostra, illic promissionis, nos exhibitionis, i. e. vult nos colligere in unam sententiam. Omnes iustificati ab initio mundi usque ad fidem fide, 'heri hodie' (Hebr. 13, 8). Nulla mutatio: fides manet, ut fundamentum populi Dei.* This Luther then condensed into the gloss, which he had Rörer enter into his copy: "All the redeemed from the beginning to the end of the world are justified through one faith, for Christ is (the same) yesterday, today and forever." This sentence then became a marginal gloss in the edition of 1546.[52] In the edition of 1546, in which the results of this revision appeared, 80 places have been counted in Romans, 54 in I Corinthians, and 17 in II Corinthians, that differ from the corresponding passages in the edition of 1545. This, of course, includes all kinds of minutiae. Unfortunately space prevents a more extended account of the results of this last revision. As a partial compensation the reader will find sections from the Septembertestament and the complete Bible of 1546, printed in parallel columns, in the second part of this book.

As we have said, all the results of these last efforts of Luther and the Bible commission are to be found in the editions of 1546, both in the separate edition of the New Testament, that was printed in large type for the benefit of those with weak eyes[54] and in the complete Bible.[55] Lufft's letter of October 7, 1546, is still extant in which he informs Duke Albrecht of Prussia that Luther on his departure for Eisleben on the 23rd of January, 1546, had ordered him to prepare a new edition of the New Testament, printed in large type for those with weak eyesight, and that he had given him a copy for its preparation in which there were many improved translations, especially in the Epistles of St. Paul, and that he had submitted one proof sheet to the Reformer that had met with his approval. So the eyes of the great man, as far as his life work of translating the Bible was concerned, rested for the last time, before he began his final journey to Eisleben, on a proof page of the New Testament intended for the eyes of the aged! When Lufft says that the copy Luther sent to the printery was one with many corrections it was probably Luther's own copy, and, most likely, it was Rörer, the biblical proof reader of Lufft's printery, to whom the treasure was given.[57] Thus the results of the final Bible revision were entrusted to him and involved the supervision of the use of the entries Luther had made himself or had dictated to Rörer. The delivery of the copy would have had no meaning if it were not intended that Rörer should use the copy as he had used Luther's copy given him in the same way, for the edition of 1541. Chr. Walther, the other proofreader of the Lufft printery, wrote all the last entries carefully into another copy and from it had the New Testament set up in large type.[58] Rörer had the complete Bible prepared from his copy and it appeared in the same year with the title: *Biblia: das ist: Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch, Auffs new zugericht. D. Mart Luther. Begnadet mit Kurfürstlicher zu Sachsen Freiheit. Gedruckt zu Wittemberg, durch Hans Lufft. 1546.* It was again put out in two parts of 360 and 410 leaves in folio. The border is like that of 1541 and 1545 with the 14 shields of the Saxon coat of arms, though they are differently arranged. The large and the small wood cut initials are mostly, though not always, the same as those of the editions of 1543 and 1544-1545. At the end is Rörer's colophon, of which we have already given the opening paragraph (p. 251). In the second paragraph he explains the partial omission of a list of revised passages, as he had given them in the colophons of the previous editions, subsequent to 1541: "They are far more numerous than before." And he thinks, "Devout Christians will gladly and willingly take on themselves this work, that is easy and profitable for them, of correcting their Bibles at the indicated places from this edition, especially those who do not have the means to purchase more than one Bible, like poor sacristans and others in similar situations." As a postcript to the whole colophon he nevertheless mentions two of the revised passages (Phil. 2:13 and I Thess. 4:10-11).[59]

Whoever reads the first two paragraphs of this colophon cannot get any other impression than that the changes Rörer incorporated in the edition of 1546 go back to Luther, even though the edition appeared after his death. Neither do the other paragraphs of the colophon suggest any other possibility. We are only puzzled when we read the postscript and know that the change in Philippians 2:13, that is there mentioned, does not go back to Luther but to Melanchthon.[60] This in itself could be explained, but as early as the sixteenth century, in connection with the synergistic and majoristic controversies and the sharp antagonism between Wittenberg and Jena, the accusation was made against Rörer that he had intentionally misled the readers in his colophon and had given the impression that the alterations in the edition of 1546 came from Luther while this was not the case.[61] Occasionally very strong expressions such as "falsifying" Luther's Bible were applied to Rörer. Through the publication of the entries in Luther's own copy and of the protocol of the revision of 1544, it has at least been proven that the changes from Romans 1 to II Corinthians 3 go back to Luther, and that at once disposes of the most important part of the alterations. Of the changes outside this group at least one (I John 5:17) according to Bugenhagen's testimony came from Luther. Since Rörer's statements in the colophon to 1546 have been shown to be correct on all other points, Bremer, Drescher, Reichert and Albrecht were not ill advised in designating the edition of 1546, and not (with Bindseil and Niemeyer) that of 1545, as the one that gives the final form of Luther's German Bible. The energetic protest of Beyer against its inclusion in the Weimar edition, simply shot over the mark.[62] The situation can be summed up in this way: The Bible of 1545, though published in Luther's lifetime, was not corrected by him and does not contain a large number of important changes that come from Luther. The Bible of 1546 did not appear till after Luther's death, but it followed his directions and uses his own copy with its many changes, some of them made just a short time before his death. The greater part of these changes from the Bible of 1545 are undoubtedly his, while of the rest, some at least, probably come from him as well.

We would prefer to end the account of a life work so momentous as Luther's translation of the Bible into German with a more definite conclusion. We would prefer to be able to say of each sentence of Luther's work with absolute certainty, "this is its final form." If the sources do not make this possible in every single detail, there still remains the overwhelming feeling that here, between 1522 and 1546, under most unfavorable circumstances, a work was accomplished through a man's determination and fidelity, industry and sacrifice, knowledge and ability, talent and prayer, that is like a miracle of God in our eyes.

Chapter Six

THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF LUTHER'S GERMAN BIBLE

After what has been said we do not have to emphasize any further that Luther's German Bible was the product of unwearied industry and the most conscientious carefulness. No other translator of the Bible labored so long, so thoroughly, and so devoutly to produce the best translation of Holy Scripture. Luther could do nothing else; he had to apply such care to his task for in his eyes the Bible was the inspired Word of God and behind each statement was the majesty of God whose avenging zeal and whose inviting grace alike dared not be diminished. This Word of God, with its central content, Christ crucified and risen again, was not something outside himself, something to be regarded as an object of contemplation and investigation but it reached into his own inmost heart and he had experienced its divine power. He had trembled before it; his whole being had been crushed out of joint, as it were, by its force and his soul thrust down to the lowest hell. But the same Word had also brought him up out of hell and opened the gate of Paradise and had brought his rest and peace by the grace that a pardoning God had given him through Jesus Christ. All his significance for his people as a theologian, as a Christian, as a prophet and a reformer, came about through this Word of God that was given in the Bible. Because Luther had experienced this blessing and emancipating power of Scripture, and had been convinced in the very depths of his soul and conscience of the truth of this experience no labor was too prodigious, no efforts too great that he might give the Bible to his German people in such form that they could share in the same blessed experience.

For the accomplishment of this purpose the greatest care had to be exercised in two directions; not even the least of the divine content of Scripture dared be lost or decreased in the work of translation, it must be displayed to the soul of the German people without diminution and always illuminated from its centre, then, in the next place, it had to be interpreted in a way that the German soul could understand and that its divine power might work unhindered. As its content was and must remain divine, so its form in the translation had to become truly German.

To comprehend the divine content to the full extent possible for men, Luther uses all the scientific helps available at the time; reliable editions of the original text (even manuscripts are mentioned), grammars and lexicons were all used most faithfully; all the available translations were consulted; the peculiarities of the Hebrew and Greek languages were assimilated; others were taken into counsel; the whole usage of the language was considered; single passages were compared with others of similar nature, and finally the entire statement was illuminated by the light of Christ and by the experience of Christ that the Holy Ghost had worked in his own heart. This illumination through Christ is what the rabbinical commentators had lacked and what the Christian commentators before him had not adequately used. As a result Luther is so skeptical about their translation that he raises the question concerning the rabbis as to whether we should seek the correct interpretation of the Word of God from the enemies of Christ, and blames Lyra because he is so often guided by the opinions of the rabbis. His own experience, that had been brought about by the Holy Ghost, and the ever new apprehension of divine truth, which is something entirely different from a mere psychological intuition, leads on from light to new light and becomes a precious guide to the correct understanding of Scripture. E. Hirsch, following in the footsteps of his teacher, Karl Holl, has particularly emphasized this in his book *Luther's deutsche Bibel* (Muenchen, 1928). He says: "The actual experience of what is involved, from which all of Luther's translations and explanations spring is, in its inmost being, the life of the heart in the faith of the Gospel, which has the despairing recognition of its own condition under the Law as the perpetual presupposition and external trials as its unfailing and infallible attestation. Of course much was needed in the way of genius, talent and industry, on the basis of this experience of faith, to fully unfold each single 'example,' each single verse, both in its general application and in its particular form. But all that would remain dead without this nucleus. In Luther's translating the living faith in the Gospel is the determining principle that controls all even to the form of the single expression. To translate the Bible into German was a work, that in his mind, required a devout heart that was experienced and accomplished in faith. He would not have ventured to attempt this work if he had not fought through and prayed through the teachings of Scripture, in the presence of God; if his heart had not prayed and rejoiced because of its words and with its very language; if he had not, like a receptive child that is never through learning, stood devoutly before its simplest and most familiar words and perceived in them the presence of the Holy Ghost (W. Ed. 31, I, 126 seq., *Tischreden* 5193). But now he knows that his faith and his prayers are not his own, that God's Holy Spirit works them within him and produces just those feelings and experiences through which the Bible becomes a living thing to him (W. Ed. 7, 546). So in his own translating he practiced what he said of Scripture in general, that not one jot of it could become clear and distinct to anyone unless he had recieved the Holy Ghost (W. Ed. 18, 609; 12, 438 f. seq.) so that the Spirit present in Scripture would write the otherwise dead, cold, meaningless words in the heart (W. Ed. 20, 395; 29, 346). And so it naturally follows that as there is no real understanding of Scripture without the Holy Ghost, so there can be no right translating of Scripture without the same aid." As a result of this illumination by Christ and the inner experience brought about by the Holy Ghost it becomes an established fact that if he does make some mistake in his translation it is not something contrary to Scripture. It is just as a result of this basic conception that his distinctions between the more important and less important books of Scripture and his judgment concerning the Epistle of James can be understood. Only this inner experience of the Word of Scripture can explain and at the same time justify the changes in the Psalter of 1531, where in contrast to the Psalter of 1528, the present has been substituted for the preterit or future in hundreds of places. He had experienced exactly what had been written down in Scripture some hundreds of years before, and by his translation he wants to express the present values, or better yet the timeless character of these prayers. He says expressly about Psalm 72:12: "I will let it remain in the present because He still knows how to act in the same way today" (D. B. 3, 91). That the language made it permissible is shown by an investigation of a majority of these passages. On the other hand, when, on occasion, it was shown Luther that by this method of twofold illumination he had come to a result that was not grammatically tenable, he was ready to give it up. He bowed in awe before the majesty of God that was behind the word of Scripture. As little as the grammatical construction sufficed him for the comprehension of the divinely intended meaning and for its proper translation so little could that be the true sense which was in defiance of the grammatical construction of the language. (Compare *Tischreden* 3794 and 5521, for the one side, and 2382, for the other.)

But this meaning, given in words and illuminated by Christ and his own Spirit-given experience, had to be put into words that so exactly conformed to the nature of the German language that they would become the best vehicles to convey the divinely intended meaning, with all its riches of strength and beauty, of fear, and of joy, of solemnity and grace, of rhythm and music, into the soul of the German people. It followed that the translation did not dare to be too literal, for both the Hebrew and Greek languages have their own peculiarities, as well as the German, and the translation was to fit to the genius of the German language, like the coat to the body. It is exceedingly instructive to see how Luther grasped the nature and peculiarities of the biblical languages and the German alike, and was guided by them in making his translation. For this reason his work was only half done when the verbal meaning of the original was understood; that was only the prelude to the equally difficult and sometimes even more difficult work of finding genuinely German equivalents. How, particularly in the revision of the Psalter, he kept emphasizing, "Germanice, Teutonice" and, to use Amsdorff's figure of speech (p. 186) poured the thought from one pitcher to another, sometimes four times and sometimes oftener, till he found a really satisfactory equivalent.

This required a complete mastery of the rich treasures of the German vocabulary in its remotest ramifications, a skill in the choice of words that knew how to choose from the wealth of synonyms, an appreciation of the frequent necessity of changing the Hebrew noun into its corresponding verbal form, a knowledge of the peculiarities of the construction of German sentences, of German words and word order, a feeling for what was concrete, noble, eternal and yet popular, an understanding of rhythmical and musical stress that judges the translation rather from its effect on the hearer than on the reader, a familiar acquaintance with the whole world of ideas in which the simple German common people lived, and the ability not only to know and feel all this, at all times, but also to control it as a master and in his translation to give it real form and being. Because Luther possessed this mastery in ever increasing measure he became the creator of the German of the Bible, which through its mastery of language after the passing of four hundred years, still attracts, like a song from the homeland, even those who try to close their hearts to its religious message.

In small type we will give the most important statements that Luther made concerning the principles that governed him in arriving at the form and content of his translation. Because of the limited space at our disposal we can give only a very limited selection of certain forms and constructions that will serve to show his remarkable mastery of language.[1]

In relation to the *content* from which the translation must be derived he says in his book, *Von den letzten Worten Davids*, 1543 (W. Ed. 54, pp. 28-31): "The ridicule of the Jews" (who "with their grammar force their interpretations on the Bible and tear portions from the context," and who "have to confess that in many places they do not understand the words and who certainly do not have a common, faultless, pure, certain Hebrew Bible even grammatically, let alone theologically") "does not touch me and for the sake of gaining their opinion I would not learn one letter in the Hebrew language. The reason is this: we Christians have the understanding and meaning of the Bible, because we have the New Testament, that is Jesus Christ, who was promised in the Old Testament, who afterwards came and brought with Him the light and understanding of Scripture as He says, John 5: 'had ye believed Moses you would have believed me; for he wrote of me'; again Luke 21: 'All must be fulfilled that is written in the Law, Prophets and Psalms concerning me,' and he opened their understanding that they might understand the Scripture (Luke 24:27). *For here it sticks, here it lies, here it remains; whosoever does not have nor desire to have truly and purely this man whom we Christians preach, who is called Jesus Christ, God's Son, him I advise to leave the Bible alone.* He will certainly be offended and the more he studies the blinder and madder he will become, be he Jew, Tartar, Turk, Christian or what he will. See what was the matter, among us Christians, with the heretics, the Arians, Manicheans, Pelagians, and countless others? What was the matter with the popes? Did they not possess the certain, clear, mighty words of the New Testament? What is the matter with the sects of these days? Do they not have the New Testament clearly and certainly enough? If we were to translate the New Testament into German according to the ideas of each of these devil's heads, how many New Testaments would we not have?

"If I should have to decide and choose either to have the understanding of Scripture that was possessed by St. Augustine and the dear fathers, which is the understanding of the Apostles, even though St. Augustine did not always have the correct words and letters according to the Hebrew, as the Jews assert in derision, or else the correct words and letters of the Jews (though they themselves by no means possess a correct text throughout) without the understanding of St. Augustine and the fathers, that is, with the understanding of the Jews, it is easy to tell what I would choose. I would let the Jews with their understanding and letters go to the devil, and would go with Augustine's understanding, and without their letters, to heaven. For though Augustine cannot say *Kikaion* with the Jews but says *cucurbita* (Jonah 4:6) and again he cannot say *venient Hemdath* but says *venient Desideratus* (Haggai 2:7), and much else of the same sort, my faith does not on that account break its neck or a leg, because he really knows the right Man; who is called 'the way, the truth and the life,' of whom the Prophets have testified and prophesied. Again *because the Jews do not accept this Christ* they cannot know nor understand what Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms say, what the histories offer and teach, but (according to Is. 29:12) *Scripture must remain to them like a letter to one who cannot read.* He sees the letters very clearly but does not know what they tell, as the German proverb has it: *Ein weisses Feld, darin ist schwarze Saat; Manch Mann vorüber gat* (geht), *der nicht weiss, was da staht* (steht)." But he who is able to read and is a good reader runs over it, catches the meaning even when there are some simple words or letters that he does not regard. Before the other one has spelled out one word he has read the whole letter. In the same way a musician has sung through a hymn before another person has been able to determine whether there is a 'sol' or a 'fa' in the key.

"Consider that excellent man Lyra, who is a good Hebraist and a faithful Christian. What good work he does when he opposes the Jewish understanding according to the light of the New Testament, but when he follows his Rabbi Solomon how poor is the result (saying nothing and making no impression) so that it has neither hands nor feet, although the words and letters are correct. But even at that he is better than they all, both the new and the old Hebraists who follow the rabbis too closely. We dare not expend all our energy when translating and expounding, in seeing how we can diffuse the ideas of the rabbis and the grammarians among us Christians. Without such effort they stick fast all too easily, like pitch or glue, even when, in principle, they try to guard against it. For the letters and examples of others so blind the eyes that we sometimes miss the meaning of Christ, though that should not be the case, and so the Jewish understanding creeps in unperceived as has happened to all translators, myself included.

"Summa: If we do not direct our efforts, wherever possible to illuminating the Hebrew Bible by the New Testament, as opposed to the understanding of the rabbis, it would be better to stick to the old translation [the Vulgate] (which has obtained the most and the best through the New Testament) than to have so many translations (for the sake of a few passages which should either be translated in some other way or left untranslated) that confuse the reader's memory, hinder his studies and make him more uncertain than before. Therefore I have resolved to expound the last words of David, not as they have been translated into German, where I have followed the rest (in the translations preceding 1543) so that I should not appear the only wise one. But now I will be stubborn and follow my own spirit alone. If it does not suit anyone let him leave it alone. It is not the first time that I write what does not please others. Thank God I am used to it. Neither am I pleased with everything that others write. Let each one see how he builds on the foundation, whether gold, or wood, silver or hay, jewels or straw. The day of the Lord shall reveal it."

Tischreden: "Christus est punctus mathematicus sacrae scripturae." 2383. . . . "Whoever wants to study Hebrew should first of all possess a proper New Testament and confidently commend himself to Christ as the sun, light and guide. If anyone fails in this respect and simply depends on the grammar like Muenster and Sanctes (Seb. Muenster, a thorough Hebraist who in 1534 published in Basel his book: *Hebraica Biblia Latina planeque nova Munsteri translatione . . . adiectis insuper e rabbinorum commentariis annotationibus;* Santes Pagninus was a Hebraist from Lucca who died in Lyons, 1541) he will err . . . Muenster and Sanctes, it is true, are very diligent but they depend too much on the rabbis. The Jews think we should learn the Bible from them. Indeed! Should we learn the Bible from those who are the very greatest enemies of the Bible? I can see very well what our Hebraists are after. They would like to see us lose the New Testament and never again possess it. Therefore let everyone carefully note the New Testament for that will teach him to understand the Old. When Moses speaks to me of Christ I will accept him, otherwise he shall be nothing to me. So Christ says: Moses and the prophets testify of me." 5535, compare 5003. "We have devoted great diligence to the Bible and have paid heed to the meaning that agrees with the grammar. Still Muenster is not satisfied. O, these Hebraists (I say the same thing of our own) judaize too much, wherefore I also referred to them in the book I wrote against the Jews (*Vom Schem Hamphoras,* which appeared early in 1543). They will study themselves away from the Bible, just as we formerly studied ourselves away from Virgil and Terence." 5521. "Dr. Forster and Bernhard Ziegler (both of them thorough Hebraists, with whom Luther had frequently consulted during the revision of the Bible) helped us a great deal by their discussions with us, for when we translated the Bible I laid down for them these three rules: First, the Bible speaks and teaches *de operibus Dei;* about that there is no doubt. But these are divided into three spheres: *oecumenia, politia, ecclesia.* When a saying did not fit the *ecclesia* we referred it to the *politia* or *oecumenia,* wherever it fitted the best. Secondly, where, however, there was an *aequivocatio sive verborum sive constructionis,* when the grammatical construction permitted it, they were to take that which agreed with the New Testament. Thirdly, if the opinion is in conflict with the whole of Scripture, for rabbis have corrupted the whole of Scripture with their glosses and explain everything to mean that the Messiah is still to come, to give us meat and drink and afterwards to die (which is filth), we simply reject such an opinion and I deprived Forster of many such opinions. When he said: 'Ay, the rabbis understand the passage in this way,' I replied: 'Can you understand it without violating the grammar or punctuation so that it agrees with the New Testament?' If they replied, 'Yes,' I said: 'Then understand it in that way.' So they were amazed and said they would not have believed it possible all their born days." 5533, compare 312, 4673. "No one understands Scripture unless it comes home to him, that is, unless he experiences it." 3097. Luther had given Jonah 2:5 as a negative statement, "I will not look again toward the holy temple," though the negation is missing in the Hebrew. Assailed by Muenster on that account, Luther said in *Tischrede* 3503: "Yes, dear Muenster, you have never experienced anything of such trials. I have looked with Jonah into the great fish when everything seemed quite desperate." In his annotated copy of the Bible (D.B. 4, 244) he justifies his negative translation by recalling that the Hebrew idiom had to be construed as a question that required a negative answer, but he immediately adds: *Nec cures hic Ebraistas grammastistas, qui in sensu scripturae sunt Rabinistae, id est animal sine intellectu,* but also adds "They never experienced such prophetic feelings, such trying situations, for that reason they cannot understand such words." 701: "*Das will ich hinter mir lassen,* for I will only permit Christ to be my Lord, *non solum scriptura et fide, sed etiam experientia,* for He has proved it in my case. *Ideo habeo rem et experientiam cum scriptura.* But it has indeed become very bitter to me." 5193: "The Bible is the true book, in it things are stated more clearly (than in the distinctions of the orthodox) and every day we find something new therein. Every day since I became a doctor, for 28 years, I have read regularly in the Bible and have preached on it, but I have not yet mastered it, and every day I find something new therein." Compare also Luther's preface to the Large Catechism (W. Ed. 30, I p. 126 seq.).

Concerning the *form of the language* in which the content was cast. Luther often spoke of the peculiarities of the Hebrew, Greek and German languages. His statements are probably best gathered together in *Tischrede* No. 1040: "The Greeks have excellent and lovely words but they lack sententiousness. Their language is pleasant and charming but it is not rich in maxims. The Hebrew is above all others simple but it is majestic and splendid, plain and of few words but much is behind them, so that no other speech can come up to it. The Hebrew language is the best and richest in words and is pure, does not go begging, has its own color. The Greek, Latin and German go begging, they have many *composita,* while the Hebrew has none. Where the Germans have one single word they have around 20 *composita,* words that are derived from it or combined with it, as *laufen, entlaufen, verlaufen, umlaufen, belaufen, zulaufen, ablaufen, weglaufen, einlaufen etc.* In such cases the Hebrew language has no *compositum* but a special word. The word *Herz* has a very general use. For it means a little portion of the body, as when we say: *er hat kein Herz, d. i. er ist kleinmütig und verzagt;* again, *das Herz sagt mirs, sein Herz brennt ihm,* d. i. *er ist zornig etc.* For each one of these ideas the Hebrew has its own special word. . . . I am master of neither Greek nor Hebrew nevertheless I could give a good account of myself to a Hebrew or a Greek. But languages in themselves do not make a theologian; they are merely a help. Before anyone can discuss any matter he must first know and understand the subject . . . " When Forster insisted that the Hebrew language could best be learned from the grammar, Luther said: "The phrasing and manner of speaking and construction, how words are to be combined and used, is something that cannot be given nor taught, for the construction often changes the meaning of the words so that when they are combined they frequently have a different significance and must be understood differently than when they stand alone, as also happens in German as when I say: *Tue mir das nach* and *Ich wills tun, darnach tue mirs nach.*" "I have learned more Hebrew when I compared one statement with another in the course of reading than when I have compared it with the grammar. If I were younger I would learn this language for without it it is impossible to understand Holy Scripture correctly. For the New Testament, though it is written in Greek, is full of Hebraisms and of Hebrew forms of speaking." "I am no Hebraist according to rules and grammar, for I do not permit myself to be bound but move freely on. Because some one has the gift of languages and understands them that does not enable him to turn one into the other and to translate well. Translating is a special grace and gift of God. The seventy Greek translators who turned the Hebrew Bible into Greek were inexperienced and unskilled; their translating is very patchy and inept, for they have disregarded the letters, words and manner of speaking, so that St. Jerome's version is to be preferred, though if anyone reproaches Jerome with being a Hebraist he does him injustice and violence." "Lyra was the best among the Hebraists and was a diligent translator of the Old Testament. If I were again to undertake the study of Hebrew I would take up and read the best and most correct grammars, such as David Kimchi, Moses Kimchi, who are the most correct, and then I would read Moses because he chiefly speaks of external facts, then I would read the Psalter and the Proverbs of Solomon and lastly the Prophets, who use many rhetorical words and forms of speech." Compare *Tischreden* 1041, 1183, 3271, 5328.

Literal translation is impossible. Tischreden 5521: "It is impossible to give all the words just as they are in the Hebrew because each language has its own idioms. One word often has so many meanings *(latum)* that it is impossible to reproduce it adequately (with one word). So I have carefully done in the translation of these three words: *Herz, Schade, Recht. Quorum varietatem et varium usum non possumus explicare tam lata est ipsorum significatio.*" 5327: "It depends on the *proprietas verborum* and the *phrases* and *figurae*. Just as if a Greek came upon the German saying, *Er kann den Mantel nach dem Wind richten* (The equivalent English proverb: He trims his sails according to the wind). *Wind* he could understand, the general meaning of *Mantel* he could find out, though he would not know what sort of a garment it was, but above all, the connection of the whole *den Mantel* *nach dem Wind richten* he would not be able to understand. There advice would be necessary. The same thing happens in the Hebrew." "It is necessary to compare the words carefully with each other and so recognize their *proprietas.*" 5521: "We have viewed the *Verba, figuras and rem* at the same time. These three elements must be taken together. The Jews do not understand the Bible because they do not understand the matter itself *(rem).*"

It was to be a German translation for the common man. 2771a: "It is not possible for anyone to speak his native language with another tongue and the true method of translation is not to seek the proper word too far away or too close but so that it best fits into the spirit of the language." "The Hebrew sentence, 'They have destroyed the city *per os gladii,*' we have to translate, *mit der Schärfe des Schwerts.* When we take hold of Hebrew we have to let the Greek and Latin go." "It is necessary to talk as they talk on the market place." "I will get rid of the Hebraisms so that no one can say that Moses was a Hebrew. Good translating means adapting the statements to the spirit of the language." At the first translation of the New Testament when he asked Spalatin's help he had written: "But you must give us simple words and not such as are used in castles and courts for this book is to be translated in simplicity" (above p. 160).

It was to be bound by the rules of Grammar and still be free. 3794: "*Grammatica quidem necessaria est in declinando, conjugando et construendo, sed in oratione sententiae et res considerandae, non grammatica,* denn die grammatica soll night regieren *super sententias. Ut in psalmo 16 me flagellant: Conserva me, Domine. Qui totus psalmus est in persona Christi, estque haec sententia: O Domine Deus, ecce ego morior non pro me, sed pro peccatis populi. Conserva: Lass mich wieder aufstehen, quia spero in te. Dixi: Confessio mea est in te, quod sis Dominus meus. Quoniam bonorum meorum non eges; hoc nos transtulimus: Ich leide um deinetwillen, quasi dicat: Quia ego morior pro peccatis, so kan ich kein gutes haben. It sunt verba Hebraea. 'tobati bal alecha,' id est, propter te non est bonum mihi. Nos profecto summo labore consideravimus rem et sententiam, antequam conclusimus. Attamen flagellamur.*" In the second record of the same *Tischrede,* 4764, it is stated still more strongly: *Sententia et phrasis dominantur super omnes leges et praecepta grammatices.* 5002: "*Non satis est nosse grammatica, sed observare sensum, nam cognitio rerum affert cognitionem verborum. Iureconsulti non intelligerent* *ius, nisi usu res cognitas haberent. Et in eclogis Vergilii nemo poterit verba intelligere, nisi primum de rebus certus sit. Si novit, an ecloga sit de Augusto vel Caesare, tunc facile applicare verba. Sic in biblia ego sententiam retineo. Saepe venerunt docti grammatici ut Forstenius, tum ego, ut nec Graeca nec Hebraea nec Latina possum, sententiam populo dico et dixi: Domine Forstemi, potestne grammatica hunc sensum pati? Tum dixit: Maxime; Et sic sentit tandem nos summa diligentia transferre sua biblia."*

Luther gave a connected and extended account of his *principles of translation* in his *Sendschreiben vom Dolmetschen,* written during his stay at the Coburg in 1530 and in the introduction to his *Summarien über die Psalmen* of 1533. But compare in addition the introduction to his treatise, mentioned above, *Von den letzten Worten Davids,* of 1543, and his preface to the books of the Old Testament of 1523 (above p. 189). The *Sendschreiben vom Dolmetschen* has been accessible to the English reader since 1931 in Dr. C. M. Jacobs' translation in the Philadelphia edition of Luther's works, so we can be satisfied with citing the most important passages. In it Luther speaks first of the difficulty in general involved in translating the Bible: "I have constantly tried in translating to produce a pure and clear German, and it has often happened that for two or three or four weeks we have sought and asked for a single word, and sometimes have not found it even then. In working at the book of Job, Master Philip, Aurogallus and I could sometimes scarcely finish three lines in four days. Now that it is translated and complete, anyone can read and criticize it, and one now runs his eyes over three or four pages and does not stumble once. But he is not aware of the humps and lumps that were there, where now he slips along as over a planed board, while we had to sweat and toil to get the humps and lumps out of the way so that one could slide over it so finely. It is good plowing when the field is cleared up; but rooting out the woods and stumps and getting the field ready,—that is work that nobody wants."

Then he proceeds to his main purpose, to vindicate his translation of Romans 3:28, where he had translated *allein durch den Glauben,* though in the Greek there is no special word for *allein.* He justifies it in the first place by the character of the German language: "It is a fact that these four letters *s-o-l-a* are not there, and at these letters the asses-heads (his papal critics) stare, like a cow at a new door. At the same time they do not see that the sense of them is there and that the word belongs there if the translation is to be clear and strong. I wanted to speak German, not Latin or Greek, since I had undertaken to speak German in the translation. But it is the nature of our German language that in speaking of two things one of which is admitted and the other denied, we use the word 'only' along with the word 'not' or 'no.' So we say, 'The farmer brings only grain and no money'; 'No, I have no money now, but only grain.' 'I have only eaten and not drunk.' 'Did you only write it and not read it over?' There are innumerable cases of this kind in daily use. In all these phrases it is the German usage, even though it is not the Latin or Greek usage, and it is the way of the German language to add the word 'only' . . . We must not, like these asses, ask the Latin letters how we are to speak German; but we must ask the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the marketplace about this and look them in the mouth to see how they speak and afterwards do our translating. That way they understand it and mark that one is speaking German to them."

"For example, Christ says, *Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur* (Matt. 12:34). If I am to follow the asses, they will lay the letters before me and translate thus: "*Aus dem Ueberfluss des Herzens redet der Mund.* (Out of the surplus of the heart, the mouth speaketh.) Tell me, is that German? What German understands that? What kind of thing is *Ueberfluss des Herzens.* No German can say that, unless, perhaps, he wanted to say that someone has too large a heart or too much heart, though even that is not right. *Ueberfluss des Herzens* is not German any more than is *Ueberfluss des Hauses, Ueberfluss des Kachelofens, Ueberfluss der Bank.* But the mother in the home and the common man say: *Wes das Herz voll ist, des geht der Mund ueber* (what fills the heart overflows the mouth). That is speaking good German, the kind that I have tried for and, unfortunately, have not always reached or hit upon; for the Latin letters are a great hindrance to good German speech." Luther then proceeds to illustrate further by the example of Matt. 26:8: *Wozu dient dieser Unrat.*

"Again, when the angel greets Mary, he says, *Gegruesset seist du Maria, voll Gnaden; Der Herr ist mit dir* (Hail Mary, *full of grace, the Lord be with thee*) Luke 1:28. Up to now that has been put into bad German, because the translation has followed the Latin literally. Tell me whether that is good German; Where does a German say, 'You are full of grace'? What German understands what it is to be 'Full of grace'? He must think of a keg full of beer or a purse full of money. Therefore I have translated it *du Holdselige* (Thou gracious one) so that a German can think his way to what the angel meant by his greeting. Here, however, the papists will go crazy about me, because I have corcupted the Angelic Salutation, though I have not yet hit upon the best German rendering for it. Suppose I were to take the best German, and translate the salutation thus, *Gott gruesse dich, du liebe Maria,* for that is what the angel wanted to say, and what he would have said, if he had wanted to salute her in German. One who knows German knows very well what a tender, fine word that is, *die liebe Maria, der liebe Gott, der liebe Kaiser, der liebe Fuerst, der liebe Mann, das liebe Kind.* I do not know whether this word *liebe* can be said in Latin or other languages so tenderly that it rings through the heart, by all the senses, as it does in our language. I believe that St. Luke, a master of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, wanted to render the Hebrew word that the angel used and made its meaning clear by the Greek ϰεχαϱιτομένη and I think that the angel Gabriel spoke with Mary as he spoke with Daniel (9:23), when he called him *Hamudoth* and *Isch hamudoth,* that is, *du lieber Daniel* . . . And why shall I speak much or long about translating? If I were to tell the reasons for all my words and the ideas that were back of their use, I should need a year to write it. I have learned by experience what an art and what labor translating is; therefore I will suffer no papal ass or mule to be my judge or critic, for they have never tried it . . . This I can testify with a good conscience,—I have been faithful and diligent to the utmost in this work and have never had a fake thought. I have not taken a single *Heller* for it, or sought one, or made one by it. Nor have I had any intention to win honor by it,—that God, my Lord, knows,—but I have done it as a service to the dear Christians and to the honor of One who sitteth above, who blesses me so much every hour of my life that, if I had translated a thousand times as much or as diligently I still would not deserve to live a single hour or have a sound eye. All that I am and have is of His grace and mercy, nay, of His dear blood and His bitter sweat."

"On the other hand, I have not disregarded literal meanings too freely, but with my helpers, I have been very careful to see that when a passage is important, I have kept the literal meaning, and not departed freely from it. For example, in John 6:27, Christ says, *Diesen hat Gott der Vater versiegelt* (Him hath God the Father sealed). It would have been better German to say, *Diesen hat Gott der Vater gezeichnet* (On him hath God the Father put His mark), or *Diesen meint Gott der Vater* (It is he whom God the Father means). But I preferred to do violence to the German language, rather than depart from the words. Translating is not an art that everyone can practice, as the mad saints think; it requires a right pious, faithful, diligent, God-fearing, experienced, practiced heart. Therefore I hold that no false Christian, or sectarian *(Rottengeist)* can be a faithful translator."

Still more detailed but less well known is the account with which Luther prefaced his *Summarien über den Psalter und Ursachen des Dolmetschens* to justify his 1531 revision of the Psalter. We will give it in almost its entire extent, but partly in condensed form. He there states that around Easter of that year (1531) the Psalter had been revised once more and that he had brought it to a final form (as he then supposed). But as there were doubtless some at that time and would be more later who would be offended by the freedom of some of his translations and his departure on occasion from traditional translations, he proposes, to justify his translation with the aid of several examples, which he discusses in detail.

In the 58th Psalm he translated the 9th verse thus: *Ehe eure Dornen reif werden am Dornstrauch, wird ein Zorn sie frisch wegreissen etc.*" He knows quite well that the rabbis interpreted it otherwise, translating *Sir* as pots and *Zorn* as fire, and giving this meaning: "Before the pots perceive the thorns and the flesh is still raw, the wrath (fire) will have burned them." That is, "when the ungodly rage they are like thorns put under pots to cook the flesh (namely to destroy the godly). So they are burned up themselves before the flesh is cooked." That explanation is good enough, but he prefers to explain it thus: "Before the thorns are ripe or can be perceived on the thornbush the wrath comes, that is a hatchet or an axe and hews away while they are still green and fresh. So are the ungodly with their rejoicing, like young thorns on the bush, they grow and threaten to prick, but a farmer comes with a hatchet before they are hard enough to prick and hews them down like a storm. For God lets the ungodly rage but does not let them carry out their threats and bluster. It is proper therefore that they should be destroyed like Saul, Absalom, Pharaoh and all the tyrants."

In similar fashion he explains and justifies his translation of Psalm 68:31.

How an understandable German is necessary he next points out in connection with the translation of Psalm 63:6: "Here we formerly translated the words literally: *Lass meine Seele voll werden wie mit Schmalz und Fettem, dass mein Mund mit fröhlichen Lippen rühme.* Because no German would understand that, we have given up the Hebrew words *(Schmalz und Fett)* for they simply denote joy, just as a healthy, fat animal is joyful and again a joyful animal grows fat. A sad animal loses flesh and grows thin, and a thin animal is sad. So I have given it in clear German thus: *Das wäre meines Hertzens Freude und Wonne, wenn ich dich mit fröhlichem Munde loben sollte.* For that is David's meaning, when he had to remain outside the city and flee from Saul, when he could not be present at the service, nor hear the joyous Word of God, which consoles all sorrowful hearts etc."

In the same way, in the interest of clarity, Psalm 65:8 is changed from *Du machst frölich, die ausgehen, beide, frühe und spat,* to *Du machst fröhlich, was da webert (sich bewegt), beide des Morgens und des Abends.*"

"If in this and similar places we differ from the grammarians and rabbis no one need wonder, for we hold fast to the rule that where the mere words have to suffer to give a better understanding we have not let ourselves be bound by the grammars, which the rabbis have made, to give a poorer or less unsatisfactory meaning. For as all teachers maintain: The meaning should not serve the words, but the words should serve and follow the meaning. And we know from the teaching of St. Paul, II Cor. 3, that Moses' face is hidden from the Jews so that they seldom get the meaning of Scripture, especially in the writings of the Prophets."

"Again in Psalm 68 we have been very daring at times and have given the sense at the expense of the words (in their mere literal translation, is his meaning). On which account many wiseacres criticise us and perhaps some of the devout are offended. What good is it, however, to hold fast to the words so exactly that nobody can understand them? If anyone wants to talk German he must not stick to the Hebrew forms of speech, but he must see to it that after he has understood the Hebrew man he grasp the meaning and then reflect: But say, how would a German talk on such occasion? When he has the German words that serve for this purpose, then let him put aside the Hebrew words and state the meaning with the best German he can muster."

"So in the 13th verse we could have stuck rigidly to the Hebrew and have translated thus: *So ihr zwischen den Marken liegen werdet, so sind die Flügel der Tauben mit Silber überzogen und ihre Fittige mit gleissendem Golde etc.* What German would understand that? But the verse before it sings of kings who go to war and of mistresses of the house who order the spoils of war, so this is the meaning, that such kinds have a fine, beautiful, well equipped army on the field, which, seen from a distance is like a dove, whose feathers glisten white and red (as though they were silver and gold). These kings are the apostles who now and again go to war in the world, against the devil, who are glistening with many beautiful gifts and miracles of the Holy Ghost and who have won many souls from the devil, which they have committed to the mistress of the house, the Church, as spoils that she is to govern and to teach."

In the same way Luther discussed the following verses, but in connection with verse 18 points out that at times a more literal rendering may be desirable. "At other times we have translated exactly according to (the meaning of) the words, though we could have given it more clearly by a freer translation, because there was a significance in the words as here in verse 18: *Du bist in die Höhe gefahren und hast das Gefängnis gefangen,* Here it would have been good German to say: *Du hast die Gefangenen erlöset.* But that is too weak and fails to give the splendid wealth of meaning that is in the Hebrew when it says: *Du hast das Gefängnis gefangen,* which not only tells that Christ has delivered the prisoners but that the prison itself has been abolished and immured, so that it shall never again imprison us and is powerless to do so, and that it is as much as an eternal deliverance. St. Paul likes to talk in this fashion, when he says: 'I through the law am dead to the law,' or again, 'Christ through sin condemned sin,' and likewise, 'Death has been put to death by Christ.' These are the prisons that Christ has imprisoned and abolished, that death can hold us no longer, sin cannot condemn us as guilty, the Law can no longer convict the conscience, as St. Paul is continually proclaiming in his rich, glorious, consoling teaching. Therefore in honor of such teaching and for the consolation of our conscience we must give place to the Hebrew language, when it does better than the German."

In the same way Luther illustrates the need of sometimes retaining Hebrew expressions by the example of Ps. 91:5. At the conclusion of his explanation he remarks: "I know right well that St. Bernard has another explanation which I will not contradict, though he seems to me to be too monkish, and too trifling for Christians or the Christian Church, because they are assailed more on account of the Word and faith than on account of life and works." In the same Psalm in v. 9, he makes a change in the pronoun because to leave it, as in the Hebrew *Deine* instead of changing it to *meine* would only confuse the German. He has still retained the meaning of the original even though he has altered the pronoun *Mea* in *Tua*.

Another example is Psalm 92:15: *Wenn sie gleich alt werden, werden sie dennoch blühen, fruchtbar und frisch sein.* "We know perfectly well that word by word it reads: *Sie werden noch blühen im grauen Haar, fett und grün sein.* What is said here? The Psalm has compared the righteous to trees, like the palm trees and cedars, which have no grey hair and are not fat (which a German understands as referring to lard and thinks of a solid belly). But the prophet wants to say that the righteous are such trees as blossom, are fruitful and verdant even when they are old and must remain so eternally for the Word of God abideth forever, as they teach, Psalm 1, 'His leaf shall not wither.' For they keep increasing continually in (the knowledge of) the word and in life. But all other trees at last decline when they grow old, especially the sectarian spirits that God has not planted, as Christ says: 'Every plant, which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.'"

The next example is particularly interesting as it deals with a phase in the translation of Psalm 118:27 that is very familiar to German ears but is utterly unknown to users of the English Bible. Luther remarks: "We know very well that the Jewish rabbis read it: '*Bindet das Osterlamm mit Seilen bis an die Hörner des Altars,*' when we gave it in German as: '*Schmücket das Fest mit Maien.*' Through their own self-will they make of the word *Hag* (which properly means a feast day or festival) a passover lamb. Though elsewhere it may be found with the meaning they assign to it, yet here they cannot prove it. Where is it told that the Jews should bring the passover lamb with cords to the altar, which every one roasted at home, as they still do when they have no altar? Because this is a false Jewish interpretation put on the text and because we know that the Psalm sings of Christ and His kingdom and as the words of this verse, according to the usage of the language, give the meaning: *Bindet das Fest mit Maien* we have made it clear thus: *Schmücket das Fest mit Maien* (which is the spiritual *Laubrüst* or Feast of Tabernacles, of which the Jewish *Laubrüst* was the prototype) *bis an die Hörner des Altars.* With the altar he indicates that it is to be spiritual *Laubrüst* for which there had to be an altar. No altar was necessary for the Jewish *Laubrüst* except in Jerusalem. And the meaning is that in Christ's day all feasts should be daily feasts in which there was to be joyous preaching in faith and thus thankofferings were to be brought to God. That means *Bis an den Altar das Fest mit Maien schmücken,* to rejoice in word and faith and so laud and praise God in Christ, who is our altar."

A similar explanation and exposition of Psalm 118:12 follows, where Luther reminds the reader that his translation, as over against the rabbinical one, is possible according to Hebrew grammar if the vowel points are not put in so as to fit the rabbinical ideas. And finally Luther pays his respects to the carping little pedantic critics who can find fault but who could not translate one single passage into decent German, and reminds them that in the ancient translations Jerome and others had taken far greater liberties than he.

In conclusion we will give several proofs that Luther had mastered all those requirements that in the true art of translation must always be observed and whose frequent application marks the *linguistic individuality of Luther's German Bible.* The wealth of words, the choice of words, the order of words and the construction of the sentences, these are the elements that in the first place go to making a language a real language.

The great *wealth of words* that Luther controlled, and the remarkable talent in the *choice of words* that he possessed, became particularly evident in the revision protocols. He often proposed for his own choice three, four or five synonymous words till he found the right one. So he wrote in II Samuel 22:27: *Meine Knöchel haben nicht geschimpfert, gestrauchelt, geglitten* till he decided in favor of the last word. In I Sam. 18, he was undecided whether David had put the smooth stones in the *Hirtensack, Hirtengefäss or Hirtentasche.* In Psalm 88 he is not sure in a number of places whether *Gesellen, Verwandte, Freunde, Lieben or Liebharer* would fit best. Often, according to the protocol, he gushed forth a whole string of different words and connected the fitting applications with them, as though he had only to beckon to the synonyms to have them appear and be selected after due deliberation. The present day reader does not dream out of what a multitude of possibilities the expressions now current have been selected. Risch has said, very correctly, that it would pay to make a list of all the words Luther rejected, between 1522 and 1546, not only in his printed works, but particularly in his notes, entries in his printed copies and in the revision protocol, as being too coarse, uncouth or unfamiliar. Aside from a few exceptions it would be seen that almost invariably inferior words were supplanted by better ones and that the expressions are continually becoming better and more refined. In the circle of his friends he uses many a coarse word and expression but it does not get into the Bible language. For example *fettmachen* becomes *salben, nachlaufen* becomes *nachfolgen, Dreck* becomes *Kot, ein verdorben Gezeug* (Ps. 31:12) becomes the more elegant and dignified *ein zerbrochen Gefäss.* Even when we do not have such opportunities for comparison we can recognize in the present, final form of the Bible, the wealth of its vocabulary and the sureness and delicacy in the choice of words. Walther remarks that "for the description of a departure Luther has at his disposal all imaginable words: *Gehen, wandern, wandeln, wallen, ziehen, fahren, reisen, reiten. Bewahren* he varies with *behüten, beschützen, schirmen.* For *ehren* he also knows *rühmen, preisen, erheben, gross machen, herrlich machen.* For *Leid* he also has *Schmerz, Trübsal, Not, Anfechtung, Kreuz, Weh, Plage Pein, Marter, Qual.* So he is able beautifully to avoid monotony, as in Proverbs 2:7: *Er beschirmt* die Frommen und *behütet* die, so recht thun, und *bewahret* den Weg seiner Heiligen. Or Isaiah 40:29: 'Er gibt den Müden *Kraft* und *Stärke* den Unvermögenden.' He knows how to distinguish between *Kopf* and *Haupt.* The *Kopf* of the serpent is trodden under foot but the Son of Man has not where to lay his *Haupt.* He sensed the difference between *Ross, Pferd* and *Gaul.* The *Pferde* are held in with bit and bridle, but fiery *Rosse* carry Elijah to heaven in the fiery chariot, and it is the strong *Gäule* whose neighing is heard (Jas. 3:3; II Kings 2:11; Jer. 50:1)." The same holds good of Luther's distinction between *Tor, Tür* and *Pforte* (Gen. 27:17; Ps. 24:9); Judges 16:3; Matt. 7:13; *Mund* and *Maul* (Proverbs 21:28; Ps. 45:21); *tunken* and *tauchen* (Gen. 37:31; Matt. 26:33). Even among very closely related words he selected the most appropriate very carefully: "Führe mich auf dem *Steig* deiner *Gebote*" (Ps. 119:35); "Dein *Pfad* war in grossen Wassern" (Ps. 77:19); "Bereitet dem Herrn den *Weg*, macht auf dem Gefilde eine ebene *Bahn* unserem Gott (Is. 40:3); eure *Strassen* sollen wüste werden (Is. 38:8)." How careful and consistent he was we can see, for example, in his translation of the group of Greek words οώζειν, σώζεσϑαι, σωτηϱία, Hirsch (p. 56 seq.) has shown that Luther in his translation carefully distinguished as to whether, in the particular case, the main idea was that of help or deliverance in external need, or of salvation in the religious sense. In the first case Luther usually translated the verb, when it is in the active voice, *helfen* (Matt. 8:25, 9:22 etc.) but also *aushelfen* (Heb. 5:7) and *erhalten* (Matt. 16:25; Mark 3:4 etc.); in the passive mostly as *gesund werden* (Matt. 9:21-22; Mk. 6:56 etc.), but also as *besser werden* (John 11:12); *wird geholfen* (Acts 14:9); *sich helfen lassen* (Acts 2:40); *behalten werden* (Rom. 5:9); *erhalten werden* (I Peter 4:18); *beim Leben bleiben* (Acts 27:31; cfr. 27:20). The noun in the case where it certainly refers to external help he turns into a verbal form with the aid of *erretten* (Luke 1:71), at other times he freely reproduces the sense with the word *laben* (Acts 27:34). In the second case he regularly translates the verb, when it is in the active voice, *selig machen* (Matt. 1:21; 18:11; John 12:27 etc.); here too he not infrequently turns the noun into a verbal form and usually gives it as *selig machen* or *selig werden* (Rom. 1:16; 10:1; 10:10 etc), where he retains it as a noun he varies between *Heil* (17 times) and *Seligkeit* (20 times). That most of this is a mere matter of course for the one to whom German is the mother tongue is directly due to the enormous influence that Luther's German Bible has exercised on the language of the following times. This has had its source in Luther's German Bible, which has been like a fountain of perpetual youth. We have to read chapter after chapter in the German Bible of the middle ages with its terrible poverty of expression, its unbearable monotony and its pathetic helplessness, and then turn to Luther's version in order to appreciate the richness and delicacy of the language of his German Bible.

To the unerring sureness in choosing the right word comes a similar sureness in the *construction of expression and phrases.* Because of the limited space I cannot illustrate this phase but refer the reader to Wetzel's lists and remind him how often in the protocol of the revision the expression *wir sagen* occurs and is followed by an expression that is as German and nationalistic as anything could possibly be. In this connection we would also recall the transforming of a Hebrew or Greek noun in the descriptive Genitive with an adjective. So in Psalm 72:19 out of *Gelobet sei der Name seiner Ehre* comes the really German *Gelobet sei sein herrlicher Name,* or in Psalm 90:10 *und sein Reichtum* is changed into *wenn es köstlich gewesen ist.* Ephesians 4:24 where *in Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit der Wahrheit,* is turned into *in rechtschaffener (wahrhaftiger, wirklicher) Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit.* There is also the translation of the noun by a complete phrase, and usually by a verb, for Luther had overheard in the speech of the common man his *preference for verbs rather than nouns.* So Luther changes *Den Ort der Wohnung deiner Ehre* into *den Ort da deine Ehre wohnet* (Ps. 26:8); *Du kennst mein Sitzen und mein Stehen* is turned into *ich sitze oder stehe auf, so weisst du es* (Ps. 139:2); *Ihr habt nicht einen knechtlichen Geist empfangen, wiederum zur Furcht,* becomes *dass ihr euch abermal fürchten müsset* (Rom. 8:15). In Luther's mouth or in his pen the language becomes so fluid that it is able to do justice alike to the complaints, ejaculations, trembling, exultation, rejoicing, praise, thanksgiving, meditation and silent adoration of the Psalms, the majestic style of Isaiah, the lamenting notes of Jeremiah, with all his warm sympathy, as well as the deep ardor beneath the quiet progress of the Johannine writings and the tremendous sentences of St. Paul.

The wealth of words and the choice of words, the wealth of phrases and the choice of the phrase are supported by a rare skill in the *construction of sentences.* The German Bible has very few monstrosities of construction; it is a friend of the short sentence. It did not attempt to avoid combined clauses and complex sentences, for no language can get along without them; even the old "Asianism" (Norden I, 126) could not completely avoid them. When Luther has to deal with long, occasionally very long, periods, especially in the Epistles of St. Paul, he seldom divides them into a number of independent sentences, but he uses all sorts of aids to make them clear. Sometimes he treats Greek subordinate clauses as though they were principal clauses. Instead of translating I Cor. 9:24: *Wisst ihr nicht, dass die in den Schranken Laufenden alle laufen, aber einer das Kleinod erlangt,* he writes: *Wisset ihr nicht, dass die, so in den Schranken laufen, die laufen alle, aber einer erlangt das Kleinod.* Or else he places subordinate interpolations in parentheses. Gal. 3:13 *Christus aber hat uns erlöset von dem Fluch des Gesetzes, da er ward ein Fluch für uns (denn es steht geschrieben: Verflucht sei jederman, der am Holze*

hängt), auf dass der Segen Abrahams über die Heiden käme etc. Or else he divides them into a number of sections and begins each section with a new line. So the great period of Ephesians 1:3-14, he has the printer make three breaks, with each beginning a new line. On the other hand he unites the disconnected sentences of the Hebrew, by the use of conjunctions, into one composite sentence, as, for example, I Kings 10:1: *Da das Gerücht Salomos vor die Königin von Reicharabien kam, kam sie etc.*

Of still greater significance is the *order of words* in each sentence. In the Septembertestament Luther is still largely bound to the Greek order, in the Decembertestament he shows himself much freer in this respect. Among the 574 changes it contained, 296 have been counted that give an improvement in the order of words. And while anyone who compares the New Testament of 1546 with that of 1522 will find many improvements in the content of the translation he will find a far greater number in the order of the words. One of the most important of these comes from his fondness for placing the verb as close as possible to its subject. In Galatians 3:13 he does not write: *Christus hat uns vom Fluch des Gesetzes erlöst, auf dass er ein Fluch für uns wurde,* but *Christus hat uns erlöset vom Fluch des Gesetzes, da er ward ein Fluch für uns.* And in Revelation 7:14 we do not read: *Diese sind die, die aus grosser Trübsal gekommen sind und ihre Kleider gewaschen und im Blut des Lammes helle gemacht haben,* but *Diese sind's die kommen sind aus grosser Trübsal und haben ihre Kleider helle gemacht im Blut des Lammes.* Luke 2:12: *Ihr werdet finden das Kind in Windeln gewickelt und in einer Krippe liegen.* Gal. 1:22: *Ich war aber unbekannt von Angesicht den christlichen Gemeinden in Judaea.* Eph. 1:3: *Der uns gesegnet hat mit allerlei geistlichem Segen in himmlischen Gütern.* Almost every page of Luther's Bible offers proof after proof of the same thing so that we are compelled to realize that it is something that Luther purposely aimed at and consistently carried out. For what reason? So that the main idea of the sentence might be immediately apparent to the reader and still more to the hearer. With the other order of words the hearers would have only a partial idea of the thought till the verb finally arrived at the end; while the reader is able, when necessary, to look rapidly forewards or backwards, for his orientation, the hearer has not such opportunity; with the aid of his memory he can think back but he can never look forward. Hirsch has correctly insisted that Luther's Bible is more a book to be heard than one that is to be read.

Inseparably united with this was his feeling for what was *sonorus, melodious, rhythmic and musical.* In former times men read aloud, even when they read to themselves, so it was a natural requirement, especially for the Greeks, that not only the speech of the orator but that all literature should be melodious and musical. When we read to ourselves we are accustomed to read silently not with the aid of the ear but only with the eye. But just the Bible, more than any other book, is still read aloud, in family devotions, in school, in the church service. For this purpose Luther's Bible is preeminently adapted. Let anyone read aloud Isaiah 6; 40:26-31; 60:1-6; let him note how the Psalms sing and ring, especially in the form they received after 1531 and 1541. By comparing the different revisions that took place between 1517 and 1546 it becomes evident how gradually and yet more and more emphatically, indeed conspicuously after 1530-31, the musical element is fostered and successfully attained. Hans Schmidt may be right when he asserts that this increasing emphasis of the musical element went hand in hand with his progressive mastery of the original text and the increasing perception of the music of many of its passages, but that would not be the only reason, nor even the chief one, for Luther's cultivation of this element, for we find it even where the original does not demand it. Nor do we find it exclusively in the Old Testament; the whole New Testament is likewise permeated with it, not only passages like Matt. 7:24-27; Rom. 8:31-39; I Cor. 13; I Cor. 15, where the Greek original almost compelled it. Luther often only changes a letter and by doing so adds or subtracts a syllable. Compare Isaiah 40:8, "Das Gras verdor*ret,* die Blume ver*welkt;* aber das Wort unseres Gotten blei*bet* ewiglich." So he often uses the mere "s" in place of "es" in the genitive and either uses or omits the "e" in the dative singular, merely for the sake of rhythm, which now requires one syllable more, now one less. For example: *wenn's hoch kommt, so sind's achtzig Jahr* (Psalm 90:10). That all this was intentional and not a mere accident is apparent from the fact that Luther regarded it important enough to note many of these apparently trifling changes in his own copy, or it can be made very evident by a comparison, for example, of Psalm 130:3, in the translations of 1524 and 1531. In 1524 he had translated: *So du willst acht haben auf Missetat* but in 1531: *So du willst, Herr, Sünde zurechnen.* Why does he change *Missetat* into *Sünde?* Simply because the insertion of the word *Herr* changed the rhythm and demanded the omission of a syllable and the choice of a word with different emphasis. To this cultivation of the musical elements of Luther's Bible must be added the use of *alliteration, assonance* and *rhyme.* We will only cite a few instances and refer for further information to Hopf's excellent treatise on the subject. "*W*asche mich *w*ohl von *m*einer *M*issetat und reinige *m*ich von *m*einer Sünde." (Ps. 51:4); "*R*osse, *R*äder und *R*eiter" (Ezekiel 26:10); "ein *s*tilles, *s*anftes *S*ausen" (I Kings 19:12); "*L*asset euer *L*icht *l*euchten vor den *L*euten" (Matt. 5:16). Here again we have what was neither accident nor artificiality but intention and true art, for these forms were not in the original translation but came about through later revisions. *Sie wickelte ihn in Windeln,* Luther had given in the *Kirchenpostille* (and so several months before the translation of the New Testament) as *Sie hat ihn in Tuchle gewickelt. Er fing an zu zittern und zu zagen* (Mark 14:33), in 1522 had been *Er fing an zu erzittern und zu ängsten.* The more we investigate the more we see how down to the very smallest matters, such as the choice of capitals and the question of punctuation, the results are all the consequence of careful consideration. That they seem so natural and so much a matter of course to the German of today that they have to be brought to his attention before he notices them, shows conclusively that they are not anything artificial but are perfectly natural and a natural outgrowth of the genius of the German language. It proves at the same time that Luther showed himself a true artist in his translation of the Bible, for the highest praise that can be given art is to be able to say that it has again become a part of nature.

It would be a pleasant and agreeable task to picture the tremendous influence that has gone forth from Luther's translation of the Bible. In Germany this would compel us to follow the streams of blessing that it has poured out on the religious life of the church and the individual, on literature and culture, in richest measure; it would bring before us the conserving power it became for the Lutheran Church during the storms of the Thirty Years War and the force it afterwards became in spiritual renewal; how it overcame rationalism and brought about a revival of faith; how in the midst of the new heathenism in school and Church it has begotten a multitude of believers, like the dew of the morning; how in the World War for many a soul, far from its home, it was the only anchor left; how, even now, in these evil times, it is proving itself in a new way the centre about which a new Church, that really deserves this name, can come into being, and how even its enemies in literature, art, the state and the so-called Church derive more blessings from it than they dream. But we would also have to show how Luther's translation of the Bible opened the way and showed the road to similar work in the other countries of Europe, especially in Scandinavia and in England, where, as Gruber has shown, Tyndale's New Testament is greatly dependent on Luther's translation. We would have to look further and show how the translations that have been made in heathen lands are dependent to no small degree on Luther's Bible, and how it went with German emigration into all the countries of the earth and everywhere has proved and still is proving itself a linguistic and religious bond.[2] But space forbids this pleasant work.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

Notes to the Latin Bible, pp. 5-12. — 1. Comprehensive literary references in M. Reu, *Catechetics or Manual of Religious Education*, Chicago 1926, pp. 69-79. — 2. M. Schian's Article concerning the history of preaching in Herzog-Hauck's Realencyclopädie, vol. 15, pp. 652-656. — 3. The great number of Latin hymns in the middle ages is shown by Ul. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, 1892-1920, and G. M. Dreves and Cl. Blume, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, 62 vols. 1886 seq. A work like Lukas Lossius' *Psalmodia* of 1553 (M. Reu, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. kirchl. Unterrichts* I3, 851*) shows how much was carried over into the use of the evangelical schools and Church. Compare also Dreves' article concerning Latin Hymnody in H. R. E. 10, 407-417. But our present interest is in the *German* hymns, especially the German congregational hymns. The opinion stated above in the text applies to them. Compare Hoffmann von Fallersleben, *Geschichte d. deutschen Kirchenlieds bis auf Luthers Zeit*, 3rd ed. 1861. — 4. Compare my article *Luther und die Erziehung* in *Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, 1933, pp. 577-592. — 5. These citations might be multiplied but they contain what is most important. Compare, in addition, *Tischreden* 5, 6442. — 6. Wordsworth et White, *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Latine, secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi, ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. The Gospel according to St. Matt. appeared in 1889, the four Gospels with an epilogue in 1898. A convenient text edition appeared in 1911. How thoroughly the papal commission is conducting its work may be seen by the fact that before 1913 it had photographed 66 vols. of manuscripts and had collated 65 volumes. Compare Nestle-von Dobschütz, *Einführung ins griechische Neue Testament*, 1923. — 7. Compare M. Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classique d' Ausone a' Alcuin*, Paris 1905. Aug. Hardegger, Sal. Schlatter and Traug. Schiess, *Die Baudenkmäler der Stadt St. Gallen*, 1922. — 8. Compare M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters.* I Teil, Muenchen 1911, pp. 49 seq. — 9. Compare Fr. Wiegand, *Das Homiliarium Karls d. Grossen*, Berlin, 1897. — 10. In the Capitulary of 789 Charlemagne ordered that *per singula monasteria vel episcopia libros catholicos bene emendatos* should be available, *et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scri-*

bendo corrumpere. Et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et Missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia. In another, though perhaps not genuine decree in the collection of *Benedictus diaconus* it says, *ut in ecclesiis libri canonici veraces habeantur.* Compare E. Nestle in R.E. 3, 41. — 11. Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1902. pp. 626-729. The few manuscripts in America, that Gregory enumerates, do not alter the figures given in the text. The work of H. H. Glunz, *The History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon*, London, 1933, deals with the history of the Vulgate in England and so does not concern us. — 12. As an introduction to this field see, Rich. Muther, *Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gothik und Frührenaissance*, 1884 (with 263 plates); Rudolf Kautsch, *Einleitende Erörterungen zu der Geschichte der deutschen Handschriften Illustration im späteren Mittelalter*, 1894. Albert Schramm, Die illustrierten Bibeln der Inkunabelzeit, Leipzig, 1922. Above all Schramm's prodigious work, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, Hiersemann, Leipzig, of which seventeen volumes have appeared between 1922 and 1934. The article of L. Baer, *Buchillustration in religiösen Druckwerken*, (*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 1, pp. 1377-1401), and the article by Hildegard Zimmerman on *Bibelausstattung*, (ibid. vol. 1, pp. 1003-1011, 2nd ed. 1927), both serve for purposes of rapid orientation.— 13. K. Dziatzko, *Gutenbergs frühste Druckerpraxis auf Grund einer Vergleichung der 42 zeiligen und 36 zeiligen Bibel*, 1891. — 14. Nicholas of Lyra was born at Lyra near Evreux, in Normandy (hence Lyranus or Lyra), entered the Franciscan Order about 1292 and died in 1340. His most famous work is his *Postilla* which was written between 1322 and 1330, but was not published till after his death and then with additions by another hand. Not all of the prefaces to the various biblical books were written by him nor all of the introduction, *De libris canonicis et non canonicis*, prefixed to the complete work. The Postil first contains, in fifty books, a running explanation of the verbal meaning of all the biblical books, including the Apocrypha, which, however, following Jerome, are treated as not canonical or *minoris auctoritatis.* This is followed by 35 books of *Moralitates* or *Moralia.* Besides the above mentioned editions compare Hain 10363-10370. Here the separate editions of single portions are listed. On the Psalms in Latin, 10376-10381; in German, 10382; on the Psalms and Song of Solomon, 10383; on the four Gospels, 10384-10386; on the Epistles and Gospels for Lent, 10387-10393; on the Epistles *de tempore et sanctis*, 10394; on Acts, the canonical Epistles and Revelation, 10395; on the Pauline Epistles, 10396. The first printed edition appeared in Rome, 1471-1472, *Postillae perpetuae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*. From the time of its appearance till the time of Luther it was the chief work on exegesis and was printed as late as 1634 in Antwerp. There was likewise a French translation in the fifteenth century (Hain, 10371). It was of the greatest significance for Luther. From the very beginning he made use of it. In his exposition of Genesis he referred to it almost sentence for sentence and his knowledge of rabbinical exegesis was largely derived from it. According to R. Schmid, (R.E. 12, pp. 28-30), the greatness of Lyra's work consists in the moderation of the exegete and his faculty of self restraint that enabled him to stick to the literal sense of the Bible, not only in theory but in actual fact, and to keep clear of the chaos of clever allegory and of mystic and dogmatic digressions. Compare Fischer, *Des Nik. v. Lyra Postillae Perpetuae* (*Jahrbücher f. protest. Theologie*, 1889). Frequently the criticizing *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos and the apologetic *Replicae* of Matth. Doering, a German Minorite, are included with the Postil, and even the *Glossa Ordinaria* together with the *Glossa Interlinearis*, as, for example, in the Basel edition of 1507: *Biblia cum glossa ordinaria (et interlineari) et expositione (Nicolai de) Lyrae literali et morali necnon additionibus (Pauli Burgensis) ac replicis (Matthiae Doering), Balileae*, 1507. Luther valued the *Additiones* of Paul de S. Maria, Bishop of Burgos, because of his fine knowledge of the Hebrew, while he thought little of Doering's *Replicae*. — 15. The *Glossa Ordinaria* goes back to Walahfrid Strabo, who died in 849. His life history and non-theological works have been minutely discussed by M. Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, pp. 302-314, München, 1911. Information concerning the *Glossa* is given by Reuss-Hauck in the R.E. 20, p. 791. It is a comprehensive work that for almost 500 years after its appearance was the most important source of biblical science, till the Postil of Nicholas of Lyra forced it into the background, without however completely supplanting it, for in the printed editions it was still usually printed with the latter work (see previous note). It rests entirely on the fathers, after whose example it gives explanations of the words and the content, makes mystical applications, and, in contrast to the later work of Lyra, is full of allegorical trivialities. Its printed pages are thus described by Reuss-Hauck: "In the middle of the page, slightly nearer the top than the bottom, is the Latin text; all around it, occupying a larger or smaller space is the 'Glossa,' that is an extensive collection of patristic excerpts in illustration of the text. Between the lines are short *scholia (Glossa interlinearis)*." That explains the title of the following edition: *Biblia Latina cum glossulis tam marginalibus quam interlinearibus ordinariis una cum Nicolai de Lyra* (Hain 3172). The *Glossa interlinearis* was first written in the 12th century by a certain Anselm of Laon. Compare Hain, 3173: *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria Walafridi Strabonis et interlineari Anselmi Lauduensis, Basileae*, ca. 1480. In contrast to his use of Lyra's Postil, Luther seldom used the *Glossa ordinaria* and never quoted it. The mechanical construction of the page (glosses, *scholia*, interlinear explanation), however, was used by him. — 16. Cardinal Hugo of St. Cher *(de sancto Caro)*, who died in 1263, wrote a *Postilla seu commentariola iuxta quadruplicem sensum in Vetus ac Novum Testamentum*, which was also printed at a later day (Basel 1487). The edition listed by Hain (3175) is bound up with the text of the *Biblia Latina*. Luther was acquainted with it and on one occasion quotes it (WW. 4, 27, 1.27). The oldest *Correctorium* is also attributed to the same cardinal. It is a list of the variant readings of the Latin Bible for the purpose of establishing a more correct text. The cardinal likewise did pioneer work in the production of a biblical concordance *(Sacrorum bibliorum concordantiae)*. — 17. W. A. Copinger, *Incunabula Biblica: The First Half Century of the Latin Bible between 1450 and 1500 with an appendix containing a chronological list of the editions of the sixteenth century*, London, 1892, 226 pages with 39 plates. Copinger also made the largest collection of ancient Latin Bibles, among them 202 of the sixteenth century. It is now in the General Theological Seminary in New York. Copinger's other work, *The Bible and its Transmission, being an Historical View of the Hebrew and Greek Texts, and the Greek, Latin and other Versions of the Bible (both MS and Printed) prior to the Reformation*, with 28 facsimilies, London, 1897, should also be compared. Unfortunately it was not accessible to us. — 18. It appeared in the *Journal des Savants*, 1893, pp. 202-218, but may also be obtained separately. — 19. Of the 36 printed in Germany 13 appeared in Nuernberg, 8 in Strassburg, 7 in Koeln, 3 in Mainz, 1 in Bamberg and 1 in Ulm. — 20. Franz Falk, *Die Druckkunst im Dienst der Kirche, zunächst in Deutschland bis 1520 (Vereinsschrift der Goer-*

resgesellschaft 2), 1879. Appendix I contains a list of the Latin and German Bibles appearing before 1520. Compare also Frz. Falk, *Bibelstudien, Bibelhandschriften und Bibeldrucke in Mainz vom 8. Jahrh. bis zur Gegenwart, Mainz 1901, and Frz. Falk, die Bibel am Ausgang des Mittelalters, ihre Kenntnis und ihre Verbreitung,* Koeln 1905. — 21. Paul Pietsch, *Ewangely und Epistel Teutsch. Die gedruckten hochdeutschen Perikopenbücher (Plenarien) 1473-1523.* Goettingen 1927. — 22. While the number of editions of the Latin Bible decreased in Germany there was a corresponding increase in France, 43 editions appearing in that country between 1501 and 1520. This is offset by the fact that the printing of Bibles had begun much later in Italy (1471) and in France (1475) and consequently the number printed before 1500 in those countries was much smaller than in Germany. — 23. In the list of publications which Andrea, Bishop of Aleria, the publisher of the first Bible printed in Rome (1471), in the name of his printers Sweynheym and Pannartz, prefixed to the fifth volume of Nicholas de Lyra's *Postilla in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (1472) the number of copies of the Roman Bible, printed in 1471, is given as 275 (*Gesamtkatalog* IV, 82). Where Nestle (R.E. 3, 43) and Pietsch got the number 250 we do not know, but, at all events, it is incorrect. This Roman edition was printed by Germans (Sweynheym and Pannartz). The majority of the Bibles printed outside Germany were actually issued by Germans who had emigrated from their homeland to foreign parts. Compare the interesting book of Conrad Haebler, *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des 15 Jahrhunderts im Ausland* (Rosenthal, München). — 24. The following is a list of the Latin Bible printed in Germany prior to 1500: 4221, Nürnberg, Joh. Sensenschmidt and Andr. Frisner, 1476; 4227, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 1477; 4228, Basel, Bernh Richel, 1477; 4229, Köln, Nic. Goetz, 1477-78; 4230, Köln, Nic. Goetz, 1477-78; 4232, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 1478; 4234 Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 1478; 4235, Köln, Nic. Goetz, cir. 1478-1480; 4236, Basel, Joh. Amerbach, 1479; 4239, Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 1479; 4240, Köln, Konr. Winters, 1479; 4242, Ulm, Joh. Zainer, 1480; 4243, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 1480; 4244, Köln, Nic. Goetz, 1480; 4246, Basel, Johann Amerbach, 1481; 4248, Basel, Johann Amerbach, 1482; 4250, Nürnberg, Anton Koberger, 1482; 4252, Strassburg, Johann Grüninger, 1483 (one folio and one quarto edition); 4257 Strassburg, Printery of the Unitas fratrum, 1485; 4258, Basel, Joh, Amerbach, 1486; 4259, Speyer, Peter Drach, 1486; 4260, Strassburg, Johan Prüss, 1486; 4262, Basel, Nic. Kessler, 1487; 4264, Speyer, Peter Drach, 1489; 4265, Basel, Johann Prüss, 1489; 4267, Basel, Nic. Kessler, 1491; 4269, Basel, Johann Froben, 1491; 4270, Basel, Johann Amerbach, 1492-1494; 4272, Nürnberg, Kaspar Hochfelder, about 1493; 4275, Basel, Johann Froben, 1495; 4277, Strassburg, Johann Grüninger, 1497. The other editions that are sometimes listed, (Strassburg, Martin Flach, 1478; Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 1483; Basel, Nic. Kessler, 1489; Köln, 1497; Basel, Joh. Froben, 1500; Nürnberg, Ant. Koberger, 1500) according to the *Gesamtkatalog* either never existed or else it is no longer possible to prove that they existed.

Notes to Latin History Bibles, pp. 12-16. — 25. The famous church historian Eusebius likewise wrote a chronicle (παντοδαπή ἱστορία) which was divided into two parts. The first (χρονογραφία), on the basis of the sources, aimed to give an abstract of the world's history, arranged according to races, while the second part (χρονικοὶ κανόνες) attempted a synchronized presentation of the historical material in parallel columns. The Chronicle, as a whole, has been lost in its Greek original, though much can be reconstructed from the writings of later Byzantine chronographers. Jerome translated the second part into Latin and continued it from 325 till 379. There is also an Aramaic translation extant (J. Karst, *Die Chronik des Eusebius aus dem Arameischen übersetzt*, Berlin, 1900). Information concerning Isidor of Seville and his Chronicle is to be found in M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lat. Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, München, 1911, pp. 52-70, especially 58-60. His *Chronica maiora*, based on Julius Africanus, on whose work Eusebius had also depended, on Eusebius-Jerome, and on Victor Tonnennensis, was much used in later times. It is to be found in Migné, Series Latina, 83, 101 seq. In 1894 Mommsen had it reprinted. Compare, H. Hertzberg, *Die Historien und Chroniken Isidors*, Goettingen, 1874. For the chronicle of Jerahmeel see, M. Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, or the Hebrew Bible Historiale*, 1899. There is also an ancient Slavic History Bible, the παλαιὰ διαθήκη. This rests on Greek-Byzantine Bible works, many of which still exist in manuscripts. The question of the connection of this *Palaea* with certain materials of later western History Bibles, according to H. Vollmer, has not yet been satisfactorily explained. M. Gaster (*The Bible Historiale in Greeko-Slavonik*, 1887) supposes that it was mediated by the Bogomiles, and Bassilev (*Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, 1893) considers his Orthodox Greek *Palaea historica* the source of the western History Bibles as a whole. Compare especially S. Berger, *La Bible Francais au moyen age*, 1884. — 26. It is not quite clear how Peter received the nickname of *Comestor* or *Manducator*. Some think that it was because in his hunger for knowledge he devoured books; others because he communed so often (the Vulgate alternates in the use of *comedite* and *manducate* in the account of the institution), while Vollmer compares it with names like *Balbulus*, *Labeo*, *Strabo*, etc., and sees in it a similar nickname, supposing that it had been applied to him "as the result of a cow like movement of the lower jaw when speaking." (*Materialien*, vol. 2, part I, 1925, p. XVI). *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, Tomus CXCVII, Paris, 1855. Column 1049: *Eruditissimi Viri Petri Comestoris Historia Scholastica*. — 27. Hans Vollmer, *Materialien zur Bibelgeschichte und religiösen Volkskunde des Mittelalters*, Band 2, Theil 1, Berlin 1925, XXIII-XXVI. His results rest on widely extended original investigations. Of the literature he employs we would especially note the following: Hingden's Polychronicon, the Latin text with two old English translations, edited by Ch. Babington and I. R. Lumby, London 1865-1886. Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible and other medieval biblical Versions*, Cambridge, 1920. Denifle-Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, Paris*, 1889, seq. Samuel Berger, *La Bible Francaise au moyan age*, Paris 1884. W. I. van Eys, *Des Bibles et des Nouveaux Testaments en langue francaise des XV^me^ et XVI^me^ siecles, Geneve, 1900-1901*. Castro, *Bibliotheca Española*, Madrid, 1781. Fortunato de S. Bonaventura, *Colleçcão de Ineditos Portuguezes des seculos XIV e XV* etc., Coimbra, 1829. Ian J. Novak, *Petra Comestora, Historia scholastica, Praze*, 1910. C. R. Unger, *Stjorn, gammelnorsk bibelhistorie fra verdens skabelse til det babyloniske fangenskab*, Christiania, 1862. J. David, Jacob von Maerlants *Rijmbijbel*, Brussels, 1858-69. C. H. Ebbinge Wubben, *Over middelnederlandsche Vertalingen van het Oude Testament, s'Gravenhage*, 1903. Druten, *Geschiedenis der nederlandsche Bijbelvertaling*, Leiden Rotterdam, 1895. 1897. — 28. Vollmer, *Materialen* I, 1, pp. 16-20. Here 11 manuscripts with the shortened text are noted, and attention is drawn to a whole series of other manuscript Latin excerpts. — 29. Brambach, *Psalterien. Bibliographischer Versuch über die Liturgischen Bücher des christlichen Abendlandes*, Berlin, 1887. J. Alzog, *Die deutschen Plenarien im 15. und zu Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderrts* (1470-1522). *Freiburger Diözesan Archiv, Freiburg*, 1874. — 30 *Libri liturgici bibliothecae* *apostolicae vaticanae manuscripti digessit et recensuit Hugo Ehrensberger*, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1897. — 31. Compare Brambach, *Psalterien, Berlin*, 1887; Thurston's Article "The Psalter" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, and A. Allgeier, *Die altlateinischen Psalterien*, Freiburg, 1928. — 32. The *Biblia pauperum*, which concern us are block books, that is single leaves bound in book form, whose chief content is pictures of the life of Jesus, with Old Testament prototypes and prophetic representations. While there was much of earlier date that prepared the way for their underlying idea, nevertheless their real archetype is to be found in the paintings of the reredos of the Klosterneuburg, of 1181, or more exactly, since this work of art was destroyed by fire in 1322, and afterwards repaired in Vienna, that of 1322. Since its renovation this work of art consists of a central portion, with two movable wings, decorated with 51 enamel panels, arranged in three rows, one above the other. With the exception of the six last panels, which portray scenes from the future Kingdom of God, there are 15 groups. The middle of each is always occupied by a New Testament picture, while above and below there are prophetic Old Testament scenes. Since 1322 the 15 groups are as follows:

1. The promise of Isaac	Annunciation of Christ's birth	Promise of Samson
2. Isaac's birth	Christ's birth	Samson's birth
3. Isaac's circumcision	Christ's circumcision	Samson's circumcision
4. Abraham brings his tithes	The three kings	The gifts of the Queen of Sheba
5. Crossing of the Red Sea	Christ's Baptism	The bronze Laver
6. Moses journeys to Egypt	Jesus enters Jerusalem	Presentation of the Passover lamb
7. Melchisedek's hospitality	The Holy Supper	The Manna
8. Cain slays Abel	The kiss of Judas	Abner's betrayal and death
9. The offering of Isaac	Christ on the Cross	Joshua and Caleb
10. Eve plucks the fruit from the tree	The descent from the Cross	The King of Ai taken from the gallows

11. Joseph in the cistern	The burial of Jesus	Jonah swallowed by the fish
12. The angel of death over Egypt	Christ's descent into hell	Samson fights with the lion
13. Jacob's blessing	Christ's resurrection	Samson carries away the city gates
14. Enoch's translation	Christ's ascension	Elijah in the fiery chariot
15. Noah's Ark	Founding of the Church on Pentecost	The burning bush

It is evident that the stories from the life of Jesus are dominant, while the Old Testament stories were added to portray the thought of prophecy and fulfillment. In imitation of the idea carried out in Klosterneuburg in 1181, a similar cycle was developed in the thirteenth century, which in turn became the basis for the pictures of the block books, that, later on, came to be known as *Biblia pauperum.* Since the biblical picture books were provided with explanatory statements, placed above, beside or beneath the pictures, they became a means of instruction and served to make the unlearned *(Pauperes)* familiar with important portions of biblical history. In the manuscript preserved in the Vienna *Landesbibliothek,* with its 34 pages of pictures, the explanation to the plate depicting the Ascension is: *Christ the holiest of the holy ascends to the stars.* It is written in the First Book of Moses, Because Enoch pleased God he was taken up bodily into Paradise. Enoch, who was well pleasing to God, signifies Christ, who was the most well pleasing Son of His Father, therefore He took Him at His Ascension, before the eyes of His disciples and others, who were worthy of beholding it, into the heavenly paradise, above all the choirs of angels. *Enoch was taken up and added to the inhabitants of heaven.* The King has ascended and made known a way (Micah 2:13). God is gone up with unspeakable joy (Psalm 46:6—our notation, 47.5). It is written in the Fourth Book of Kings: When Elijah the prophet was taken up into heaven in the fiery chariot, Elisha cried out and said, My father! The Chariot of Israel and the leader thereof! Elijah signifies Christ, whom the twelve Apostles saw ascending to heaven and which caused them to marvel, as Elisha marveled at the ascension of Elijah, when He, our Lord Christ, said, I ascend to my Father and to your

Father. Elijah was carried through the air into heaven. Behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills (Song of Solomon 2:8). As an Eagle entices her young to fly above her (Deut. 32:11)." In the edition of 50 leaves that was taken from Wolfenbuettel to Paris, the number of New Testament stories, with their corresponding Old Testament stories and texts, has been so largely increased that they almost equaled the Sunday pericopes, and became a sort of postil for the unlearned. There are even German editions that included the pericopes (compare below). At present we know of 38 manuscripts (Latin or German, one Latin-German, one Low German), ten printed editions of 40 leaves in Latin (the oldest probably appeared around 1463), 7 in German (the oldest, Noerdlingen, 1470), one of 50 leaves from the period between 1475 and 1480, to which must be added other typographical editions (3 from Bamberg, 1 from Augsburg). Even so we have passed by the editions that appeared in France and Italy. Compare Laib and Schwartz, *The Biblia Pauperum, nach dem Original in der Lyceumsbibliothek zu Constanz*, 1867 (2nd edition Freiburg, 1892). L. Schreiber, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Biblia Pauperum*, 29 illustrations in the text and one plate. Strassburg, 1903. Further, the larger work of which the preceding is only a reprinted excerpt: P. Heitz and W. L. Schreiber, *Biblia Pauperum, nach dem einzigen Exemplar in 50 Darstellungen*, Strassburg, 1903. R. Ehwald, *Biblia Pauperum. Facsimilereproduktion der deutschen Ausgabe von 1471, nach dem Gothaer Exemplar*, Weimar, 1906. Franz Luttor, *Biblia Pauperum. Mit dem Text der in der Wiener Hofbibliothek aufbewahrten Handschrift*, Veszprem (Hungary), 1912. Also H. Tietze, *Die typologischen Bilderkreise des Mittelalters in Osterreich*, Vienna, 1904.—33. The *Speculum Salvationis Humanae* is, to a certain extent, a work related to the Biblia Pauperum. (Compare, P. Poppe, *Ueber das Speculum Humanae Salvationis und e. mitteldeutsche Bearbeitung desselben*, Berlin, 1887; the most important treatise, however, is, J. Lutz u. P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Kritische Ausgabe*, 2 Teile, Muehlhausen i. E. (Leipzig), 1907.) It probably originated about 1324 and gained an extraordinary circulation both in Latin and in translations. We know of 200 Latin, 5 German-Latin, and 44 other manuscripts in the vulgar tongue. The German translations usually bear the title, *Der spiegel menschlicher behaltnus* (Compare below). The work contains 192 pictures usually composed of 4 typological groups. The preface thus states the purpose of the work: "This (necessary) knowledge of God the educated *(Literati)* can obtain from books, but the uneducated *(rudes)* may be instructed by the books of the laity, that is, by pictures." It may also be serviceable to the clergy *(tam clericis quam laicis)*. Reliable information concerning the printed editions is to be found in Lutz and Perdrizet. Hain listed 2 Latin, 4 Dutch, 1 French and 1 German-Latin printed editions (14922-14929). To the last named the *Speculum S. Mariae Virginis* was added. Copinger (5580-5586) adds another Latin and 6 French editions. To give an idea of the texts accompanying the pictures we will give one example. The pictures frequently attach themselves to the *Biblia Pauperum.* So we will give the text of the ninth leaf of the Vienna manuscript of the *Biblia Pauperum* and follow it with the text of the 12th chapter of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis. Text of the Biblia Pauperum,* Leaf nine: "*Through the baptism of Christ baptism is sanctified.* It is written in the Second Book of Moses that Pharoah followed the people of Israel with horsemen and chariots. Then God drowned them in the waters of the sea and saved His people. As the people of Israel were saved by God amid the water of the sea, so the Christian people are saved in the water of Baptism. *The enemies perish in the flood; these walk dryshod through the sea.* With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation (Isaiah 12). I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean (Ez. 36). It is written in the Fourth Book of Moses, that Moses sent spies, to see the goodness of the promised land. When these spies returned they cut down a bunch of grapes, so great that it required two men to carry it on a pole, as a proof of the goodness of the land, and (they reported) that when they crossed the Jordan they would enter the promised land. This signifies that whosoever would enter the land of salvation must pass through Baptism. *They crossed the River and entered the land (flowing with) honey.* Bless ye God in the congregation, ye from the foundation of Israel (Ps. 67, viz. 68)". *Chapter 12 of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis:* "In this chapter we hear how Christ permitted Himself to be baptized in the Jordan. When He was thirty years old He came to the Jordan, not because He needed Baptism for Himself, but Jesus desired to touch the water with His sacred body, so that sufficient power might be imparted to it for the attainment of the heavenly kingdom. This was typified by the great metal laver in Solomon's temple, where the priests had to wash before they entered the temple. Likewise everyone who would enter into heaven must first be baptized. There are three kinds of baptism, the baptism by water, the baptism of blood, and the baptism of desire. It is necessary, however, to supplement the latter by water baptism, whenever possible. Clean water is needed for Baptism, not wine or milk or any other material. The metal of the laver was composed of a mixture of different metals; so Baptism is also valid no matter in what language the words are spoken. Everyone may administer Baptism, only he must have in mind the intention of the Church. The laver was carried on the back of twelve oxen. Christ's Baptism was carried by the 12 Apostles into all the world. The laver was surrounded by women's mirrors. Everyone who would be baptized must first examine himself and thoroughly repent for his sins. So St. John the Baptist censured the Pharisees because they thought they could escape the wrath of God if they were baptized without repentance. Whosover is baptized in penitence, however, is purified from all the guilt of sin. This purification is typified by Naaman the Syrian, who had to wash seven times. Baptism delivers from the seven deadly sins. Naaman's body was renewed, like that of a child. If anyone were to die immediately after his Baptism he would be permitted to enter into heaven immediately. This is signified by the opening of heaven over Christ at His Baptism. The Baptism of Christ was one prefigured by the crossing of the Jordan. Before the Jews could attain the promised land they had to cross the river Jordan. The ark, standing in the middle of the river's bed, held back the waters till all the men and cattle had crossed the stream. Then they carried back twelve stones and, in the hollow, erected a monument in commemoration. The ark signifies Christ, who stood in the Jordan. The ark had within it the rod of Aaron that budded (this was regarded as a type of Christ). The manna was likewise in the ark; Christ is the Bread of Heaven. The book of the law was stored in the ark; the Son of the Lawgiver, who was made man, stands here. The Ten Commandments were also within; the same God who gave the Commandments also instituted Baptism. The ark was made of wood that did not decay; the flesh of Christ was likewise not given over to corruption. The twelve commemorative stones signify the twelve Apostles, who have given testimony concerning the Baptism of Christ. O good Jesus, enable us so to remember Thy Baptism that we may continue with Thee in eternal blessedness." Not all of the texts carry out all the particulars in such detail, and some are even genuinely evangelical. — 34. The best information concerning the *Passionalia* is to be found in Richard Galle's article: *An der Wiege des Biblischen Geschichtsunterrichts und Luther's Passionalbuch. (Mitteilungen d. Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs und Schulgeschichte).* Berlin, 1907, pp. 175-235. When in my *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kirchlichen Unterrichts im evang. Deutschland zwischen 1530-1600* (Guetersloh, 1904-1934), I published and described Luther's passionale, for the first time, for even scholars like Kolde and Kawerau till then had only known it by name, Galle was thereby moved to seek its medieval predecessors, to which Luther himself had referred. In his treatise, mentioned above, he gives the results of his investigation, in so far as they were concerned not with the Passionalia of the saints but with the Passion of Christ. Here he shows the existence of 73 books that were either dated or were capable of being assigned a definite date, and 13 that cannot be exactly dated, which were printed between 1473 and 1525, (almost all of them in German), and which in some way or other recount and consider the sufferings of Jesus Christ. Practically all are illustrated. Many of them contain an almost complete life of Jesus, except that His teaching activity is omitted, and others limit themselves to the actual Passion; many contain all sorts of legendary additions, while others limit themselves almost wholly to the Bible text, which they give in the form of a harmony. At the conclusion of the little book *Der text des Pasions oder leidens christi vss den vier euangelisten zusammen inn eyn syn bracht mit schönen figuren* (The account of the passion or suffering of Christ, from the four evangelists, combined into unity, with beautiful pictures), (Strassburg, 1506, 26 full page pictures, Berlin *Staatsbibliothek* Bs 2380) is the statement: "Here endeth the passion, that is the history of the sufferings and death of Jesus, our Lord, arranged in the proper order from the four Evangelists, simply translated from the Latin into German, with the addition of a very few words that have been added for the explanation of the meaning and also in order that the truth might not be obscured and the interested readers might receive a so much richer measure of comfort; for the more the true Christian doctrine is kept unmingled with error, the more it remains more mighty, more penetrating than any two-edged sword." Since almost all of this literature was published in the vernacular, we shall have occasion to come back to it later. Of books treating the passion of Christ, fewer Latin prints have come down to us than such as were written in German or other vernacular tongues. The following are those that I have been able to find: Hain (1237-12440; 12451) lists five Latin editions before 1500 and one in metrical form (12450); Copinger added two more (4616.4620); Galle names several published after 1500 (Strassburg 1507: *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et evangelistarum quam accuratissime deprompta additis sanctissimis exquisitissimisque figuris, etc.*). He also lists *Passio Christi ex Erasmicis lucubrationibus in utilitatem floridae juventutis diligenter desumpta* (Nuernberg 1526), expressly intended for children. The accompanying verses in Duerer's *Kleine Passion* of 1511 is still written in Latin *(Passio Christi ab Alberto Duerer Nurenbergensi effigiata cum varii generis carminibus Fratris Benedicti Chelidonii Musophili,)* Nuernberg 1511, but the emphasis here is altogether on Duerer's excellent pictures.

Notes to the German manuscript Bibles, pp. 20-27. — 35. Wilhelm Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, 3 Theile, Braunschweig, 1889-1892. Walther was still in the active pastorate when he wrote his pioneer work, that was based on investigations involving extensive journeys. In 1917 he briefly gathered up the results in his *Festschrift*: Luthers deutsche Bibel, Berlin, 1917. Valuable supplementary material (including 9 manuscripts unknown to Walther) was gathered by Vollmer, *Materialen* I, 2, 1916, pp. 25-30; 100-142, and also by Robert Prebisch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England,* Erlangen, 1901. — 36. The Monsee Matthew was last republished by Geo. Allison: *The Monsee fragments newly collected, with text, introduction, notes, grammatical treatise and exhaustive glossary and a photo-lithographic facsimile,* Strassburg, 1890. Walther, 437ff. — 37. E. Sievers, *Tatianus. Lateinisch und altdeutsch mit ausfürlichem Glossar,* 2 ed. 1892, Walther 446ff. — 38. Walther 455ff. Fr. Keinz published the fragments found in Munich in 1869, *Sitzungsberichte d. Bayr. Akademie d. Wissenschaften,* pp. 546 seq. In the same year Joseph Haupt published the fragments found in Vienna in *Germania,* pp. 440 seq. — 39. Walther 523ff. Jos. Seemueller, *Die Handschriften u. Quellen von Willirams deutscher Paraphrase des Hohen Liedes (Quellen u. Forschungen z. Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte d. Germanischen Völker* 25), 1877; Jos. Seemueller, *Willirams deutsche Paraphrase des Hohen Liedes mit Einleitung und Glossar* (ibid. 38), 1878. — 40. Walther 558ff. Paul Piper, *Die Schriften Notkers u, s, Schule,* Freiburg 1883. E. Henrici, *Die Quellen von Notkers Psalmen (Quellen und Forschungen 29),* Strassburg, 1878. — 41. Walther 682. Moritz Heine, *Kleine altniederdeutsche Denkmäler*, Paderborn, 1867. — 42. Walther 566ff. Graff. *Deutsche Interlinearienversionen der Psalmen*, Quedlingburg und Leipzig. 1839. — 43. Walther 586f. — 44. Walther 485ff. — 45. Walther 587; Reprint of the Trier manuscript in Graff. — 46. This is discussed in the first volume of Walther. — 47. Walther 291ff; also reproductions of several illustrations; compare the plates at the end of this book. — 48. Walther 306 and 350. — 49. Walther 337f. — 50. Walther Ziesemer, *Die Prophetenuebersetzung des Claus Cranc*, Halle, 1930. — 51. Karl Helm, Heinrich von Hesler, *Die Apokalypse, aus der Danziger Handschrift her.*, Berlin, 1907 *(Deutsche Texte d. Mittelalters* 8*)*; T. E. Karsten, *Die mitteldeutsche poetische Paraphrase d. Buches Hiob*, Berlin, 1910 (ibid. 21). — 52. W. Ziesemer, *Eine Ostdeutsche Apostelgeschichte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Halle, 1927 *(Altdeutsche Textbibliothek* 24*)*. — 53. Walther 319, 413, 427 etc. — 54. Walther 709-745ff. — 55. Walther 745. — 56. Walther 748f. — 57. Walther 750. — 58. Walther 710.

Notes to the printed German Bible, pp. 27-36. — 59. Wilhelm Walther was the real pioneer in this field. While he was still pastor he published his great work *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittelalters*, three parts, Braunschweig, 1889-1892. Later he summarized the results of his investigations in *Luther's deutsche Bibel* which he published in 1917, while professor at Rostock, as a *Festschrift* in commemoration of the Quadricentennial of the Reformation (Mittler und Sohn, Berlin). William Kurrelmeyer was born in Osnabrück, Germany, in 1874, and graduated from Johns Hopkins in 1896. He engaged in further studies in Germanics and since 1900 has been the regular professor of this subject in his Alma Mater. Subsidized by the trustees of Johns Hopkins he made a number of journeys in Germany for the purpose of studying the first printed German Bibles. As a result of his investigations, since 1904 he has published, as a part of the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, *Die erste deutsche Bibel.* Here he gives the text of the Mentel Bible with the variants of all the thirteen following editions. The tenth and last volume appeared in 1915. It is an indispensible work for all investigators in this field. — 60. So Walther, *Festschrift*, p. 23. — 61. Compare J. E. Wiedemann, *Johann Eck*, 1865; J. Greving, *Johann Eck als junger Gelehrter*, 1907. Eck had been commissioned by the Bavarian Dukes to prepare a Roman Catholic translation of the Bible that should counteract the influence of Luther's Bible. Eck, who was not very sympathetic with the idea, at first thought that he could take care of his commission by the republication of the pre-Lutheran Bible, but he soon realized the futility of such an undertaking and proceeded to make a translation of his own, which appeared in 1537. Compare Walther, *Festschrift,* p. 128 ff. — 62. The examples are taken from Walther's *Festschrift,* pp. 24-25. — 63. Walther still assigned it to the year 1473 but since then K. Mayer found a book notice of the fifteenth century, coming from Zainer, which says: "II The book of the German Bible, with illustrations, corrected and amended with the greatest care, so that all unintelligible and strange German words, which appeared in the first small printed Bibles, have been removed and have been ordered and conformed to the Latin." This book notice comes from the year 1476. Since no German Bible has been listed in Zainer's advertisement of 1476 it is evident that this one must have been printed about 1475 (*Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen,* 1892, pp. 130-135). — 64. For example, the concluding comment to Jeremiah says: "The predictions of the prophet Jeremiah have an end. And the Lamentation or the book of one who beheld the (fulfillment of the) predictions given by Jeremiah. And the book is listed in Hebrew as Cynoth." — 65. We will give several examples of the chapter headings: To *St. Matthew, 2.* "The II Chapter, how the kings come with gifts and concerning the appearance of the star. And how Joseph, admonished by the angel, fled with the child and his mother into Egypt, How the little children were put to death and how Jesus again proceeded out of Egypt to Nazareth." *St. Matt. 13.* "How Jesus in the boat tells the multitudes the parable of the seed, of the evil plot, of the mustard seed, of the measure of meal, of the net cast into the sea. And how the Lord explained all this to the disciples. And how the Jews wondered at his wisdom." — *St. John 3.* "The III chapter. How Nicodemus came to Jesus by night, and how Jesus spoke to him in many beautiful statements concerning faith. And how Jesus was baptized by John at Aenon near to Salim, and how he gave witness to Jesus." — *Micah 4.* "Of the future of Christ and his spiritual body. And concerning the persecution of the believing Church." At the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans, after a general introduction to the Pauline Epistles and a twofold preface to Romans have preceded, there follows: "Here begins St. Paul's Epistle written to the Romans and divided into XVI chapters, in which he calls us away from heathen errors and morals to the true christian faith." To I John, "Here endeth the preface and the first Epistle of John begins. It has V Chapters in which he bears witness to the Word of truth and life. And concerning its most pure light. And how our Lord Christ is our intercessor. And how we shall have love towards God and our neighbor." — 66. With the Psalms the so-called *Tituli* take the place of the chapter headings. We will give several samples. To Psalm 1: "When Saul broke God's commandments He sent Samuel that he should anoint David to be king. When this took place the Holy Spirit departed from Saul, and when David had been placed on the throne of the Kingdom of Bethlehem he composed this first psalm, showing how God guides the righteous and the good, who keep His way and His commandments, and how the wicked who forsake them are misled. And the superscription of this psalm is a psalm of David." To the 27th Psalm: "David was consecrated and anointed as king three times, first at Bethlehem by the prophet Samuel; the second time by the children of Judah at Hebron; the third time by all the children of Israel at Hebron, and David composed this psalm before his coronation and recited it as the prophets anointed him. And the superscription of this psalm is finally a psalm of David, when he was anointed, and it is also the first psalm in the second nocturn which is recited on Monday, *Dominus illuminacio mea*, etc. The Lord is my, etc." — 67. Albert Schramm *Die illustrierten Bibeln der deutschen Inkunabel-Drucker*. Leipzig, 1922. *Deutsches Museum für Buch und Schrift*, with 30 illustrations. — 68. These paragraphs only occasionally coincide with the customary Sunday pericopes, and not infrequently show a real insight into the content of the chapter. So St. Luke 11:1-20, is divided into these three sections, v. 1-4; 5-13; 14-20. — 69. The following is Jerome's preface to Jeremiah as it is found in Cranc's German translation of the Prophets: "The language of Jeremiah, whose book follows this preface, is simpler than that of Isaiah, Hosea and a number of other prophets. In spirit and content, however, he agrees with them. He wrote moved by the same Spirit as they. The simplicity of his style is explained when we remember his birthplace. He came from Anathot, a little village that still stands, three miles from Jerusalem. He was a priest out of a family of priests, sanctified already in his mother's womb, an evangelical man, betrothed to the Church of Christ in virginal purity. While he was still a youth he began to prophesy. He saw the destruction of the city and of the Jewish people, not only in spirit but also with the eyes of the flesh. The Assyrians had already at that time led the ten tribes of Israel to Medea, and idolatrous heathen had taken possession of their land. For this reason he prophesied concerning Judea and Benjamin only. He lamented the fall of his city, in a fourfold alphabet (Each one of the four chapters of the "Lamentations of Jeremiah" contains as many verses as there are letters in the Hebrew alphabet; in Cranc's translation each verse is designated by a letter and the verses follow in alphabetical order). We also offer the visions, which had been thrown into disorder by the Greek and Latin translators, in their original sequence. The Book of Baruch, however, . . . which the Hebrews neither read nor have, I omitted (Cranc offers it in his translation which includes: Jeremiah, pp. 80-161; Lamentations of Jeremiah, 161-169; Baruch 170-179; Ezekiel 180 ff.). With regard to this I await the evil comment of my enemies to whom I am obliged to give account of all my books." — 70. The preface of Nicholaus Lyra to Zechariah in Cranc's translation reads: "Haggai and Zechariah prophesied in the second year of the reign of Darius, king of the Medes; this is evident from the contents of their books, but among the Prophetical Books the Book of Haggai precedes that of Zechariah, because Haggai, as the contents of his book show, began to prophesy two months before Zechariah. In addition, Ezra (5:1 ff.) tells that at God's command they encouraged the people to build the temple. He says: In the second year of Darius the king the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the latter the son of Iddo the prophet, prophesied unto the Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem. Then rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and Jesus the son of Jozadak and the princes, and began to build the house of the Lord which is at Jerusalem. When the prophets heard this they helped them with encouraging admonitions. With their admonitions these prophets sought to persuade the people of Israel to turn from the sins of their fathers. They said, as we can still read in their books today (Zech. 1:8 ff.): 'I saw by night, and behold a man riding upon a red horse, and he stopped in a thick grove of myrtle trees.' The interpretation of this vision is: The man that rode upon the horse was an angel. That he rode upon a horse of such color indicates that he shall take bloody revenge on the gentiles that led the people of Israel into captivity. Also the prophet Isaiah tells that the red color of the garments indicates that God will take bloody vengeance on the gentiles. Isaiah says

(Isa. 63:1): 'Who is this that comes from Edom, with red garments from Bozrah?' That the prophet saw the man halting in the midst of a grove of myrtle trees, foretells the coming joy of the people. For when Moses, in the book of priests (Lev. 23:40) speaks of trees, he says: 'On the first day you shall take the fruit of the beautiful tree,' and interprets the shade of the sweet-smelling trees to mean the joy of the people. The prophet also writes that this vision, foretelling the deliverance of the people and the coming vengeance on their enemies, appeared to him by night. This was plainly so, because the people of Israel experienced their first deliverance, the deliverance out of Egypt, by night. Israel's first deliverance by night was intended to serve this present generation as a picture (of the coming deliverance). That was the reason why this deliverance and the return of the captives out of the land of the Chaldeans was revealed to the prophet in a vision by night." I was unable to ascertain whether this preface was written by Lyra himself or whether it belongs to those that were added after his death.. — 71. *The preface to the Romans in the Mentel Bible.* "The Romans were believers who had come from among the Jews and the gentiles, and who set themselves against each other in precipitate contention. When the Jews said: We are the people of God, whom He has loved and nourished from the beginning: we are the circumcised of the race of Abraham; we are descended from the holy branch and God was first acknowledged in the Jewish land. With wonders we were liberated from Egypt and through the power of God crossed the sea dryshod, where the greatest of our foes were overwhelmed. He rained manna upon us in the wilderness and to us, as to His children, offered heavenly food, He went before us day and night in the pillar of cloud and of fire, so as to show us the way on our journey. And, to remain silent concerning the other unspeakable (wonders), we alone were worthy to receive the law of God, to hear the voice of God speaking, to recognize His will. In the law Christ was sent to us and has testified that He was sent for that purpose, saying I am not come but to the sheep of the house of Israel, so He called you dogs rather than men. Therefore it is not right that you should be regarded equal to us, you who today have forsaken the false gods whom you served since the beginning, and not rather be regarded as those who have just been converted from the power of the law and from the former mode of life. Neither have you deserved it, only the tender mercy of God has permitted you to follow us.

"But the heathen reply: The more God's goodness was manifested among you, of the more sin have you shown yourselves guilty. For in all these things you have always shown yourselves unthankful. For with the feet that crossed the sea dryshod you have danced before idols, which you made, and with the lips with which you sang a hymn of praise to God for the death of your enemies you asked for idols for yourselves, and with the eyes with which you were accustomed to look into the clouds honoring God, you gazed tenderly at idols. You likewise ate of the heavenly bread and all the way through the desert murmured against God and desired to return to Egypt whence the Lord had led you forth with a mighty hand. What more? Thus your fathers with many aggravations aggravated the Lord so that all died in the wilderness and not more than two of the elders entered the promised land. But why relate ancient history to you; even if you had done none of these things, no one would judge you worthy of grace because you not only rejected the Lord Jesus Christ with your voices, Him who had been promised you in the prophecies, but destroyed Him with a shameful death. As soon as we recognized Him, who had not been preached to us before, we immediately believed. So we prove that our service of idols is not to be attributed to hardening of the heart but to a lack of knowledge. The One we recognized and quickly followed we would have followed sooner had we known Him sooner. Though you boast yourselves as being of the noble race, yet it is the following of the example rather than the natural birth that makes you to be children of the saints.

"While they thus contended the Apostle placed himself between them and so decided the contention of the opponents that he favored neither in their claim that they had merited acceptance by their righteousness, but shows that both people have sinned greviously; first the Jews, because they dishonored God by the transgression of the law, but the heathen who should have honored God, as they perceived Him in the works of the Creator, changed His glory into likenesses made with hands. Likewise he shows both races to have perverted minds and to have been reached by the same grace as is foretold in the same law that Jews and heathen are to be called to the faith of Christ. Thus humbling them in turn he admonished them to peace and unity."

Notes to the Low German printed Bible, pp. 36-39. — 72. J. M. Goeze, *Historie der gedruckten niedersaechsischen Bibeln*, Hamburg, 1775. — 73. Walther, 669 seq. — 74. Walther, 671 seq. with a facsimile of one page. — 75. Walther 676 seq. *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie,* No. 1182. The printing was begun in 1531 and completed in April 1533, at least the titlepage gives the year 1533 though on leaf 1b 1534 is indicated. Bugenhagen's preface is dated: *Schreuen tho Luebeke, M. D. xxxij. Des dinstedages na der Pasche weke jnn myner affreyse.* Ludwig Dietz of Luebeck is the printer.

Notes on German History Bibles, pp. 39-45. — 76. The introduction is as follows: "I consider the length of the Holy Scriptures, the wisdom they contain, the diligence required of pupils, the task of teaching the sacred lessons and their explanation, and especially the way the fundamentals of saving truth are neglected, the scarcity of books that makes it hard to secure them, and those who because they long for comfort and joy would like to study them if they could, and would be glad to retain the Holy Scriptures as in a bag. For these reasons I made the attempt to condense into one small volume the truth and the ways of the holy fathers from whom Jesus Christ descended, a royal, priestly and Levitical lineage, their mode of living and their deeds, and to present the matter in such a way that the length of my story might not confuse and the bulk of the volume might not weary the reader, but be a delight to the eyes of every one who is repelled by lengthy accounts, and commend itself to the mind and heart as worth retaining in the memory and so be of value to every reader. To carry out this undertaking was not an easy task. It cost me much painstaking labor. This is the way I treated the matter: I strove for brevity, without, by my brevity, detracting from the truth contained in Holy Scriptures. I begin with Adam and tell of the patriarchs, judges, kings, prophets, priests, and their associates, down to our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore this book is called the short Bible or the gist of the Old Testament. It contains an authentic account of all the ancestors from whom Christ was descended from beginning to end, including Mary the Virgin and Jesus." Vollmer 1, 2, 1916, p. 34ff. — 77. Ed. Reuss, *Die Deutsche Historienbibel vor Erfindung des Buecherdrucks (Beitraege zu d. theolog. Wissenschaften etc. 6),* Jena 1855. — H. Palm, *Eine Mittelhochdeutsche Historienbibel,* Breslau 1867. — Theod. Merzdorf, *Die Deutschen Historienbibeln des Mittelalters,* 2 vols., Stuttgart 1870. — S. Berger, *La Bible Francaise au moyen age,* 1884. — E. Gleisberg, *Die Historienbibel (Merzdorf I) und ihr Verhaeltnis zur Rudolfinischen und Thueringischen Weltchronik,* Leipzig. — H. Vollmer, For this author's contributions on the subject, see note 27. — 78. His excerpts from Ecclesiastes are to be found in Merzdorf's *Historienbibel*, pp. 420-423, the Song of Solomon in verse, pp. 423-442, both embodied in an account of Solomon's life. A description of the Antichrist is given as told by Daniel. The account of the Judgment is taken from Daniel, Zephaniah, Nahum and others. The Book of Tobit is followed by the story of Job and a summary of his discourses (pp 527-542). The history of Alexander the Great (pp. 543-552) is taken from extra-Biblical sources, etc. — 79. Vollmer I 1, 41-104. — 80. Vollmer I 1, 104-137. — 81. Vollmer, *Materialien* II 1. Teil, 1925; 2. Teil 1927; *Eine Deutsche Schulbibel des 15. Jahrhunderts. Historia Scholastica des Petrus Comestor in deutschem Auszug mit lateinischem Paralleltext.* — 82. Vollmer I 1, 137-146. — 83. Vollmer I 1, 175-181. — 84. I 1, 182-186. — 85. I 1, 186-194. — 86. I 1, 194-208. — 87. I 2, 1-8. — 88. I 1, 162-175. — 89. Otto Behaghel, *Heliand und Genesis*, Halle 1922. Translations into High German by Karl Simrock 1856, by Heussler 1921. Consists of accounts of the life of Christ. To illustrate its style we quote "The Widow's Mite" in Simrock's translation:

Vor dem Weihhaus stand der waltende Christ,
Der liebe Landeswart, der Leute Sinn
Und Treiben betrachtend. Viele kamen und trugen
In das heilige Haus gar herrliche Schaetze,
Begabten es mit Gold und gutem Gewebe,
Koestlichem Schmuck: Christ, unser Herr,
Gewahrt es weislich. Eine Witwe kam da auch,
Eine arme Frau, und ging zu dem Fronaltar,
Legte da nieder vor dem Schatzhause nur
Zwei eherne Pfennige, einfaeltigen Herzens
Und guten Willens. Da sprach der waltende Christ,
Der gute, zu den Juengern: "Der Gaben brachte sie
Mehr hiemit als sonst ein Menschensohn.
Wenn begueterte Maenner zur Gabe trugen
Manchen Schatzes Hort, so liessen sie mehr daheim
Des gewonnenen Wohlstands. Diese Witwe nicht so:
Sie opferte dem Altar alles, was sie hatte
An Reichtum errungen: Nicht das Geringste blieb ihr
Daheim in der Huette. Darum hat ihre Gabe
Mehr wert vor dem Waltenden, weil sie es so willig gab
An das Gotteshaus. Das wird ihr vergolten
Mit langdauerndem Lohn, dass sie solchen Glauben hat."

90.—Edition by O. Erdmann, Halle 1882. Cf. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* II (1900), pp. 768ff. E. Steinmeyer in R.E. 14, 519ff. High German translation by G. Rapp, Stuttgart, 1858. Otfried treats the life of Christ in 40 chapters. Lack of space prohibits quoting a selection. — 91. M. Galle, *An d. Wiege d. Bibl. Geschichtsunterrichts u. Luther's Passionale,* 202f. — 92. Galle, 215ff. — 93. Vollmer I 1, 173.

Notes on German Plenaria, pp. 45-51. — 94. P. Pietsch, *Ewangely und Epistel Teutsch. Die gedruckten hochdeutschen Perikopenbuecher (Plenarien) 1473-1523. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Wiegendrucke, zur Geschichte d. deutschen Schrifttums und der deutschen Sprache, insbesondere der Bibelverdeutschung und der Bibelsprache,* Goettingen, 1927. — Friedr. Maurer, *Studien zur mitteldeutschen Bibeluebersetzung vor Luther.* Heidelberg, 1929. Cf. also Radlof, *Die Sprachen der Germanen in ihren saemtlichen Mundarten dargestellt,* 1817, where (pp. 58-60) the first reference is made to German books containing the pericopes in manuscript and where two selections are offered. Also Jos. Kehrein (*Zur Gesch. d. deutschen Bibeluebersetzung vor Luther,* Stuttgart, 1851) called attention to books of the pericopes in manuscript. Stejskal, in 1881, published a manuscript collection of the pericopes used in Olmuetz *(Ztschr. f. d. Ph.).* W. Walther listed a number of books of the pericopes in manuscript, Col. 347, 357, 375, 493, 704, 706, 712, 732. Krumauer Old German Pericopes of 1388 were edited by V. E. Mourek (*Sitzgsber. d. Boehmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 1892). A number of Greifswald dissertations by M. Bisewski, K. Zimmermann and K. Winckler of 1908, and one by P. Mederow (Greifswald 1909) treat of Plenaria in manuscript and come into consideration here. — 95. I have in mind W. Wackernagel, *Die altdeutschen Handschriften der Baseler Universitaetsbibliothek;* Wilken, *Geschichte der alten Heidelberger Buechersammlungen, etc.* — 96. Fr. Falk, *Die Bibel im Ausgang des Mittelalters,* Koeln 1905. — 97. "In the name of the Lord, amen. Here begins a plenarium according to the custom of the Holy Christian Church which contains the Epistles and Gospels that are chanted and read in the office of the holy mass. First, appropriate Epistles and Gospels were chanted and read throughout the entire year on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Different lessons for each day were prescribed for these days only. On Mondays, Tuesday and Thursdays the Epistle and Gospel of the preceding Sunday are chanted. For these days, therefore, no special lessons appear in the rubrics. In addition, this book contains a special sermon on the Gospel for each Sunday with its Latin text and authority, as well as references just where in the Bible it is recorded and in what chapter it may be found. With every Epistle, Gospel, Prophecy and Lesson is noted in Latin, in which book, and in which chapter they are to be found in the Old and New Testament of the Bible. For every day in Lent this book also contains a special Epistle and Gospel, or in place of the Epistle, some other lesson, also the four accounts of the Passion story according to the Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, and for Maundy Thursday the divine words which our Lord Christ spoke to His disciples (John 13-17), also lessons and prophetic utterances concerning Christ spoken by the prophets and recorded in the Old Testament, for Good Friday and the Easter vigil twelve good lections from the Law and the prophets, also all the lessons and prophecies that are read on the Ember days. An Epistle and a Gospel is given for every saint's and holy day. Either they are printed out in full or at least directions are given as to where they may be found elsewhere in the book. Last of all, this book contains several special masses treating of the wisdom of God: for Monday and Tuesday, of the Holy Spirit; for Wednesday, of all angels; for Thursday, of the love of God; for Friday, of the holy cross; for Saturday, of our Lady, and finally, many masses for peace, for sinners, for the poor, for eternal life, for rain, for good weather and the like. All this is put into the form of a complete Missal and carefully translated into German. Amen, etc." — 98. Fr. Wiegand (*Das Homiliarium Karls des Grossen,* Berlin 1897) gives a list of the lessons of the Homiliarium. — 99. On pages 64-72, Pietsch gives a list of all lessons contained in the first High German edition (of 1473), also the differences to be found in the Low German plenarium of 1513. From the first printed plenarium (of 1473) we give the pericopes prescribed for the season from Septuagesima to the Easter vigil; Septuagesima: I Cor. 9:24-27; 10:1-4; Matt. 20:1-16; Wednesday. Heb. 4: 11-16; Luke 3:7-18; Friday I Thess. 2:17-20; Matt. 19:17-20; Mark 10:10-21. Sexagesima: II Cor. 11:19, 12:9; Luke 8:4-15. Wednesday: Heb. 12:3-9; Matt. 12:30-37. Friday: I Thess. 2:17-20; Matt. 4:12-17. Quinquagesima: I Cor. 13:1-13; Luke 18: 31-43. Ash Wednesday: Joel 2:12-19; Matt. 6:16-21. Thursday: Is. 38:1-6; John 8: 31-45. Friday: Isa. 58:1-9; Matt. 5:43-6:6. Saturday: Is. 58:9-14; Mark 6:47-56. Invocavit: II Cor. 6:1-10; Matt.

4:1-11. Monday: Ezek. 34:11-16; Matt. 25:31-46. Tuesday: Is. 55:6-11; Matt. 21:10-17. Wednesday: Ex. 24:12-18; III Kings 19:3-8; Matt. 12:38-50. Thursday: Ezek. 18:1-9; John 5:30-47; Matt. 15:21-38. Friday: Ezek. 18:20-28; John 5:1-15. Saturday: Deut. 26:15-19; Deut. 11:22-25; Eccles. 36:1-10; II Macc. 1:23-2:5; Dan. (Apocr.) 3:49, (50), 51; I Thess. 5:14-23; Matt. 17:1-9. Reminiscere: I Thess. 4:1-7; Matt. 15:21-28. Monday: Dan. 9:15-19; John 8: 21-29. Tuesday: III Kings 17:8-16; Matt. 23:1-12. Wednesday: Esth. 13:(8)-17; Matt. 20:17-28. Thursday: Jer. 17:5-10; John 6:27-31 (35); Luke 16: 19-31. Friday: Gen. 37:6-22; Matt. 21:33-46. Saturday: Gen. 27:6-39; Luke 15:11-32. Oculi: Eph. 5:1-9; Luke 11:14-28; Monday: IV Kings 5:1-15; Luke 4:23-30. Tuesday: IV Kings 4:1-7; Matt. 18:15-22. Wednesday: Ex. 20:12-24; Matt. 15:1-20. Thursday: Jer. 7:1-7; Luke 4:38-44. Friday: Num. 20:2, 3, 5, 6-13; John 4:5-24. Saturday: Dan. 13:1-62; John 8:1-11; Laetare: Gal. 4:22-31; John 6:1-14. Monday III Kings 3:16-28; John 2:13-25. Tuesday: Ex. 32:7-14; John 7:14-31. Wednesday: Ezek. 36:23-28; Is. 1:16-19; John 9:1-38. Thursday: IV Kings 4:25-38; Luke 7:11-16. Friday: III Kings 17:17-24; John 11: 1-46. Saturday: Is. 49:8-15; Is. 55:1-11; John 8:12-20. Judica: Heb. 9:11-15; John 8:46-59. Monday: Jonah 3:1-10; John 7:32-39. Tuesday: Dan. 14:27-42; John 7:1-13. Wednesday: Lev. 19:11-18; John 10:22-38. Thursday: Dan. 3:34-35; Luke 7:36-50. Friday: Jer. 17:13-18; John 11:47-54. Vigil of Palm Sunday: Jer. 18:18-23; John 12:10-36. Palm Sunday: Early Mass, when palms were blessed: Ex. 15:27; 16:1-12; High Mass: Phil. 2:5-11; Matt. 21: 1-11; Passion story: Matt. 26, 27. Monday: Zech. 11:12-17; 12:1-14; 13:1-9; Is. 50:5-11; John 12:1-9. Tuesday: Jer. 11:18-20; Passion story: Mark 14; 15:1-46. Wednesday: Is. 62:12; 63:1-7; Is. 53:1-12; Passion story: Luke 22; 23:1-53. Maundy Thursday: I Cor. 11:20-32; John 13: 1-15; John 13:16-14:31; John 15; 16; 17. Good Friday: Hos. 6:1-6; Ex. 12:1-11; Passion story: John 18; 19. Easter Vigil: Gen. 1:1-2:2; 5:31-8:21; 22:1-19; Ex. 14:24-15:1; Is. 54:17-55:11; Baruch 3:9-38; Ezek. 37:1-14; Is. 4:1-6; Lev. 26:3-12; Jonah 3:1-10; Deut. 31:22-30; Dan. 3:1-24; Col. 3:1-4; Matt. 28:1-8.

Notes on German Psalters, pp. 51-54. — 100. *Die Psalmenverdeutschung von den ersten Anfaengen bis Luther. Beitraege zu ihrer Geschichte. Mit tabellarischen Uebersichten. Erste Haelfte. Her. in Verbindung mit Fritz Juelicher and Willy Luedtke,* by Hans Vollmer, Potsdam 1932. Cf. also: E. v. Steinmeyer, *Die kleinen althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmaeler*, Berlin 1916 (contains the Old Alemannic translations of Psalms that have been preserved). W. L. von Helten, *Die altostniederfraenkischen Psalmenfragmente*, Groningen 1902. E. Steinmeyer und Ed. Sievers, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, 1879-1898. I. Zalewski, *Psalterii versionis interlinearis vetusta fragmenta Germanica*, Krakau 1923. A. Klerzkowski, *Neuentdeckte altsaechsische (altfriesische) Psalmen aus der Karolingerzeit*, Krakau, 1923-1926. B. Thorpe, *Angelsaechsische Texte der Pariser Psalter*, Oxford 1835. Van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche bijbelvertaling*, Leiden. Ebbinge Wubben, *Over middelnederlandsche vertalingen van het Oude Testament*, Haag 1903. P. Piper, *Die Schriften Notkers u. s. Schule* (including Notker's Psalms) Freiburg 1883. Horst Kriedte, *Deutsche Bibelfragmente in Prosa des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1930. P. Pietsch, *Schlesische Denkmaeler d. deutschen Schrifttums i. Mittelalter* (also Trebnitz Psalms), Breslau 1881. E. G. Graff, Trierer u. Windberger *Interlinearversion (Bibl. d. ges. deutschen Nationalliteratur*, vol. 10), Quedlinburg und Leipzig 1839. Dor. Ebert, *Die Sprache d. Trierer Psalters*, Marburg 1915. H. Lewark, *Zur Deutschen Interlinearversion der Psalmen aus dem Kloster Windberg*, Marburg 1914. Ad. Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim*, Berlin 1895. Stefan Kubica, *Die Deutsche Sprache d. Florianer Psalters*, Poznan 1929. E. Heinrici, *Die Quellen von Notkers Psalmen*, Strassburg 1878.

Notes to the Spread and Use of the Bible, pp. 54-74. — 101. In the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (II, 698, § 14) we read: *Primo quod scolares, qui noviter incipiunt audire theologiam, (primis) quatuor annis portent vel portari faciant ad scolas biblici Bibliam, in qua lectiones Bibliae diligenter audiant."* O. Scheel, who in his *Martin Luther*, 3rd ed. (Tuebingen 1930, II, 138) notes these statutes, also calls attention to a statement in the Chartularium, vol. III, 143. — 102. Delisle's work was not available. The compilation given is taken from Fr. Falk, *Die Bibel am Ausgang d. Mittelalters*, Koeln 1905, pp. 98, 99. He also states that a number of books are designated as *ad usum Flamingorum*, that is, chiefly intended for students from Flanders. The reference to "chained" books is not a mere inference. Opposite not a few books in the catalogue one may find the notation, *liber catenatus*. Compare Note 12 in Chapter Two. — 103. R. Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universitaet in Wien*, Wien 1854, vol. 2, 107. — 104. H.

Hermelink, *Die theologische Fakultaet in Tuebingen vor d. Reformation*, p. 41: *Quorum tres sacris theologiae libris atque scripturis intenderent.* — 105. The Erfurt statutes no longer expressly require this. But they take it for granted. Therefore, they merely provide that no book shall be taught by two teachers simultaneously: *Nec unus incipiat legere aliquem sacrae scripturae librum, quem alter magister actualiter legit, nisi de conlicencia speciali atque consensu* (Scheel II, 621. — 106. Hermelink, 197. — 107. H. Boehmer, *Luthers erste Vorlesung*, Leipzig 1924, p. 7. — 108. The whole of Chapter one, Part one treats of *de iis, quae quis praedicator futurus discat et de ratione discendi.* — 109. The well known Abbot Trithemius (since 1483 head of the Benedictine cloister at Sponheim near Kreuznach who developed the library of this cloister into one of the most notable in Germany, and who in 1506 was transferred to Wuerzburg) repeatedly urges the diligent study of the Bible: "He who loves God must also love the Holy Scriptures; for he who loves God delights to associate with God, and it is in the Holy Scriptures where he meets God the Lord." For the benefit of Nicolaus von Merneck he wrote a tract on how to study the Scriptures with profit. He writes to Heinrich Kesse in Bingen expressing his joy over the latter's diligence in the study of the Scriptures. The title of the tract mentioned above is *Investigatorium Sanctae Scripturae* (Falk, 17). — 110. *Certa hora singulis diebus codices petantur; extra horam, qui petierit, non accipiat,* Scheel II, 3f. The congregation at Windesheim which during the first half of the 15th cent. labored diligently to create a reliable Vulgate text also belonged to the Augustinian order (Falk, 7). The Dominicans, however, and the Franciscans, were also engaged in this work. — 111. Vollmer II, p. XVIII. — 112. Hilarin Felder, *Geschichte d. wissenschaftl. Studien im Franziskanerorden bis um d. Mitte d. 13. Jahrh.*, Freiburg 1904, pp. 494ff. — 113. The *Liber Officiorum* calls for a librarian who takes a special interest in books and keeps careful record of them. The rules for the library contain the following directions: "On the first book stand or cabinet, labeled with the letter A shall be laid all the books in the library that contain the Bible text itself, and each supplied with a heading describing its contents, as f.i. 'This volume contains first the Book of Genesis, then the Book of Exodus . . . This volume contains the Gospels.' On the next stand bearing the letter A shall be laid the glosses and comments on the Bible of the saints." Cf. Falk, 57-59. — 114. Falk, 59. —

115. *Serapeum* II, 262. Here we also read that Abbot Albert in 1357 provided that friars could borrow books and keep them for one month and that the custos was even authorized to extend the period. — 116. Petzholt, *Urkundliche Nachrichten z. Gesch. d. Saechsischen Bibliotheken,* 1855, p. 32. — 117. W. Ziesemer, *Studien z. mittelalterlichen Bibeluebersetzung,* Halle 1928; W. Ziesemer, *Die Prophetenuebersetzung d. Claus Cranc,* Halle 1930, p. IV. — 118. Hasak, *Der christl. Glaube d. deutschen Volkes beim Schluss d. Mittelalters,* 1868, p. 53. — 119. The same booklet was also published under the title: *Rationarium evangelistarum* on 18 leaves (1505, 1507, 1510). There were a number of these. Cf. Hagelstrange in *Zeitschr. f. Buecherfreunde 9. Jahrg. 1. Heft.* Walther (590 and 150) also mentions German rimes intended to serve the same purpose. He tells that even Heinrich von Muegeln wrote such rimes. — 120. Joh. Mueller, *Vor u. fruehreformatorische Schulordnungen u. Schulvertraege in deutscher u. niederlaendischer Sprache,* Zschoppau 1885-1886. — 121. J. Mueller I, 125-128. — 122. *Sedulii Opera, recensuit I. Huemer,* 1885 (CSEL). Especially the Carmen paschale, a kind of Biblical history in Vergilian Latin and meter, exerted a great influence throughout the Middle Ages; cf. M. Manitius, *Geschichte d. christl-lateinischen Poesie bis z. Mitte d. 8 Jahrh.,* Stuttgart 1891, pp. 302ff. — 123. J. Mueller I, 126. — 124. Mueller, 180-188: "On the morning of every Sunday and holy day, when the first bell is rung for mass, the school master shall arrange to have the provisor expound and analyze the Epistle or Gospel that is chanted or read in the mass. After vespers the same Gospel or Epistle shall again be expounded by a pupil." — 125. Mueller, 169-175: "On every Sunday and holy day, early in the morning before the bell is rung, the magister shall teach from the Epistles of Peter or Paul etc. or from the Gospels." Of course, it is possible that this refers not to the Epistles of Peter and Paul in their entirety, but to the epistle lessons only. — 126. Mueller, 156-159. This may have been the effect of Humanism. At any rate, Cochlaeus was called to the school of St. Lawrence in Nuernberg in 1510 and there introduced humanistic ideas of education. Cf. J. Mueller, *Quellenschriften z. Geschichte d. deutsch. sprachl. Unterrichts bis zur Mitte d. 16. Jahrh.* Gotha 1882, pp. 252ff. Also the school in Ulm was influenced by Humanism. About 1500 it was one of the most famous schools in Germany and was classed with those of Zwolle, Deventer and Zwickau (Mueller, *Schulordnungen,* p. 128). But it is likely that the use of Sedulius

whose Latin was molded by the study of Vergil, was due more to humanistic ideals of education than to the use of the pericopes. It should not surprise us if proof were adduced to show that the pericopes were used as lesson material also in schools uninfluenced by Humanism. — 127. M. Reu, "*Quellen z. Geschichte d. kirchl. Unterrichts* I, 3 (1932), pp. 968ff, and elsewhere. It is not surprising that particularly in Lueneburg in the school of St. John, we find such an appreciable number of hymnaries and the like, when the Reformation was introduced there (Reu I 3, 837*). A selection of Psalms for use in schools was printed by Erhart Ratdolt of Augsburg at the turn of the 15th and 16th cent., the *Psalterium puerorum* (Falk, 28f.). It contained the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Benedicite, Ten Commandments, Seven Virtues and the Psalms most commonly used in the Sunday vespers, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 116, 129 (acc. to the Vulgate), the Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, Creed, Salve, Introibo ad altare and a number of short prayers. — 128. Falk enumerates such testamentary dispositions (esp. pp. 45-50); naturally not a complete list. — 129. Any one that has read Bernard's 86 sermons on the Song of Solomon will be convinced that the words of Sam. J. Eales in the introduction to his *Cantica Canticorum*, London, 1895, are true: "No reader of these 86 sermons can help noticing how small is the number of quotations in them from the writings of the Fathers, and how vast the number from every part of the Holy Scriptures. There are not a dozen quotations from any extraneous source whatever, while those of the Holy Scriptures may be numbered by hundreds, so that in many passages his sentences form a continuous cento of Scripture language and phrases." — 130. Anton E. Schoenbach, *Altdeutsche Predigten*, Graz 1886-1891. Vol. 1 contains the Leipzig sermons, vol. 2 contains the Oberaltach sermons, vol. 3 the sermons of Konrad the Priest. Lists of the Scripture quotations are to be found in I, 516-522; II, 323-325; III, 441-445. — 131. Vollmer III (1927), XXff. — 132. The passage reads: "Almighty God has granted us priests two great books in which to study, read and sing. All things we need for body and soul, all virtues that we need in relation to God and the world, how we should love God, praise and honor Him, how we should forsake and flee sin and evil, forsake and despise all forms of wickedness—all that, we priests may read in two books. One treats of the old and the other of the new covenant; one we read by night and the other by day. They are as white and black. The old covenant is the night and the new covenant is the day. With these two books God keeps us night and day in His protecting care. That this is so, God Himself proves in the old covenant. When He led the children of Israel through the desert into the promised land, He guided them in two ways. By day clouds went before them, by night He led them by the light of the stars. *Et fuit illis in velamento diei et luce stellarum nocte* (Sap. 10:17). Thus He led them by night and by day on the way to the promised land. And thus God has also given us these books to lead us on the way to the promised land of the kingdom of heaven which He has prepared for us before the foundation of the world." — 133. At last we have a reliable edition of his sermons: Ferd. Vetter, *Die Predigten Taulers. Aus der Engelberger und der Freiburger Handschrift sowie aus Schmidts Abschriften der ehemaligen Strassburger Handschriften*, Berlin 1910 (*Deutsche Texte d. Mittelalters*, 11 Bd.). Vetter offers no list of Tauler's Bible quotations, but he usually indicates them in the footnotes. — 134. For this purpose I have examined his *Navicula poenitentiae* which was first printed in 1511, and of which Johann Eck in 1512 published an extract under the title *Das Schiff des Heils*. Cf. Ph. de Lorenzi, *Geilers v. Kaisersberg ausgewaehlte Schriften*, Trier 1881-1883. Nicolaus a Clemanges (died before 1440), a pupil of d'Ailly and Gerson, wrote *De Studio Theologiae* (printed in Schoepff's *Aurora*, 11, 12), in which he lays down the principle that a preacher should not only preach on a text, but also diligently quote the Scriptures. He describes the effect of such quotations: *Gaudet admodum Spiritus Sanctus, dum ex ore praedicatoris sua audit verba sonare, illis adest, illa dirigit, illa sequitur et comitatus et in cordibus impressa audientium fructificare facit*" (F. Kropatscheck, *Das Schriftprinzip d. Luth. Kirche*, Leipzig 1904, p. 144). He seems not to have noticed what judgment he was passing on the rest of the sermon. 135. Vollmer I 2, (1916) pp. 54-56. — 136. Falk, 20f. — 137. When Johannes Busch, an Augustinian provost (d. 1480) ordered a number of bigoted Dominican preachers in Zuetphen who were vigorously condemning the reading of German books of devotion to either hold their peace or risk being accused before the Bishop of Utrecht, the books in question were not the Holy Scriptures. In fact, Busch expressly excluded the "exalted and divine writings." *Hoc non approbo, quod simplices laici, viri et feminae, tam altos et divinos libros habent Teutonicales.* He seems to have shared the opinion of the author of *De Libris Teuton-*

icalibus (We shall come back to this book later), the author of which belonged to the same group. Cf. Kropatscheck, 132; Walther, 735. — 138. *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* Nr. 279. — 139. For examples see Falk, 22f.; Braun, *Die kath. Predigt waehrend der Jahre 1450-1650 ueber d. Ehe u. Familie, Erziehung, Unterricht u. Berufswahl,* 1904, pp. 36ff. — 140. Falk, *Bibelstudien, Bibelhandschriften u. Bibeldrucke in Mainz,* Mainz, 1901, pp. 83. — 141. Falk, 51-56; Vollmer III, p. XVI and I 2, 167f. — 142. Vollmer (III, XLI-XLVI) treats both points in detail. On pp. 96-100 he offers an extensive list of Scripture quotations by Brant. As early as 1855 Geffken *(Der Bilderkatechismus d. 15. Jahrh. p. 5),* (probably exaggerating) wrote: "In our days a lawyer would command no little attention who gave evidence of such intimate knowledge of Scriptures, as Brant reveals in almost every line of his Narrenschiff." Brant opposed the spread of German Bibles, Kropatscheck, 118. — 143. I have in my library a copy of the edition of 1506. The passage is found on leaf 70b. How the Germanist Fr. Maurer (*Studien zur mitteldeutschen Bibeluebersetzung vor Luther*, Heidelberg 1929, p. 16) could say that the Church never provided for the reading of the pericopes in German, is strange even in the case of a philologist. In the mass, the lessons were, of course, read in Latin only; in preaching services outside of the mass, the preacher gave the pericopes also in German with or without the use of a plenarium. — 144. Walther, Festschrift 7. — 145. Walther, Festschrift 7. — 146. C. Mirbt, *Quellen z. Geschichte d. Papsttums u. d. roem. Katholizismus,* 4 Aufl., Tuebingen 1911, p. 126: ". . . *non immerito sacram scripturam omnipotenti Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam.*" — 147. Cf. esp. F. Kropatscheck, 108ff.; also Haupt, *Deutsche Bibeluebersetzung d. mittelalterlichen Waldenser,* 1885; H. Suchier, *Zu den altfranzoesischen Bibeluebersetzungen (Ztschrift f. romanische Philologie,* VIII) 1884, pp. 418ff. — 148. Text in Part II. — 149. Text in P. Frederiq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis,* 1889, I, 237. The possible effect of the Edict of Charles IV upon Heinrich von Muegeln and the fate of his translation of the Psalter is discussed by Walther, *Die Deutsche Bibeluebersetzung,* 589ff. The authenticity of the grounds upon which Gregory's Edicts are based is discussed by Jostes in *Historisches Jahrbuch* XI, 12. — 150. The text is found in Part II. Cf. Kropatscheck, 114ff. Also this resolution applied to one province only and even here in England it was directed against the use of such translations only that had not been approved by either the bishop or the provincial council. — 151. For the text see Part II. — 152. On Bible "prohibitions" Kropatscheck, 101-134, gives the best account. — 153. Kropatscheck, 124ff. — 154. Reu, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. kirchl. Unterrichts zwischen 1530 and 1600*, 1933, I 3, p. 680*; *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 1910, p. 518. — 155. Falk, p. 33; *Archiv f. d. Geschichte d. Deutschen Buchhandels* X, 25. A Breviary was sold for one *gulden.* The reference to 9 gulden is found in Kropatscheck p. 139, who, in turn, refers to G. Kawerau, *Theol. Literaturblatt* 1892, col. 386. It is also customary in this connection to tell that 3 gulden was the usual price of one fattened steer (Janssen, *Gesch. d. Deutschen Volkes,* 18 ed. I, 376). One should, however, also keep in mind the prices paid for Luther's New Testament even though it was printed in much larger editions. Cf. also Michael, *Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes vom 13. Jahrh. bis z. Ausgang d. Mittelalters* III, 42-44; Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis,* 1889, I, 644-649. — 156. Kropatscheck, 128.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

Luther's first acquaintance with the Bible, pp. 75-83.— 1. Luther complained about the schools so bitterly for three reasons: 1. the church schools taught the Latin of the Church in place of the classical Latin which was taught in the humanistic schools; 2. According to his conception they were, even though the religious note was not lacking, not truly Christian schools because they were not centered in a righteousness alone by faith through Christ; 3. Because they lacked a proper method of instruction. Luther has in mind, not the severe thrashings which were so liberally administered, but rather the fact that their methods of teaching were unsuited for *treffliche Ingenien.* Luther never complained about the textbooks used. He extolled them even in his later years: the Donatus from which he learned to decline and conjugate, the Doctrinale of Alexander of Villa Dei who initiated him into the secrets of Latin syntax; the morals of Pseudo-Cato; Aesop's fables; and especially the poetry of Terence (*Tischreden* III, 3039. 3490). *Cf.* O. Scheel, *Luther u. d. Schule seiner Zeit (Luther-Jahrbuch),* Wittenberg 1925; M. Reu, *Luther u. d. Erziehung (Kirchliche Zeitschrift),* Chicago 1933; O. Scheel, *Martin Luther,* Tuebingen 1917, I, 35-59; H. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther,* Gotha 1925, pp. 24-26.—When we read that the Latin or "Trivial schools" only taught grammar, logic and rhetoric, we might imagine that they offered very little, if anything, practical. That was not the case. Grammar taught mastery of Latin, in which the lectures were given in the universities, without which many parts of the service could not be understood, and which was a necessary part of every educated man's training. Logic taught thinking. The most important part of rhetoric was the *ars dictandi* which was nothing less than a practical guide in writing both Latin and German letters and essays. The latter was known (J. Mueller, *Quellenschriften z. Geschichte d. deutschsprachlichen Unterrichts bis z. Mitte d. 16 Jahrh.*, Gotha 1882, pp. 231ff.; 368ff.) But since 1912 we also have definite information regarding the composition books (Wax tablets) of the pupils of the school of St. James at Luebeck of 1370. These were found in the sewers of Luebeck in 1866, and afford intimate information concerning the Latin schools of that city; compare J. Warncke *Mittelalterliche Schulgeraete im Museum z. Luebeck* (*Zeitschrift f. Geschichte d. Erziehung u. d. Unterrichts II*, Berlin 1912). As early as 1510 to 1514 Johann Cochlaeus even taught geography in the Latin school of Nuernberg (*Mitteilungen d. Gesellschaft f. deutsche Erziehung u. Schulgeschichte VII*, Berlin 1897). — 2. J. Mathesius, *Luthers Leben in Predigten, her. v. G. Loesche*, Prag 1906, p. 16: "There the boys diligently and quickly learned their *Donatus*, an elementary grammar, *Cisio Janus*, a Latin calendar of saints in verse by which the saints' days were taught, and Christian hymns." — 3. Scheel, I, 53f. offers noteworthy material to prove that the "trivial schools" at Mansfeld prepared its pupils directly for entrance into the university; but why did the frugal father later send his 14 year old son to Magdeburg and later to Eisenach? Was it because it cost no more away from home, or because young Martin felt the urge to travel? Are we to infer from this that later students registered in Wittenberg as from Mansfeld because they had graduated from the Mansfeld school and from there entered the university? — 4. The religious instruction of the home was German. There they learned the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed, morning, evening and table prayers. For directions for such instruction see the *Christenspiegel* of the Augustinian Dederich Coelde of Muenster of 1470 (reprint in Chr. Moufang, *Kathol Katechismen im 16 Jahrh.*, Mainz 1881) and esp. the *Tafel d. christl. Lebens* from the end of the 15th cent. (pp. 61ff.) reprinted by Bahlmann (*Deutschlands kathol. Katechismen*, Muenster 1894). The same lesson material we find in use since the middle of the 13th cent. in the first grade of the Latin school as Latin elementary material, often combined with Psalms. In the charter f.i., of the school of St. Mary Magdalene in Breslau, dated Feb. 12, 1266, we read: *pueri et parvuli doceantur et discant alphabetum cum oratione dominica et salutationem beatae Mariae virginis cum symbolo, psalterio et septem psalmis* (probably the penitential Psalms). The *Benedicite* (prayer before meal), *Gratias* (prayer after meal) and *Confiteor* (confession of sins) and also the *Credo* (the Creed) and *Pater Noster* (Lord's prayer) from the beginning of the 15th cent. appear in the courses of study for city as well as for monastery schools, as we see from the rules for the school of Bautzen, of 1418, for Landau, of 1432; for Nuernberg, of 1485; for Schleiz, of 1492. In the latter we read: The *locatus* (instructor) must not force the pupils to buy any of his books (written by him) from him with the exception of the tablets, the A B C, the *Pater Noster*, the *Benedicite* and the *Gratias*; these they must buy from him for a reasonable price." Regarding the methods of the monastery schools we are informed by the Rostock *Kinderlehre* of the beginning of the 15th cent. (ed. by Krause in *Programm d. grossen Stadtschule zu Rostock*, 1873). When the pupil had learned to read he learned *Veni Sancte Spiritus, Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Credo, Benedicite and Gratias, Psalmus* (a compilation of passages from the Psalms), *Confiteor*, hymns, such as *In te speravi, O crux ave*, especially the hymns for all *horae canonicae*. The study helps originally given to the children for this elementary instruction in Latin and religion were single tablets (of wood or wax), or paper sheets. The first of these was called *Abecedarium*, abctablet, or simply, tablet or *Fibel* and contained the alphabet and exercises in the combination of vowels and consonants into syllables. The second contained the *Pater Noster*, *Credo* and often also the *Ave Maria*. A third contained the *Benedicite, Gratias* and similar prayers *(Confiteor)*. Early, however, certainly immediately after the invention of the printing press, these tablets were combined into a book which also bore any one of the names mentioned above: *tabula, tabula elementaris latina, tabella elementaris*, tablet booklet, *Fibel*. A few copies of these booklets have come down to us. Most of them were worn out by the pupils and destroyed.—Regarding the instruction in singing, see note 127 to chap. I. We add a passage from the rules for the precentor of the school of St. Stephen's in Vienna of 1460 and the order for the school in Stuttgart of 1501. In the former (J. Mueller, *Vor u. fruehreformatorische Schulordnungen u. Schulvertraege*, Zschoppau 1885, pp. 74ff.) we read: "On the evening before every Sunday and holy day the succentor shall teach the boys to sing . . . he shall bring to school the hymn books, the gradual and antiphonary, and shall write the responses and hymns on the board; he shall also teach them the sequences, rehearse with care, and so give them a thorough training in singing, that is, in Gregorian style. The small boys shall be taught the versicles and the *Benedicamus*. Before and after meat the boys shall be taught to sing hymns for the chief festivals, such as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, four or five for each festival—also in Gregorian style . . . Boys who are apt, shall be trained to sing in harmony. Such rehearsals shall be held in the precentory at the time set aside for singing so that such pupils need not miss their other studies. The precentor shall have the power to select boys from all classes, and teachers for the choir as he has need of them. He must, however, secure the permission of their parents or masters. The precentor shall also see to it that in all vesper and matin services which he himself sings, the boys lead in the singing of the antiphons and shall sing the verses in the responses and the *Gloria Patri*, the versicles and the *Benedicamus*." The Stuttgart order of 1501 states: "The rector shall also have an able and trained precentor who, in the evening before every Sunday and holy day, shall teach what is to be sung in the vesper service, or the next morning in church, be it the Mass, the introit, the gradual, the hallelujah, the sequence, the offertory, the sanctus, the Communion, the responses, the hymns or any other musical part of the service. He shall rehearse them with each pupil, large or small, according to each pupil's ability. In school such rehearsals shall be conducted in the middle register, so that one group will not drown the other out. The precentor shall always write the response on the board. Every evening, the rector, or in his place the precentor, with as many pupils as he deems necessary, shall sing the *Salve regina* and every Saturday morning the Mass of Our Lady and the *officia defunctorum* . . . " That the schools of smaller towns also had similar provisions for singing, may be seen from the rules for Noerdlingen, of 1512 (Mueller 169ff.), or for Meiningen, of 1511 (Mueller pp. 166ff.). If the Mansfeld school had a precentor—and that is more than probable—then a similar arrangement prevailed also there. A few school hymnals have been preserved to us from this period. From the rules for the rector and precentor in Lueneburg, of 1500 (Mueller, 329ff.), we learn that the school of St.

John's there, which, while cultivating the art of music (M. Reu, *Quellen* I, 3, 851*), at that time had only one rector and precentor (hence, probably fewer teachers than Mansfeld), possessed the following books written on parchment: An antiphonary, a gradual, two books of vigils, a responsorial for the holy days, a hymnary and sequentiary, a hymnary with the hallelujahs, a hymnary with sequences, hallelujahs and hymns, and finally, one small song book. — 5. For the best description of Magdeburg at that time and of Luther's sojourn there, see Scheel I, 60-97. — 6. The Brothers of the Common Life were in no sense prereformers. They stood on the ground of the medieval church; they arose from the *moderna devotio* and stressed sincerity and devotion *(Innigkeit, Andaechtikgeit)* which they sought to bring about, among other means also by distributing books of devotion and parts of the Bible in the vernacular. In this way they too contributed to the end that—to borrow Burdach's phrase—"Germany as a nation adopted the Bible." Peter Dieburg, rector of the Hildesheim House (d. 1494), thus described their aim: "We are not monks, but to lead a pious life in the world, that is our aim and desire." To further the religious life of their pupils they held, besides classroom instruction, special devotions. Valuable information regarding them is given by Wiggert, *Ueber M. Luthers Schuelerleben z. Magdeburg u. d. dortigen Verein d. Brueder v. gemeinsamen Leben im Tal d. hl. Hieronymus (Programm d. Domgymnasiums z. Magdeburg)*, Magdeburg 1851; R. Doebner, *Annalen u. Akten d. Brueder d. gemeinsamen Lebens im Luechtenhof z. Hildesheim (Quellen u. Darstellungen z. Geschichte Niedersachsens, Bd. 9)*, 1903; E. Barnikol, *Studien z. Geschichte d. Brueder v. gemeins. Leben*, 1917; E. Barnikol, *Das Bruderhaus in Magdeburg u. Luthers Magdeburger Schulbesuch*, 1917; E. Barnikol, *Das Magdeburger Bruderhaus*, 1922. Barnikol also offers a brief review in *Religion in Geschichte u. Gegenwart*, 1927. Cf. also H. Holstein, *Geschichte d. Domgymnasiums z. Magdeburg*, 1875; E. Leitsmann, *Ueberblick ueber d. Geschichte u. Darstellung d. paedagogischen Wirksamkeit d. Brueder d. gemeins. Lebens*, Leipzig 1886. — 7. W. A. *Briefe* II, 563. — 8. According to Scheel I, 281, the regulations for this are found in the *Liber de Consuetudinibus*, the Rituale of the Cathedral of Magdeburg. Cf. also B. Engelke, *Geschichte d. Musik im Dom in d. aeltesten Zeiten bis 1631 (Geschichtsblaetter f. Stadt u. Land Magdeburg)*, 1913, p. 270. — 9. Scheel I, 94ff. — 10. Scheel I, 89ff. — 11. *Luthers Leben in Predigten*, Buchwald's edition, Basel, sine anno, p. 2. — 12. It certainly is not to the glory of the Lutheran Church, when from the fact that the Bible in the library at Erfurt was "in chains," she at once concluded that the medieval church sought to withhold the Bible from the people and even from the students of the university. It was a library regulation, as we have them today, which provided that certain books were not to be taken out of the library. As early as 1338 we find many books marked *liber catenatus* (book in chains) in the catalogue of the library of the university of Paris (cf. p. 56). This provision became even more prevalent later. It did not mean that books so designated were withdrawn from circulation, but that they could be used only in the library. It means that they were regarded as too valuable to be taken from the library, or used elsewhere than the stand on which they were placed for that purpose. In the conclusion, the catalogue of the Paris University library of 1289 states that a library had been opened *pro libris cathenatis ad communem sociorum utilitatem*. There the books most often used were placed "in chains" so that they were sure to be available for all at all times. A citizen of Leyden in 1462 wrote a German Bible for "all good and honest men who wished to read therein and to study that which is good." For this reason it was placed on a desk in the gallery of St. Peter's and fastened with a chain (Falk, *Die Bibel am Ausgang* etc. 1905, p. 74). When the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse in 1558 turned the church *am Cogelhaus* into a library for the newly established university in Marburg and set aside an annual sum for the purchase of books, he made the provision that such books were to be secured with chains (Zeder, *Zur Geschichte d. Universitaetsbibliothek z. Marburg* 1896, pp. 14f.). To make sure that they were always available, books were fastened to the desk on which they lay with small chains that did not interfere with their use. On many books that have come down to us from the 15th and 16th cent. the place can still be seen where the chain had been fastened. Books that were intended for the use of select groups only, were placed in rooms that were closed to the general public, and were chained to the desks on which they were to be used. Eligible patrons were given keys to such rooms. Schoengen (*Die Schule von Zwolle*, 1898, p. 105) remarks: "The keys to the library of St. Michael's, in which many books were "in chains," were in the hands of certain priests and laymen who were permitted to enter the library whenever they wished to study there." This may be the reason why, as I know from experience.

admission cards to some Catholic libraries are still called "keys." — 13. Scheel I, p. 91, "We still have the statutes in manuscript of the university library that is, the *Collegium majus in Erfurt (Oktavhandschrift d. Erfurter Stadtbuecherei)* and also the supplementary statutes of the artists' faculty of 1449 *(Akten d. Universitaet Erfurt* II, 148) which were still in force when Luther studied in Erfurt. These statutes made it the duty of the librarian to care for the bindings of the books, replace broken window panes without delay, so that books would not be damaged by rain or snow (for the books were exposed on desks; they were not preserved standing in cases along the walls (cf. p. 59), to keep them in order, so that the "faculties" (f. i. the books on theology and law) were kept separate. The library at Erfurt was locked. To enter between lectures was therefore, out of the question. Besides, that would have been contrary to the statutes of the library. Students and bachelors could obtain the books they needed for their studies only through their instructors, who, in turn had to get them from the library according to the library rules for masters. Even then, students were required to post a forfeit for every book they were permitted to take to their rooms. If the faculty did not even loan books to graduates from the lower grades, and certainly not to undergraduates, then surely, they did not permit such students to enter and use the library at will. — 14. Scheel I, 89f. Besides the books of Barnikol mentioned in note 6, cf. also Kropatscheck, *Schriftprinzip*, pp. 124ff.; 157ff. Albert Hymna, *The Christian Renaissance, a history of the "Devotio moderna,"* 1924 (but he ignores the new information regarding the origin of the Brethren.) — 15. Scheel (I, p. 92), is in error when he states that this Magdeburg print was the first Low German edition of a plenarium; this book had already been issued in 1475 by Lukas Brandis in Luebeck. — 16. We shall not here examine in detail Luther's fortunate sojourn in Eisenach (1497-1501); for while it was of value to him both culturally as well as religiously (cf. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther*, 34-36), it hardly had any effect on his relation to the Bible. It is probable that he again saw a Bible in the Eisenach monastery with which his benefactor Schalbe and his benefactress, Lady Cotta, were closely connected, or in the churches of St. George and St. Mary of which his friend Johann Braun was the vicar. But we know nothing definite.

Luther hears a chapter out of the Bible daily, pp. 84-87. — 17. *Tischreden II*, 2788b. — 18. H. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther*,

p. 37. That students were required to live in burses, and why, may be seen from the *Akten der Universitaet Erfurt* (publ. by H. Weissenborn, Halle 1881). In II, 145 we read: "Since the students, who do not live with the masters in their burses, dwell in nooks and corners where their morals and industry can not be observed, and since our masters, as a rule, know nothing regarding the life of those who desire to be promoted, and, have often been deceived, it is only a reasonable provision that every student who desires to be promoted shall be examined by the masters who are to promote him, regarding his life, morals, knowledge and conversation. We, therefore, order that no student of the philosophical faculty shall be promoted before he has lived for at least one year in some burse with the masters so as to enable them to give him a good recommendation regarding his life, morals and knowledge." Cf. G. Oergel, *Das Bursenwesen d. mittelalterlichen Universitaeten, insbesondere Erfurts (Protokoll d. Generalversammlung d. Gesamtver. Deutscher Geschichts- u. Altertumsvereine)* Berlin 1904; Th. Neubauer, *Zur Geschichte d. mittelalterlichen Stadt Erfurt,* (*Mitteilungen d. Vereins f. d. Geschichte u. Altertumskunde von Erfurt,* p. 35) 1915; Th. Neubauer, *Luthers Fruehzeit, Seine Universitaets- u. Klosterjahre,* Erfurt 1916. — 19. H. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther,* 38; Scheel I, 121-234 offers the most detailed description. — 20. Neubauer, *Fruehzeit,* p. 85. The number of inmates in monasteries has usually been overestimated. Regarding Erfurt, Neubauer has proved by documents that in 1500 a monastery there had, on an average, not more than 40 conventuals. The *Marienknecht* (Servants of Mary) monastery, mentioned above, in 1486 had only 23. Kolde (*Die Deutsche Augustinerkongregation u. Johann v. Staupitz,* Gotha 1879, p. 167) states that the monastery of the Augustinian hermits had 70 inmates; but he offers no proof. Cf. however, Hoehn, in note 31. If this number is correct, then, according to Neubauer, it can only be explained by assuming that a *Studium Generale* was maintained there which was attended by brothers from other monasteries of the same order. — 21. Neubauer, *Fruehzeit, p. 90.* The inventory of the monastery is reprinted in *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f. Thueringer Gesch. u. Altertumskunde,* Jena 1917, where the books of the monastery are listed. — 22. According to Neubauer, *Geschichte.* Erfurt, at that time, had less than 20,000 inhabitants. It was not much smaller than Nuernberg, about four times as large as Leipzig, three times as large as Heidelberg, Dresden or Mainz. Besides Nuernberg, only Strassburg, Koeln and Luebeck were larger. Erfurt was called "Little Rome," because of its many churches and cloisters. In 1500 it had not less than 2 university chapter houses, 23 parish churches, 36 chapels, 6 hospitals, 22 convents and monasteries. — 23. Neubauer, *Fruehzeit*, p. 48. — 24. *Urkundenbuch d. Universitaet Heidelberg*, issued by Winkelmann, I, 166. — 25. The statutes of the *Collegium Majus* of 1427 are found in G. Oergel, *Urkunden z. Geschichte d. Collegium Majus in Erfurt* (*Mitteilungen d. Vereins f. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde von Erfurt*, p. 16), Erfurt 1894; for the statutes of 1508, see Neubauer, *Geschichte, Anhang 13.* The statutes for the law school are found in G. Oergel's, *Das Collegium Beatae Mariae Virginis zu Erfurt* (ibid. p. 22), Erfurt 1901. The statutes of the *Himmelspforte* of 1433 are found in H. Weissenborn, *Statuten u. Ordnungen d. Amplonianischen Colleg.* (ibid. p. 9), Erfurt 1880. — 26. Neubauer, *Fruehzeit*, 44. — 27. Neubauer, *Fruehzeit*, p. 129 writes regarding this passage. "We can therefore, without hesitation believe his statement (*Tischreden* I, 116) that as young master he read the Bible." — 28. Ockham in his Dialog (pp. 411; 769f.) could well write: *Ergo christianus de necessitate salutis non tenetur ad credendum nec credere, quod nec in Biblia continetur nec ex solis contentis in Biblia potest consequentia necessaria et manifesta inferri.* One might almost think he heard Luther speaking at Worms. But in the preface (p. 958) of his *Compendium errorum papae*, he also says: *Si quid autem scripsero in praesenti opusculo, quod scripturae vel doctrinae sanctorum seu sacrosanctae ecclesiae assertioni repugnet et adversetur, correctioni praefatae ecclesiae catholicae—non ecclesiae malignantium, non haereticormu, non schismaticorum nec eorum fautoribus—me et dicta mea subiicio et expono.* In actual practice he always retreated from his first conviction and acknowledged the church as the highest authority. Cf. Kropatscheck, *Das Schriftprinzip d. luth, Kirche, I Bd.; Das Erbe d. Mittelalters*, Leipzig 1904, 309ff. R. Seeberg (*Lehrbuch d. Dogmengeschichte* III (1930), 724): "In spite of the fact that in principle the Scriptures are acknowledged as the sole authority, positive interest in discovering Bible truth is almost entirely absent. In the last analysis, the real interest of Ockham as well as of many of his contemporaries, in stressing the authority of the Bible, was to secure a means of criticism by which the authority of the Church's dogmas could be shaken, or the dialectics with which they were upheld at least be made more complicated. By stressing the sole authority of the Bible, the Nominalists also helped prepare the way for the coming of the Reformation. By this ecclesiastical positivism, however, they impede its progress mightily, and contributed very little toward the work of rediscovering fundamental Bible truth." The Erfurt teachers of Luther differed from Ockham only in this respect, that they acknowledged, not primarily the Church or a general council, but, above all, the pope, as the final authority.—It is likely that Luther's statement of 1519 (W. Ed. 2, 401) referred especially to his theological studies in Erfurt, but, no doubt, also described his work as a student of the arts. He says: "Formerly I had been taught that there is an unreal and a real merit, that man can do his part to earn grace, that he can push back the bar, but that it also lies in his power to close the door of his heart to grace, that he can keep the commandments of God, at least so far as the outward deeds are concerned, even if not according to the whole will of the Lawgiver, that man's will is free to choose any course he pleases, that he can, of his own strength, love God above all things and do deeds of brotherly love. I was taught these and other monstrosities that were treated as the first principles of scholastic theology, filled all books, and were dinned into all ears."

Luther receives his own Bible, pp. 88-92. — 29. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther*, 46f., "Was the vow (to become a monk) only the inspiration of a moment of depression? Luther never expressed himself on the question. But we may safely conclude that in that moment of intense excitement Luther suddenly came to a decision which had been prepared by an inner struggle of months, but had been held back by all sorts of scruples; for Luther belonged to that type of men who came to decisions only after prolonged struggles. We may therefore, safely say that in his heart he was already on his way to the monastery when he was almost struck by lightning at Stotternheim. The hysterical fear that came over him only hastened his decision; it did not create the attitude of mind out of which the decision grew." Should not also the fact be taken into account here that already in Magdeburg the pious prince Wilhelm of Anhalt made a deep impression on the plastic mind of Luther? Such impressions are retained in the subconscious. Also in Eisenach his benefactors were in close contact with the cloister.—30. Boehmer, 50. — 31. Cf. Scheel II, 15f. — 32. For the detailed information we have on the life in an Augustinian monastery we are indebted to the *Constitutiones* of 1504, which must not be confused with the original statutes. The latter were ascribed to Augustine. They dated, however, from the 13th cent. (1287). They are found in the *Codex regularum monachorum* by Holstenius II, 123-127, and in the *Analecta Augustiniana* recently published in Rome (neither of these sources was available to me at this writing). It consists of 45 paragraphs. On these statutes were based the much more comprehensive *Constitutiones Fratrum Heremitarum sancti Augustini*, which were adopted on Pentecost, 1504 at a meeting of the order at Nuernberg at which the vicar general, Johann Staupitz, presided. Cf. Hoehn, *Chronologia Provinciae Rheno-Suevicae ord. F. F. Eremitarum S. P. Augustini*, 1744; Th. Kolde, *Die Deutsche Augustinerkongregation u. Johann v. Staupitz*, Gotha 1879; E. Wolf, *Staupitz u. Luther*, 1927; E. Wolf, *Johann v. Staupitz u. d. theologischen Anfaenge Luthers (Luther Jahrbuch)* Muenchen 1929; K. Bauer, *Die Wittenberger Universitaetstheologie u. d. Anfaenge d. deutschen Reformation*, 1928. Luther's remark in the summer of 1540 (*Tischreden* V, 5374), that Staupitz was the first again to introduce the study of the Bible in the monasteries under his jurisdiction, indicates that he did not know that Staupitz had taken over this regulation into the Nuernberg *Constitutiones* from the statutes in force since 1287. The fact perhaps was that Staupitz, as well as his predecessor, Andreas Proles, stressed and enforced this rule more than had been done before. Cf. the references cited by Scheel II, 3. A. Jeremias, *Johannes v. Staupitz, Luthers Vater u. Schueler*, Leipzig 1926, p. 132 calls attention to the fact that the rule prescribing the study of the Bible was, in the old statutes, almost buried in a mass of comparatively unimportant rules, and forgotten. — 33. Chap. 21 of the *Constitutiones* deals with this. The 21st sermon of Staupitz on Job also presupposes it (*Tuebinger Predigten, her. v. E. Wolf u. G. Buchwald*, 1927). The passage in the *Constitutiones* places it beyond doubt that reference is made to the reading of the Bible at certain hours: *Certa hora singulis diebus codices petantur; extra horam, qui petierit, non accipiat.* Scheel II, 3. — 34. We need only recall Johann Lang who since 1506 is referred to as an Augustinian monk. — 35. Boehmer, 53ff. Concerning all these questions see Neubauer, *Fruehzeit*, 97-108, and esp. Scheel II, 1-117; also his essay in *Archiv f. Reformationsgeschichte, Ergaenzungsband V (Festschrift f. H. v. Schubert, 1929): Wann wurde Luther rezipiert u. zur Profess zugelassen?* —

36. The *Tischrede* (V5346) in question states: *At cum in monasterium intrabam et relinquebam omnia, desperans de me ipso, postulavi iterum biblia. Fratres mihi dederunt unam; eam perlegi diligenter et memoriae mandavi etiamsi non esset correcta. At cum profiterer nomen monasterio auferebant eam a me et dabant sophisticos libros. Quoties vero mihi otium erat, abdidi me in bibliothecam et recurri ad biblia et disputavi obiter in monasterio.* The presentation still current and partly based on this table talk is summed up by Scheel II, 132ff.; "The older biographies which naturally served as guides for those that are written later, here tell of a time of painful renunciation. For when Luther was obliged to take up the study of scholastic and sophistic writings, the Bible was taken from him, even though he hungered and thirsted for its contents. But the monks, steeped in the errors of popery, had no appreciation for his needs. They forbade him the use of the Bible, and Luther, being a monk, had to obey. Nicolaus Selnecker 'who gives information on many things' is supposed to have come nearest the truth when in his biography of Luther he writes: Now that Luther had become a priest he was required, by the obedience he had vowed, to lay aside the holy books and to read the 'scholastic and sophistic writings'" (Oergel, *Vom jungen Luther*, 106). This was, as a recent writer has again set forth, for Luther a bitter disappointment. The man responsible for this, it is said, was none other than Nathin who regarded it as his duty to recall the coming theologian to the *Magister sententiarum* and to scholasticism, the accepted philosophy of the Church. But in the mouth of this uninspired and dry teacher it had no appeal. And the theology of the nominalist leaders, William Ockham and Gabriel Biel, praised as the quintessence of all wisdom, only fed the doubts in his heart instead of making him sure of his salvation. So, it is said, he sought refuge in his Bible in order to get the truth at the fountainhead, as it were, before it was adulterated as it flowed through the channels of human wisdom. But while searching the Scriptures, he is said to have neglected his scholastic assignments. A warning of Nathin called him back to these, and with a heavy heart he obeyed, as dark night settled down upon his soul. Then Staupitz brought light into his darkness. In the midsummer of 1507 he was permitted to make his general confession to Staupitz. An intimate conversation followed. From the mouth of his superior the frightened and tortured monk heard truths that he had never heard before. He was told to behold the wounds

of Christ, and to regard as the profoundest theological wisdom the right understanding of the Scriptures, which are the only inerrant guide to truth, and superior to all wisdom of men. By the help of this learned man of God "the light of the Gospel began to shine into the darkness of his heart." Now Nathin no longer could keep his pupil from the Scriptures. As an aid, he therefore, gave Luther the *glossa ordinaria,* the usual commentary, which interpreted the Scriptures according to the current dogmas of the church, while Staupitz admonished him to become a good *localis* and *textualis* i. e. to adhere to the text and explain Scriptures by Scriptures. Of course, he was obliged to promise not to neglect the scholastic sciences on which Nathin and the other university teachers lectured. From now on Luther, who through Staupitz, had found peace for his soul, cheerfully, and not without profit, devoted himself also to scholastic theology." According to this account the midsummer of 1507 must have been a time of far-reaching decisions for Luther, especially in regard to his study of the Bible and his conception of its authority. In fact, however, any intimate contact between Staupitz and Luther was impossible at Erfurt, especially in 1507. The event referred to here did not take place until 1508-09 during Luther's first stay at Wittenberg (Cf. Wolf, *Staupitz u. Luther* 1927, p. 133; Blanke, *Luther* in RGG 1929, III, 1759; Scheel II, 646), or even not until 1511 (cf. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther,* p. 64). At all events, the statement that this contact with Staupitz and its outcome were responsible for the fact that Luther was permitted to study the Scriptures in the monastery at Erfurt, can not be proved. — 37. Johann v. Staupitz began the *cursus biblicus* near the close of the year 1498 while prior to the convent in Tuebingen (E. Wolfe, *Luther-Jahrbuch* 1929, p. 48.) — 38. For proofs, see Boehmer, *Luthers erste Vorlesung,* 1925, p. 7. In Tuebingen the theological professors gave only five lectures each month, in Leipzig only a lecture a fortnight. — 39. Also Boehmer, *Der junge Luther,* p. 56 writes: "Besides these lectures (on the Sentences) Luther must, during the time before the fall of 1508, have heard several minor courses of lectures on exegesis." The rules governing the time of these lectures are found in *Universitaetsakten* II, 55 § 60. The possible objection that we can not simply assume that the university regutions were in harmony with those of the monastery is met by Scheel II, 135 with the remark: "The general course in the monastery undoubtedly took into account the daily program of the members of the faculty. Collisions between the programs of both institutions were, in view of the personal connections between both, quite out of the question. Since the theological faculty was dominated by the teachers of the Augustinian order, it is likely that the theological faculty simply adopted the order's program of study."

Luther emphasizes the Sola Scriptura, pp. 93-97. — 40. Besides the monograph of E. Wolf on *Luther and Staupitz* (1927) and the essay in the *Luther Jahrbuch* (1929), see also Fr. Blanke, *Luthers Praedestinationslehre* (1927), also Blanke's noteworthy article on Luther in RGG (1929), and Scheel II, 645ff. — 41. Oergel p. 108; Scheel II, 136; 375f. Thus Luther must have understood the *localis biblicus* in *Tischreden* I, 116. — 42. Boehmer, 63. — 43. So. R. Seeberg; K. Holl, E. Hirsch, Scheel II, 422ff. oppose it. — 44. W. Ed. *Briefe* I, 74, 171: *Ex te primo omnium didici, solis canonicis libris deberi fidem, caeteris omnium judicium, ut B. Augustinus, imo Paulus et Johannes praecipiunt.* The attempt to explain Luther's position on the authority of Scriptures from his contact with the humanists in Erfurt was not successful, nor is it necessary. — 45. W. Ed. 9, 65. In the last sentence Luther refers to one of Aesop's fables. — 46. W. Ed. 9, 62. — 47. ibid 9, 35. — 48. ibid 9, 46. — 49. *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae*, Phorcae 1506. – Regarding Luther's study of Hebrew, see Scheel II, 413 and 649ff.; of Greek, II, 416ff. and 650.

Luther is intrusted with the Lectura in Biblia, pp. 97-100. — 50. The best source of information on this is found in H. Boehmer, *Luthers Romfahrt*, Leipzig 1914, and Scheel II, 480 ff. — 51. We still have Luther's receipt for the 50 florins which the Elector had sent him to defray the expenses of his promotion; Scheel II, 557 offers the facsimile. This item in the books of the exchequer has this notation: "Which Martinus, friar of the order of Augustinians at Wittenberg, has received according to a receipt bearing his signature. These 50 florins our gracious lord has generously ordered to be given this Martinus on the occasion when he will receive the degree of a doctor which will take place soon after the coming fair (Michaelmas in Leipzig), at Wittenberg after which, according to the Doctor (Staupitz), said Martinus shall for the duration of his life, have charge of the lectorship in Wittenberg, under his (Staupitz') jurisdiction." — 52. H. Steinlein, *Luthers Doktorat*, Leipzig 1912; Scheel II, 558ff. — 53. H. Buchwald has collected quite a number of such eulogies which are still unpublished. From them may be seen that the authors were deeply impressed by the majesty and importance of the Scriptures; Scheel II, 564. — 53*a*. R. Seeberg, *Die religioesen Grundgedanken des jungen Luther und ihr Verhaeltnis zu dem Ockhamismus und der deutschen Mystik (Greifswalder Studien 6)*, Berlin 1931. F. Held, *Augustins Enarrationes in Psalmos als exegestische Vorlage fuer Luthers erste Psalmenvorlesung (Theol. Studien und Kritiken, Lutherana VI)*, 1930. Especially noteworthy is: Adolf Hamel, *Der junge Luther und Augustin. Ihre Bezichungen in der Rechtfertigungslehre nach Luthers ersten Vorlesungen 1509-1518 untersucht. 1. Teil: der Sentantiar von 1509-10 und Exeget der Psalmen von 1513-15 in seinem Verhaeltnis zu Augustin, Guetersloh*, 1934. Here is found a careful bibliography (p. XII-XVI). Our own bibliographical notes are purposely limited to the subject of this chapter: Luther and the Bible. H. Wendorf, *Der Durchbruch der neuen Erkenntnis Luthers im Lichte der handschrifslichen Ueberlieferung (Historishche Vierteljahrsschrift)*, Dresden 1933, was not available. — 54. Joh. Ficker, *Anfaenge reformatorischer Bibelauslegung. 1. Bd. Luthers Vorlesung ueber d. Roemerbrief; 2 Teile*, Leipzig 1908. —H. v. Schubert, *Luthers Vorlesung ueber d. Galaterbrief 1516-17*, Heidelberg 1918.—E. Hirsch u. H. Rückert, *Luthers Vorlesung ueber d. Hebraeerbrief*, Berlin 1929; another edition by Joh. Ficker (Leipzig 1929). Ed. Ellwein edited a German translation of Luther on Romans (Muenchen 1927); Luther's lectures on Hebrews were translated by E. Vogelsang (Berlin 1930), and by G. Helbig (Leipzig 1930). The commentary on Galatians of 1519 is found in W. Ed. II, 443ff; in German translation in *Calwer Lutherauswahl, Bd. 5*, 1932.

Luther's eyes are opened to the heart of Scripture, pp. 101-104. — 55. Muther, *Die Wittenberger Universitaets- u. Fakultaetsstatuten v. 1508*, Halle 1867, p. 14, chap. 28. Boehmer (*Luthers erste Vorlesung*, Leipzig 1924, p. 3) thinks that Luther began his lectures the following Monday, that is, Oct. 25 and believes that his first lectures were on Genesis. He bases this on a remark in Luther's writing: *Von Konziliis und Kirchen* (1539), W. Ed. 50, 519, 26. If so, then Luther's lectures did not extend any farther than the sources on which they were based (Ambrose, Augustine), that is, not beyond the Fall. As early as Feb. 1513 he decided to prepare lectures on the Psalms. At any rate, no traces of lectures on Genesis from this period have come down to us. Compare J. Ficker, *Luthers erste Vorlesung-welche? (Th. St. u. Kr. Lutherana*

V), 1928. — 56. Hans Schmidt (*Luther u. das Buch d. Psalmen*, Tuebingen 1933, p. 6) thinks Luther was drawn to the Psalms since, according to his letter to Eobanus Hess (Enders II, 255ff), he preferred poetry to prose. He also felt that, although much work had been devoted to the interpretation of the Psalms, much more was necessary to set forth their real meaning clearly, as he states with delicate humor in his opening lecture (W. Ed. III, 14, 4-6; 9-12). The simplest explanation probably still is that Luther, through daily use of the Psalms, as prescribed in the Breviary, was better acquainted with them than he was with other parts of the Bible, and felt that an intensive study of the Psalms would afford both himself as well as his hearers most spiritual gain. He did not dare, as yet, to take up Romans—the importance of which he appreciated deeply—on account of the dreaded term *iustitia Dei.* — 57. Regarding Faber Stapulensis see Maury's essay Haucks R.E. Bd. 5, 714ff. Luther's marginal notes to the *Psalterium Quincuplex* are found in W. Ed. 4, 466-526; they must, however, be used with great caution, since they date, in part, from the time before his lectures on the Psalms (when he prepared a summary of the contents for the printed edition of the Psalms), in part, from the time when he wrote the glosses, in part from the time when he wrote the scholia, and in part, even from a later time. — 58. The *Wolfenbuettler Psalter* (the glosses) and the *Dresdener Psalter* (the scholia) were published in vol. 3 and 4 of the W. Ed. in 1885 by G. Kawerau. This edition is very inadequate, since the glosses and scholia appear side by side as if they had been written at the same time, while, in fact, the scholia were written months later; and since the glosses preceding his *Turmerlebnis* belong to a time when he still held the Catholic point of view, while the scholia, following that experience, represent his new, evangelical conception. This edition does not indicate the *Collecta* that is, Luther's quotations from older commentators, with sufficient clearness. It includes, without comment, sections from a later period that represent a far different point of view (f. i. the scholia on Ps. 1 and 4 were written in the fall of 1516; in those on Ps. 70 and 71 the handwriting presents problems which Kawerau overlooked completely). Cf. H. Boehmer, *Luthers erste Vorlesung*, 1924; E. Vogelsang, *Die Anfaenge v. Luthers Christologie nach d. ersten Psalmvorlesung*, Berlin 1929. Vogelsang intends to revise the *Dictata super psalterium* for the W. Ed. — 59. Regarding these dates see Boehmer, *Luthers erste Vorlesung*, p. 5. — 60. That the glosses were written about 30 Psalms ahead of the scholia was shown by Boehmer from the fact that in his scholia to Ps. 64, Luther refers to his gloss on Ps. 92 (W. Ed. III, 368. 17). Only in this way can the fact be explained that the glosses often betray the Catholic point of view while the scholia which were written after Luther's *Turmerlebnis*, are evangelical. — 61. In his sermon of May 21, 1537 (W. Ed. 45, 86, 17) he said: *Iterum acquisivimus lucem. Sed ego, cum Doctor fierem, nescivi.* — 62. W. Ed. I, 557f. I appreciate that Scheel II, pp. 635f. doubts that Luther is here speaking of himself, but his arguments are hardly convincing. Cf. also Luther's statement: "When the conscience accuses, the devil assails, and the wrath of God threatens, the poor soul does nothing but tremble before the sentence of doom which it expects, like death, at any moment, according to the threat of Moses: 'The Lord will give thee a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and pining of soul; and thy life shall hang in doubt before thee, and thou shalt fear night and day, and shalt have no assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, would it were even! and at even thou shalt say, Would it were morning! for the fear of thy heart which thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see." — 63. *Tischreden* II, 1490: *Ego semel conquerebar de sublimitate praedestinationis Staupitio meo. Respondit mihi: In vulneribus Christi intelligitur praedestinatio et invenitur, non alibi, quia scriptum est: Hunc audite.* The Father is too exalted. *Sed dixit Pater: Ego dabo viam veniendi ad me, nempe Christium. Ite, credite,* cling to the Christ, then you will learn *quis sim, suo tempore.* This is what we fail to do, *ideo Deus est nobis incomprehensibilis, incogitabilis;* we can not understand Him, we can not lay hold on Him *extra Christum. Vultis nunc scire, quare multi damnentur? Ideo, quia non audiunt, quid Christus dicat et docet de Patre.* And in this Christ you shall find who I am and what I desire of you; otherwise you shall not find it, neither in heaven nor on earth."—II, 1820: *Doctor Staupitius mihi dixit:* If one wished to discuss predestination, it would be better if he did not think of it at all, but started out *a vulneribus Christi,* and kept Christ in mind; then he will have already mastered predestination, *quia Deus praevidit Filium suum passurum propter peccatores. Qui credit hoc,* he shall be predestined for salvation; *qui non credit,* he shall not be predestined for salvation. *Sed sic cogitare debes: Deus dedit tibi Filium suum, dedit baptismum, sacramentum altaris, dedit tibi uxorem, liberos etc., sol lucet tibi. Non mentitur. Quando* *sic venio in beneficia Christi et immoror in illis, tunc manet praedestinatio; si non immoror*, then it is lost." How emphatically Luther himself later emphasized that instead of permitting the thought of predestination and the *absconditus deus* to frighten us, we should cling to the *revelatus deus* as He is made manifest to us in Christ, is shown by a number of other table talks, f. i. I, 141. 1017; II, 2631. 2654; IV, 5070; V, 5296. 5658a. 5858; VI, 6539. — 64. *Tischreden* I, 173. 526: II, 1820; Luther's letter to Staupitz W. Ed. *Briefe* III, 659. — 65. *Tischreden* V, 5553: *Non me pudet evangelii etc., in eo revelatur iustitia Dei. Hoc semper haerebat mihi in mente. Non poteram aliter intelligere hoc verbum, ubicumque stabat in scriptura: Iustitia Dei, quam qua ipse esset iustus et iudicaret iuste etc. Hocque aliquando ardentius mecum urgebam, stabam et pulsabam, si forte aliquis esset, qui aperiret, et nemo erat, qui aperiret. Nihil intellexi, quid sibi vellet, donec pergens legebam: Iustus ex fide sua vivet. Quae sententia est expositio illius iustitiae Dei. Cum hoc invenissem, ita delectabar, in tanta laetitia, ut nihil supra. Et sic aperta mihi erat via, ubi legebam in Psalmis: In iustitia tua libera me! scilicet: in misericordia tua libera me! Ante cohorrescebam et oderam psalmos et scripturam, ubi erat iustitia Dei, scilicet qua ipse esset iustus et iudicaret secundum peccata nostra, non quae nos acceptaret, iustos faceret. Omnis scriptura sicut murus stabat, donec intellexi legens: Iustus ex fide vivet. Ex hoc didici iustitiam Dei esse fidem in misericordiam Dei, qua ipse nos iustificaret data sua gratia.* — 66. *Tischreden* V, 5247: "When first I read and sang the Psalm: *In iustitia tua libera me!* I was always frightened, and hated these words: *iustitia Dei, iudicium Dei, opus Dei,* for I believed *iustitia Dei* meant His stern judgment. Was he then to save me according to His stern judgment? Then I would be lost for ever. But *misericordia Dei, adiutorium Dei,* these words I like better. Thank God, when I understood the matter, and learned that *iustitia Dei* means *Iustitia qua nos iustificat per donatam iustitiam in Christo Jesu,* I also understood the *grammatica,* and the Psalter came to be more to my taste." — 67. *Tischreden* IV, 4007: "*Illud vocabulum iustitia Dei* was like a thunderclap in my heart, *nam quando in papatu legerem: In iustitia tua libera me, item, In veritate tua, mox putabam illam iustitiam vindicantem, furorem scilicet divinae irae.* I hated Paul from the bottom of my heart, *ubi legebam, 'revelatur iustitia Dei per evangelium.' Sed postea cum consequentia viderem, scilicet sicut scriptum est: 'Iustus ex fide sua vivet' et* *insuper Augustinum consularem,* I became happy. *Ubi iustitiam Dei misericordiam iustos reputantem cognovi, ibi afflicto remedium contigit.*" — 68. Luther later makes use of this term *(iustitia passiva)* in his retrospect of 1545 (cf. below); it is first found in his writings in *De servo arbitrio* (W. Ed. 18, 768f.), but, since he sometimes uses the terms *iudicium* and *iustitia* promiscuously, its use has already been prepared by the *iudicium passivum* in the scholia to Ps. 1 (W. Ed. III, 24.). — 69. "Is it not enough that such miserable sinners, who by the curse of their inherited sinfulness are doomed to eternal damnation, should according to the law of the Old Testament be tortured by every imaginable form of punishment? Is God still more increasing their misery by again proclaiming nothing but His anger and punitive justice through the Gospel of the new covenant?" (Retrospect of 1545, cf. below). — 70. "I actually hated this righteous God who punishes sin." (Retrospect of 1545). — 71. Preface to the first volume of the Latin edition of his works, W. Ed. 54, 179-187. Cf. E. Stracke, *Luthers grosses Selbstzeugnis 1545* (Leipzig 1926). Stracke discusses in detail the question whether Luther had in mind only the year 1519 (which would indicate a lapse of memory), and proves that Luther's statement definitely points to a time before Easter 1515. In these last words Luther refers to his *Operationes in Psalmos,* which he wrote from 1519 to 1521. They offer an exposition of the first 21 Psalms (W. Ed. 5, 19, 673). In his Retrospect he does not specifically refer to his lectures on the Psalms (1513-16) which preceded those on Romans (1515-16); but by calling his lectures of 1519-21 the second series, he shows that he has not forgotten those of 1513-16. Yes, by the statement that he did not begin to lecture on Romans until the Holy Spirit had revealed to him the right understanding of the righteousness of God, he intimates, or at least leaves room for the conjecture, that this understanding came to him during his first course of lectures on the Psalms. — 72. In Schubert's edition, p. 42: *Mira et nova definitio iustitiae, cum usitate sic describatur: 'Iustitia est virtus reddens unicuique quod suum est.' His vero dicit: Iustitia est fides Jesu Christi.* — 73. In his commentary of 1519 he wrote on 2:21 (W. Ed. 2, 503): *Vide ergo novam iustitiam novamque iustitiae definitionem. Usitate enim dicitur 'iustitia virtus est reddens unicuique quod suum est.' Hic dicitur 'iustitia est fides Jesu Christi seu virtus, qua creditur in Jesum Christum, ut Romanos X.'* — 74. In the scholia to Ps. 5 written 1516 when upon instruction (from the elector?) he began to revise his lectures of 1513 for publication (a plan which was never realized), he said (W. Ed. III, 31): *Non erit nec oritur in nobis iustitia Dei, nisi prius omnino cadat iustitia et pereat iustitia nostra. Nec resurgimus nisi prius ceciderimus male stantes. Sic universaliter Esse, sanctitas, veritas, bonitas, vita Dei etc. non sunt in nobis, nisi primum nos nihil, prophani, mendaces, mali, mortui fiamus coram Deo. Alioquin irrideretur iustitia Dei, et frustra Christus mortuus esset. Et haec est disputatio profundissimi theologi Pauli Apostoli nostris hodie theologis, an speculative nescio, practice scio quod ignotissima. Sic enim ipse optat inveniri in Christo non habens iustitiam suam* (Phil. 3:9).—In his *Die iustitia Dei in d. vorlutherischen Bibelauslegung d. Abenlandes* (1921), Holl proved that Luther's conception of *iustitia Dei* was known in medieval times. To this we add that while it may have been known *speculative* (without Luther's knowledge), it certainly was not known *practice.* Luther rediscovered this truth independent of his medieval antecedents, as well as of Augustine, and developed it into a principle which utterly reformed all theology and the whole religious life. — 75. Erich Vogelsang, *Die Anfaenge von Luthers Christologie nach d. ersten Psalmvorlesung,* Berlin 1929. — 76. The *Tischrede* III, 3232 (from June 9 to July 12, 1532) proves this beyond a doubt. We have it in three versions: 1. *Haec vocabula Iustus et Iustitia in papatu fulmen mihi erant in conscientia et ad solum auditum terrebant me, sed cum semel in hac turri (in qua secretus locus erat monachorum) specularer de istis vocabulis: Iustus ex fide vivit, et: Iustitia Dei etc., obiter veniebat in mentem: Si vivere debemus iusti fide per iustitiam et illa iustitia Dei est ad salutem omni credenti, ergo ex fide est iustitia et ex iustitia vita. Et erigebatur mihi conscientia mea et animus meus, et certus reddebar iustitiam Dei esse, quae nos iustificaret et salvaret. Ac statim fiebant mihi haec verba dulcia et iucunda verba.* The Holy Spirit taught me this art in this tower.—2. *Haec vocabula Iustus et Iustitia Dei erant mihi fulmen in conscientia. Mox reddebar pavidus auditor: Iustus, ergo punit. Sed cum semel in hac turri speculabar de istis vocabulis: Iustus ex fide vivit, iustitia Dei mox cogitaveram: Si vivere debemus iusti ex fide et iustitia Dei debet esse ad salutem omni credenti, mox erigebatur mihi animus: Ergo iustitia Dei est, quae nos iustificat et salvat. Et facta sunt mihi haec verba iucundiora.* The Holy Spirit taught me this art in this cloaca (this can hardly be the correct rendition of "cl" which appears in the manuscript. It must stand for "tower"). 3. *Haec verba Iustus et Iustitia Dei erant mihi fulmen in conscientia, quibus auditis expavescebam: Si Deus est iustus, ergo puniet. Sed Dei gratia cum semel in hac turri et hypocausto specularer de istis vocabulis: Iustus ex fide vivit, et: Iustitia Dei, mox cogitabam: Si vivere debemus iusti ex fide et iustitia Dei debet esse ad salutem omni credenti, non erit meritum nostrum, sed misericordia Dei. Itaque erigebatur animus meus. Nam iustitia Dei est, qua nos iustificamur et salvamur per Christum. Et illa verba facta sunt mihi iucundiora.* The Holy Spirit has enlightened me on this word of God in this tower."—In Luther's day *hypocaustum* was the term used to designate a room that could be heated. Luther, in a letter dated Nov. 11, 1527, to Jonas (Enders 6, 117), calls his study a *hypocaustum.* — 77. For there *iustitia* Dei is explained thus: *quia iustus es Iudex, quia secundum iustitiam hominum putant me iuste crucifixum.* — 78. W. Ed. III, 174. — 79. III, 283. — 80. III, 453. — 81. III, 457f. — 82. III, 465f. — 83. III, 458 and 461. We quote these most important words in the original, as they were collected by Vogelsang who made a careful study of the manuscripts, the peculiarities of which Kawerau did not recognize (*Anfaenge v. Luth. Christologie etc.* p. 50); but in brackets we append where these words are found in the W. Ed. III: *Iustitia Dei est tota haec: scilicet sese in profundum humiliare . . . Et proprie Christum hic exprimit. Qui est potentia Dei et iustitia Dei per maximam et profundissimam humilitatem.* (III, 458, 4-7). *Iudicium Dei tropologicum. Et hoc frequentissimum assumitur in Scripturis. Hoc est quo Deus condemnat et condemnare facit quicquid ex nobis habemus, totum veterem hominem cum actibus suis* [over this is written: *etiam iustitias nostras Isaie 64*]. *Et est proprie humilitas immo humiliatio . . . Hos enim vocatur Iudicium Dei: Sicut Iustitia vel virtus vel sapientia Dei: id est quo nos sapientes, fortes, iusti et humiles vel iudicati sumus* (III, 465, 1 ff.; 33ff.).—*Eodem modo et Iustitia Dei tropologice est fides Christi Ro. 1: "Revelatur enim Iustitia Dei' etc. Et ita est frequentissimus usus in Scripturis . . . Corollarium: Suavissimae sunt istae orationes in psalmis* (III, 466, 26ff.).—*Nunc igitur mirum, quomodo gratia seu lex gratiae (quod idem est) sit Iudicium et Iustitia. Hoc videndum: Sine dubio ideo quia iudicet et iustificet credentem ei . . . per Iudicium, id est evangelium et gratiam suam in suis operatur. Et sic fit Iustitia . . . Et isto modo frequentissime accipitur in Scripturis. Sic Iustitia Tropo-*

logice est fides Christi. Ro. 1: 'Iustitia Dei revelatur in eo' etc. . . . Et hoc iudicium est in cruce Christi nobis ostensum, (III, 462, 23ff. 36ff.; 463, 17).—*Evangelium impletum est Iduicium et iustitia et opus Dei, via Dei etc., sicut ad literam Christus haec omnia est in persona sua* (III, 463, 26ff.). *Unde qui apostolum et alias scripturas vult sapide intelligere, oportet ista omnia tropologice intelligere: Veritas, sapientia, virtus, salus, Iustitia, scilicet, qua nos facit fortes, salvos, Iustos, sapientes etc. Sic opera Dei, viae Dei: quae omnia Christus est literaliter. Et fides eius moraliter haec omnia. Iudicium et Iustitia in veteris legis Scripturis rarissime* [here *Anagogice* is deleted] *ad literam de futuro accipitur, sed frequentissime ac vere semper de tropologico et morali et allegorico. Cuius ratio est, quia vetus lex proprie solum primum adventum Christi prophetavit: in quo Christus in Iudicio benigno et salutari regnat, quia adventus gratiae et benignitatis est. Unde Apostolus Ro. 3. 'Iustitia Dei . . . per fidem Ihesu Christi' . . .* (III 458, 8ff and 461 20ff. In the manuscript the latter passage follows immediately after 458, 11). — 84. H. Boehmer (*Luther im Licht d. neueren Forschung,* 1. Aufl. 1906), O. Ritschl (*Dogmengeschichte d. Protestantismus* II, 1, 1912) and R. Seeberg (*Lehrbuch d. Dogmengeschichte* IV, 18ff.) hold it was 1508-1509 that Luther came to a full realization of saving truth. Scheel's arguments persuaded Boehmer to change his opinion in 1914 (*Luther im Licht* etc, 3*rd* ed.) and to accept the time from the fall of 1512 to the summer of 1513 as the date of this experience. Holl (Luther, 1922) also dates it after 1511 (1511-13). Then Hirsch (*Initium theologiae Lutheri, Festgabe fuer J. Kaftan,* 1920) and Boehmer connected this experience with his lectures on the Psalms, the latter (*Luthers erste Vorlesung,* 1924), as indicated above, selecting April or May 1513 as the probable time when it took place. Vogelsang (1919), in his proof that this experience coincides with Luther's lectures on Ps. 71 and 72, selects the fall of 1514, with which Scheel, in the latest revision of his work on Luther (1930), in the main, agrees. Alfred Kurz (*Die Heilsgewissheit bei Luther. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte u. systematische Darstellung,* Guetersloh 1933) believes that Luther saw the light in 1516, but this opinion can hardly be substantiated.

Luther attributes authority only to the original text of Scripture, pp. 114-124. — 85. W. Ed. 9. 32, 15ff. 26; 63, 28f; 67, 30f. — 86. This information is based on Oldenkop's *Chronik,* p. 31, a book full of unfounded statements.. — 87. W. Ed. *Briefe* II, 501. —

88. K. A. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in d. Fruehzeit.* Leipzig 1911, p. 69. — 89. Cf. esp. III, 30, 10; III, 35, 25; 41, 3; 134, 23; 198, 36; 219, 24; 234, pp. 25ff, 235, 31; 252, pp. 28ff; IV, 340, 5; 168, 32; 157, 31; 351, 32; 423, 21 etc.—For further details see Meissinger, pp. 61-71. — 90. Meissinger, pp. 71ff. — 91. W. Ed. III, 41. The title reads: *Joannis Reuchlin Phorcensis il. doctoris in septem psalmos poenitentiales hebraicos interpretatio de verbo ad verbum et super eisdem commentarioli sui, ad discendum linguam hebraicam ex rudimentis. Tubingae apud Thomam Anshelmum Badensem M. D. XII.* — 92. Koestlin, *Martin Luther,* I, 203. 274. 276. 444. — 93. Theodor Pahl, *Quellenstudien z. Luthers Psalmverdeutschung,* Weimar 1931. Cf. also Moritz Freier, *Luthers Busspsalmen u. Psalter, kritische Untersuchung nach juedischen u lateinischen Quellen (Beitr. z. Wissenschaft v. Alten Testament),* Leipzig 1918. Freier wanted to prove Luther's direct access to Jewish commentaries, but this attempt can hardly be called a success. Pahl proved that Luther since 1522 was acquainted with the Latin translation of the Psalms by Felix Pratensis based upon the Hebrew text with which he being a Jewish convert was very well acquainted. But he overlooked the fact that this edition of 1522 was not the first print of this translation. Vollmer (*Die Psalmenverdeutschung,* Potsdam 1933, p. 57) found an edition printed in Venice as early as 1515 and made it very probable that this edition was used by Luther in the preparation of his Penitential Psalms. — 94. W. Ed. *Briefe,* I, 35. — 95. *Briefe,* I, 38. — 96. Luther's preface deserves to be quoted in full: "To all dear members of the body of Christ who shall read this booklet, grace and peace from God. In order that no one might be surprised, dear friends of Christ, at the text of these seven Psalms, permit me to say that in a number of verses, for the sake of clearness, I used, not the common version, but the translation according to St. Jerome. The translation of Doctor Johannes Reuchlin in his Hebrew Septene was also consulted. Although the glosses and comments to some may seem new or contrary to Scriptures, it did not seem proper to me to regard the Christian readers as so uninformed, or to imagine that Christ were too far from them to be able to tell them how they are to judge all these things for themselves. My presumption, however, in expounding the Psalms, and that in German, I freely submit to the opinion and judgment of every reader; for not to me, nor to you, but to God alone be praise and glory without end, Amen." — 97. Cf. J. Ficker, *Hebraeischer*

Handpsalter Luthers (Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akademie), 1919. — 98. Concerning the dates, see H. v. Schubert and K. Meissinger, *Zu Luthers Vorlesuugstaetigkeit (Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akademie)* 1920, p. 13 and Luther's dedication of the first part of his *Operationes* to the Elector Fredrick, W. Ed. 5, 19ff. — 99. W. Ed. 15, 1422. — 100. W. Ed. *Briefe* III, 337. 354. 101. J. Kessler's *Sabbata*, St. Gallen 1902, pp. 76ff. — 102. G. Bauch, *Neues Saechsisches Archiv* 18, 328ff; J. Ficker, *Luthers Roemerbriefvorlesung* 1908, pp. LXIII ff. Melanchthon's Greek grammar of 1518 was not the first one published in Germany, as erroneously stated in the text. His teacher, George Simler at Tuebingen, had published 1512 *Isagogicon sive Introductorium in literas Graecas* by which he became the pioneer for the study of Greek in Germany, and besides this a few other grammars had appeared before 1518. Compare G. Bauch, *Die ersten in Deutschland gedruckten Lehr- und Lesebücher der griechischen Sprache* (*Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1895, pp. 354-409); G. Bauch, *Die Anfänge des Studiums der griechischen Sprache und Literatur in Norddeutschland* (*Mitteilungen* 6, 1896). Reliable information is given by O. Kluge in *Die griechischen Studien in Renaissance und Humanismus* (*Zeitschrift f. Geschichte der Erziehung u. d. Unterrichts*, 1934, pp. 1-54). In Wittenberg Greek letters were used for the first time when Marschalk published 1503 his first promotion address. Compare also O. Kluge *Die hebraeische Sprachwissenschaft im Zeitalter des Humanismus* (Z. G. I. D. 1932-1933). — 103. W. Ed. *Briefe* I, 89, 194, 26; 196, 41; III, 50, 35. Corp. Ref. II, 864. Walther, p. 44, writes: "Unfortunately a jest which Luther made in a letter led to wrong conclusions concerning his knowledge of Greek. In Feb. 1518 he wrote to his friend Lang: "I do not know how to make these Greek letters (*Nescio figuras literarum pingere*, W. Ed. *Briefe*, I, 148, 23). But in the same letter he wrote not less than 14 Greek words. His remark then, can only be taken as a jest that Lang was sure to understand. Perhaps Lang, who had been his first instructor in Greek, had at one time criticised the way Luther wrote the Greek letters. In consulting with his old teacher in Greek regarding the difference between two Greek words (ἀνάθεμα and ἀνάθημα), and adding his own opinion, he states that he 'dare not rely on his own judgment' since, in Lang's opinion, he 'can not even write the Greek characters correctly.' In reality therefore, Luther means to say that in the meanwhile he has made sufficient progress in his mastery of Greek to form an opinion of his own in a case where the meaning is in doubt." So concludes Walther. But the conclusion is hardly convincing. Dr. Hoppe in the St. Louis Ed. (*Briefe* I, 89) suggested the reading "figere" in place of "pingere"; thus translating: "I can not fix the shape of the letters," which, it is true, would fit into the connection. But O. Clemen (*Briefe* I, 149) calls attention to the fact that *figuras literarum pingere* is a common phrase which has its parallel in *Graece pingere* and adds: "In Luther's letter the Greek words evidently were transliterated with Latin letters. In his letter to Spalatin as late as May 18, 1518 we find δὶς διὰ πασῶν written *Dis Diapason.* In his letters to Spalatin dated Jan. 14, 19, 20, 24, 1519, Luther finally shows that he is able to write Greek." Had it been kept in mind that it was not unusual to transliterate Greek with Latin letters, no one would have thought of infering from this passage that Luther's knowledge of Greek, at that time, was very meager, nor would historians have felt called upon to change the reading or to explain away imaginary difficulties with exegetical tricks. Besides the Greek words, written with Greek letters in his marginal notes (W. Ed. 9, 16, 5 and 9, 24, 9), for which we can fix no dates, the εἰς σπέϱμα in his lectures on Romans (Ficker I, 84, 22) is probably the earliest word written by Luther in Greek which has come down to us (Meissinger 79). But even in 1518 Luther was not yet familiar enough with the Greek characters to make use of them with ease in a letter dashed off in haste. — 104. Meissinger, p. 76. — 105. R.E. III, 4. — 106. This text, as well as the two following ones on Galatians and Hebrews, were in their outward arrangement like that on the Psalms. Here two Luther gave his students a separate edition of the text in Latin printed with wide spaces between the lines and broad margins; he also divided his explanations into glosses and scholia. Luther's original manuscript is extant, preserved in Berlin. J. Ficker published it in 1908; Ed. Ellwein translated the scholia in 1927 (Kaiser, Muenchen) into German, adding the most important marginal glosses in footnotes. A selection from the scholia—the first to be translated into English—is contained in Part Two. While this lecture on Romans, separated into glosses and scholia, lacks unity; while it fails to treat the text with uniform thoroughness, passes over sections, important according to our conceptions, and treats others, of less importance, in detail, it nevertheless is superior to Luther's lectures on the Psalms. In the introduction to this edition (LXIXf.) Ficker says: "The lectures on Romans mark a turning point in Luther's experience. Not that they record his first break with the scholastic doctrines of salvation (that had already happened in his "Turmerlebnis" and had found expression in his lectures on the Psalms). They show from the outset, even before scholasticism is mentioned, that the break with scholastic theology has already taken place. They put this beyond doubt when they attack scholasticism directly, and boldly question the truth of its definitions (21. 24). At a single stroke they cut clean through, and lay bare as irreconcilable opposites, the *iustitia* of the lawyers and philosophers based on Aristotle, and the *iustitia Dei,* two kinds of righteousness that scholastic theology had always regarded and treated as one. With clear distinctions and exact definitions, they show the fundamental difference between faith and knowledge, realities that scholasticism commonly treated as identical. Here Luther, the nominalistically trained thinker turns on scholasticism, directs its own weapons against it, continues the sharp line of cleavage he had drawn between opposing principles on into the realm of daily living, and so turns nominalism, especially Ockhamism against itself, by laying bare the contradictions it contains in its theory of the way of salvation. Not only does Luther, from the beginning, make his position clear over against scholasticism; he takes issue with its fallacies throughout these lectures. While he refrains from mentioning names, he is outspoken in his opposition to statements, definitions, and generally accepted formulas which in substance represent its main tenets. Here he was conscious of dealing with matters of greatest importance and deepest concern. Again and again he takes up the cudgel, especially against the heresy of man's freedom of will and of his natural power to do that which is good (Esp. 23ff; 108ff; 111. 114. 167. 185. 187. 199. 244, 283, 287), thus indicating what had most persistently tortured his own soul. Already at the beginning his language is sharp and outspoken enough, but it becomes sharper and sharper as he goes on, and his arguments become more and more aggressive, until he lays bare the very root of his opponents' contentions and (pp. 322f.) openly identifies them with those of the Pelagians. The Letter to the Romans and Luther's commentary in which he traces Paul's thoughts to their last conclusions, broke the power of scholasticism in Wittenberg." Compared with what before and since has been written on Romans Luther's commentary stands supreme. No one before him had fathomed Paul's meaning so deeply, and all those who have written anything of value on Romans since Luther, stand on his shoulders. K. Holl (*Luther*, 1923 p. 550): "Besides his commentary on Galations of 1519, this exposition most plainly bears the marks of the genius, and is—I realize what I am saying—an accomplishment which to this day has not been surpassed." — 107. Joh. Faber Stapulensis, *Epistolae Pauli Apostoli*, Paris 1512; 2nd Ed. Paris 1515. — 108. The edition of the New Testament, which had been planned as a part of the Complutensian Polyglott by Cardinal Ximenes in Spain (d. 1517) was prepared before (1515), and was also printed with greater care; it even offered a better text than that of Erasmus (F. Delitzsch, *Studien z. Entstehungsgesch. d. Polyglottenbibel d. Kardinal Ximenes*, Leipzig 1871), but was not published until the pope approved it in 1520. In consequence, Erasmus' edition was the first to be published and, in spite of its shortcomings, came into popular use. In the decade following its first appearance it ran through 30 editions. — 109. Cf. the exposition on νοῦς (2,247, 6) φϱονεῖν (7, 114, 18); 2, 207, 1; 260, 7 ff.) ταπεινοφϱοσύνη (2, 293, 24), ἀσέβεια (2, 263, 3) etc. — We mention only a few passages: On Galatians, Schubert's edition: 4, 17; 8, 24; 13, 20; 15, 28; 20, 37; 23, 16; 28, 26; 33, 21; 39, 36; 41, 8. 25 etc. In the commentary on Hebrews, see his expositions of 3:10; 7:13, also his explanation of κεφάλαιον in Hebr. 8:1, Hirsch-Rueckert, Scholia 206, 14). — 111. *Adnotationes in latinam Novi Testamenti interpretationem, edidit Erasmus*, Paris 1505. — 112. *Istae differentiae in Hebraeo constantissime servantur, sed in nostra translatione omnia sunt omnia et plane confusissima* (Ficker 2, 119, 31f. — 113. At times he finds his exegesis *dignissime, pulchre* and writes in 1519: *Quando iam graecatur totus orbis Christianus et Erasmi Theologicissimi annotationes omnium manibus teruntur, non est necesse indicare, quid apostolus graece significet nisi iis, quibus non Erasmus, sed ego scribo* (W. Ed. II, 452, 3ff.). — 114. See Luther's letter to Spalatin dated Oct. 19, 1516: *Officium itaque et amici et Christiani facias precor et Erasmum de iis certum face. Cuius autoritatem sicut spero et cupio futuram celeberrimam, ita metuo, ne per eandem multi sibi accipiant patrocinium defendendae illius literalis, id est mortuae intelligentiae, qua plenus est Lyranus commentarius et ferme omnes post Augustinum. Nam et Stapulensi, viro alioquin (bone Deus) quam spirituali et syncerissimo, haec intelligentia deest in interpretando divinas literas, quae tamen plenissime adest in pro-*

pria vita agendo et aliena exhortando (I, 70, 33ff.); see also Luther's letter to Lang in Erfurt, dated Mar. 1, 1517 (I, 90, 24). — 115. W. Ed. 2, 39, 1. — 116. W. Ed. 1, 384, 32. — 117. Letter to Dungersheim I, 567, 31. — 118. W. Ed. 2, 288, 32ff; 2, 309, 34. — 119. *Disputatio Eccii et Lutheri 1519*, W. Ed. 2, 288, 32ff.; 2, 309, 34; 2, 382, 21: *Salvis reverentiis patrum praefero ego auctoritatem scripturae.* — 120. *Contra malignum J. Eccii iudicium defensio*, W. Ed. 2, 626, 34; "I have learned to ascribe this honor (of inerrancy) solely to those books that are called canonical. I firmly believe that none of these authors have erred. All other writers, no matter by what great sanctity or doctrine they have distinguished themselves, I read in this manner: I do not accept what they say merely because they themselves believe it to be true, but only in so far as they are able to convince me with the testimony of the canonical books, or by reasonable proof *(canonicorum librorum autoritate vel probabili ratione.*" Also in the *Disputatio Eccii* Luther calls the Holy Scriptures the infallible Word of God *(verbum Dei infallibile)* W. Ed. 2, 288. These statements refer to their doctrinal contents. Compare O. Undritz, *Die Entwicklung des Schriftprinzips bei Luther in den Anfangsjahven der Reformation (Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift)* 1897; H. Preuss, *Die Entwicklung des Schrifsprinzips bei Luther bis zur Leipziger Disputation*, Leipzig 1901; O. Scheel, *Luthers Stellung zur Heil. Schrift*, Tuebingen 1902; K. Thimme, *Luthers Stellung zur H. Schrift*, 1903; K. F. Noesgen, *Die luth, Lehre von der Inspiration nach ihrer geschichtlichen Gestalt, ihrer Eigentuemlichkeit und Haltbarkeit*, 1909; M. Reu, *Luther und die Freiheit des Denkens (Kirchliche Zeitschrift)*, 1921. E. Körner, *Luther und die Schrift*, Chicago 1927; P. Schempp, *Luthers Stellung zur H. Schrift*, Muenchen 1928; R. Seeberg, *Die Lehre Luthers* (*Dogmengeschichte* IV, 1), *Leipzig* 1933. Concerning Luther's opinion of the non-doctrinal contents of Scriptures, much untenable opinions have been voiced. What W. Walther, *Das Erbe d. Reformation im Kampf d. Gegenwart, Heft*, 1 (Leipzig 1905; new edition 1917: *Die normale Stellung zur Heiligen Schrift)* and F. Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik I*, pp. 346 ff. (St. Louis 1924) have said, is substantially correct. — 121. W. Ed. 5, 452, 7. — 122. Also in *Assertio omnium articulorum* of 1520: *Scire volo, me prorsus nullius quantumlibet sancti Petri autoritate cogi velle, nisi quatenus iudicio divinae scripturae fuerit probatus.* — 123. In the Latin letter to the Emperor: *Ego vero . . . indicavi cum reverentia et submissione multa, eum esse mihi* *animum, quod, cum libellos meos claris et apertis scripturis munissem, mihi non esse integrum neque aequum neque ullo modo committendum, ut verbum dei negarem et libellos meos eo pacto revocarem . . . Quando conscientia mea literis divinis, quas adduxi in libellis meis, conclusa esset, nullo modo possem citra meliorem eruditionem quicquam revocare . . . Ego vero qui semper et omnibus studiis humiliter paratus fui omnia facere et pati, quae mihi essent possibilia, hoc unum non potui obtinere Christianissimum plane votum, ut verbum dei mihi liberum et illigatum maneret* (*Briefe* II, 307, 18ff. 33ff; 41ff. English, by Preserved Smith, *Luther's Correspondence*, I, 547-551). In the German letter to the electors: "Since my books are supported by the plain witness of the Word of God, it seemed to me neither right nor just that I should deny God's Word and thus revoke my books . . . as my conscience is bound by the Holy Scriptures on which my books are based, I am by no means able to recant without better instruction from the Scriptures . . . For God the searcher of hearts is my witness that I am most ready to submit and to obey his Imperial Majesty either in life or in death, to glory or to shame, for gain or for loss. As I have often offered myself, so I do now, excepting nothing save the Word of God, in which alone (as Christ teaches in Matthew 4) man has eternal life and in which even the angels find their joy. The Word of God is above all things, and must remain free and unbound over all, as St. Paul teaches. No man has the right to give up or to expose it to danger, no matter how great, how learned and how holy he may be. Therefore does St. Paul in Galatians I., rightly twice exclaim with emphasis: 'Even though an angel from heaven, or we ourselves should teach you another gospel, let it be accursed,' and David in the Psalter says: 'Put not your trust in princes, in the sons of men in whom there is no salvation.' In temporal things which do not concern the Word of God and eternal values, we ought to trust one another . . ., but in His Word and eternal things God can not, does not suffer one to risk trusting any one or any number of others. His will is that we shall trust Him only; for He alone has and unto Him shall be the honor and glory of the truth; He is the truth itself." (*Briefe* II, 315f.).—For further evidence of Luther's view of the Scriptures and a refutation of that interpretation of his confession at Worms which has been made fashionable by liberal theologians, see my essay, *Luther und die Freiheit des Denkens* (*Kirchl. Zeitschrift* 1921, p. 193-211), and the two following quotations from Luther. In his

Deutsche Antwort auf Koenig Heinrich von Englands Buch (1522) Luther wrote: "Free, free, free, we will be and must be in everything besides the Scripture. We defy any one to hinder us" (W. Ed. 10, 2, 253). In the same connection he writes: "As far as I am concerned, I am ready to take my chances against the dicta of all the Fathers, against the art and eloquence of angels, and men, and devils, if I have the Scriptures, the Gospel on my side. On this I stand, in this I glory, with this I strut with pride and say: 'I put God's Word above everything else.' I have divine majesty on my side (in and with the Word). What of it if a thousand Augustines, a thousand of Henry's churches stood against me so long as I know that the true Church stands with me by the Word of God—let Henry's churches, if they will, depend on the opinion of men." (W. Ed. 10, 2, 256).

Luther frees himself from the theory of the fourfold sense of Scripture. — 124. *Manuale Curatorum, I, Consideratio quinta.*— Dungersheim, *Tractatus de modo discendi et docendi at populum sacre, seu de modo praedicandi,* Landshut 1514, II, *capitulum sextum: de modo interpretandi scripturas.* — 125. K. Holl, *Luther* (Tuebingen, 1923) p. 545: "The fact that the exegete was required to find the literal, the allegorical, the tropological and the anagogical sense of a text, served as a wholesome means of constraining him to bring out its full meaning. At the same time this way of distinguishing between the various forms of interpretation so sharply, enabled the exegete to set forth the literal sense of his text fully and to stress its peculiar importance. And only he who is not rightly informed is able to believe that no progress was made in this direction during the middle ages. Besides, it was an acknowledged rule that in learned controversies or debates only the use of the literal sense was recognized. Nor was it required of the exegete in expounding a book chapter for chapter to give the four senses of every chapter and every verse. Much latitude was allowed in such matters for the taste of the individual. F. i. in Paul's letters the mystical sense naturally receded into the background, while in the Old Testament it was sought out more persistently. In no case, however, was this work merely regarded as a pious diversion. Men were convinced that also in the mystical sense of a text they were bringing out a truth that the author of the Scriptures, the Holy Spirit had put into it. They were sure of this, even when this so called mystical sense had no logical connection whatever with the literal. In fact it never was more than a more or less happy thought that occurred to the exegete as he read his text." And just this conception of the mystical sense gave full play to every interpreter's fancy. The constantly changing opinions of men were thus declared to be the teachings of the Holy Spirit. With such principles of interpretation it was, of course, impossible for the individual to attain to a personal assurance of his salvation. — 126. W. Ed. 3, 11, 33f. — 127. Hans Schmidt has already called attention to this in his fine booklet, *Luther u. d. Buch d. Psalmen* (Tuebingen 1933, p. 12), and to a quotation in W. Ed. 4, 305, 6 in which Luther criticises the expositors of Ps. 119, *quia propheticum (sensum), id est litteralem, primo non quaesiverunt.* — 128. W. Ed. 3, 68, 28ff. — 129. For this and the following see Hans Schmidt, 12ff. — 130. The *sensus anogogicus seu propheticus* is not to be considered here, because, in Luther's opinion, it coincides with the *sensus litteralis.* Cf. note 72. — 131. On the following see K. Holl's excellent essay, *Luthers Bedeutung f. d. Fortschritt d. Auslegungskunst* (*Luther*, 544-582). — 132. W. Ed. 3, 531, 33f. — 133. P. Tschackert, *Die Entstehung d. lutherischen u. reformierten Kirchenlehre* (Goettingen 1910, p. 65) collected a number of allegories from Luther's sermons of 1519-21 edited by Poliander. It would be easy to find many more in his *Kirchenpostille.* — 134. W. Ed. 1, 507, 35: "That was done by those witless and incompetent dreamers who quibbled with the *sensus literalis, allegoricus, moralis, anagogicus,* and were called *doctores scholastici,* a name that fits them nicely; for they are *scholastici,* that is, they amuse themselves *(ludicri et lusores).* As a matter of fact they are only misleading themselves and others *(illusores).* They know neither the letter nor the spirit." — 135. In this connection he opposes the Catholic Church's Scripture proof in support of purgatory. — 136. *Contra malignum J. Eccii iudicium defensio,* W. Ed. 2, 628, 22; cf. 2, 628, 18; 2, 637, 18; 2, 641, 16. — 137. *Briefe* I, 603, 2ff. According to Enders this letter was written in February, according to Clemens, near the end of December, 1519. — 138. W. Ed. 5, 280, 36; 644, 2; 647, 2. — 139. W. Ed. 7, 650, 21ff. — 140. *Luther,* 552. — 141. W. Ed. 6, 307, 7ff. — 142. W. Ed. 10, I, p. 169, 2f. Bucer's Latin translation of 1525 has: *Iam nihil poterit ea pugnari.* I do not wish to anticipate the translation of the New Testament which appeared in 1522. Otherwise I might call attention to Luther's lectures on Deuteronomy in 1523-24 in which (W. Ed. 14, 560, 13) he says of the *sensus literalis: Tota est fidei et theologiae christianae sub-*

stantia, and adds, In sorrow and temptation this sense alone endures and overcomes the gates of hell and sin and death and triumphs to the praise and honor of God." — 143. Cf. Holl, *Luther*, 553 ff; for the terminology see M. Reu, *Homiletics*, 1934, p. 366f. — 144. *Disputatio Eccii et Lutheri Lipsiae* W. E. 2, 302, 1. — 145. Ibid. 2, 361, 12: "That is not the right way to interpret the Scriptures, to collect statements from different parts of the Bible without any regard for logical order or context. But that is the way it is commonly done; and it leads to nothing but errors. In order not to go wrong, the theologian must therefore keep in mind the whole of Scriptures *et contraria contrariis conferre et sicut duo Cherubim adversis cultibus utriusque diversitatis consensum in medio propitiatorii invenire.*" — 146. He says this repeatedly in *Asserito omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X novissimam damnatorum of 1520.* W. Ed. 7, 98, 40: "I do not wish to be praised as more learned than all others; but I do want the Scriptures to rule. I do not want the Scriptures to be interpreted by my understanding or that of any one else. I want them to be interpreted in the light of and by the Spirit of the Scriptures." 7, 97, 21: "The dispute can not be settled *nisi scripturae dederimus principem locum in omnibus quae tribuuntur patribus, hoc est, ut sit ipsa per sese rectissima, facillima, apertissima sui ipsius interpres;* cf. also 7, 99, 20. Compare to the whole theory of the manifold sense of Scripture E. von Dobschuctz, *Vom vierfachen Schriftsinn (Harnack Ehrung)*, Leipzig 1921.

Luther learns to distinguish between Law and Gospel. — 147. W. Ed. 3, 12, 14 f. 29ff. — 148. Ibid. 2, 467, 12ff. — 149. Ibid. 9, 554, 19; 554, 6; 649, 21f. — 150. Ibid. 10, I, 8-18. Regarding the difference between the law and the Gospel see also Luther's *Von d. Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (W. Ed. 7, 20ff.). As early as Feb 3, 1521, he says in a sermon: "That is dangerous preaching when only the law is preached; and it is just as dangerous when only the gospel is preached." (W. Ed. 9, 507, 28); "The law leads to despair, the gospel consoles. We dare not discard the law. We must accept the law realizing that we can not keep it, and we must accept the gospel knowing that Christ has done it all." W. Ed. 9, 508, 10).

Luther's knowledge of Scripture and the German language. — 151. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in d. Fruehzeit*, 26. Luther said 1533 that he now for several years read the whole Bible twice every year. *Tischreden* 1877. — 152. It has been said before that Luther adopted the idea of the inspiration from Ockham. This as well as the conception of the inspiration as held in the middle ages and especially by Pierre d' Ailly and Gabriel Biel, are treated in detail by Kropatscheck, 423ff. — 153. Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel* 17, 60. — 154. W. Ed. 3, 176, 24f. — 155. For this and the following reference I failed to note the source. "If you never have been so moved that you already were burning in hell, damned and dying, then you are unworthy of speaking of such things." — 156. Holl cites a statement of Luther's, in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (1530) in which he emphasizes that in order to translate well one must have the right inner attitude toward the Scriptures: "Believe me, translating is far from being such child's play as those mad saints imagine. To do it rightly a man needs a pious, faithful, zealous, devout, Christian, learned, experienced, trained heart and mind. I contend that no false Christian, no factious person is able to translate rightly." — 157. P. Pietsch, *M. Luther u. d. hochdeutsche Schriftsprache*, 1883; K. Burdach, *Forschungen z. deutschen Philologie*, 1894; H. Boehmer, *Zur Geschichte d. saechsischen Kanzleisprache v. d. Anfaengen bis Luther*, 1899; F. Kluge, *Von Luther bis Lessing*, 1904; R. Neubauer, *Martin Luther. Ausgewaehlt, bearbeitet u. erlaeutert*, 1907-1908; Gutjahr, *Die Anfaenge d. neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache vor Luther*, 1910; G. Roethe, *Luthers Bedeutung f. d. deutsche Literatur*, 1918; F. Kluge *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte*, 1920; C. Franke, *Grundzuege d. Schriftsprache Luthers*, 1913, 1914, 1922; K. Burdach, *Die nationale Aneignung d. Bibel*, 1924; Delle, *Luthers Septemberbibel u. s. deutschen Zitate aus dem N. Test. bis 1522 (Luther Jahrbuch)*, 1922. — 158. Erl. Ed. 62, 421. — 159. Ibid 62, 313. — 160. Ibid 62, 421, 313, 324. — 161. P. Pietsch, *M. Luther u. d. hochdeutsche Schriftsprache*, p. 31. — 162. Boehmer, *Der junge Luther*, 139f. presents the matter correctly. — 163. A. Risch, *Luthers Bibelverdeutschung*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 31; see Risch also for the following and Hans Preuss, *Martin Luther der Deutsche* (Gütersloh 1934, pp. 52-61; 89-95).

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. In 1522 to Spalatin: "I am deluged with letters I ought to read. How much time do you think I need to answer them all?" (*Briefe* II, 526); in 1529: to Link: "Every day I am so deluged with letters that tables, benches, stools, desks, windows, chests, shelves, in fact everything is covered with letters, inquiries, legal

matters, complaints and petitions. The whole business of church and state rests on my shoulders. How little do the authorities in church and state attend to their duties!" (Enders 7, 120). — 2. *Briefe* II, 413, 5 f. Lang had translated Matthew; the preface is dated May 1, the conclusion June 23. Luther evidently had not seen the print. — 3. W. E. 10, I, 1 p. 728, 9ff. — 4. Cf. H. Preuss, *Martin Luther der Prophet*, Guetersloh 1933. — 5. Hence Luther's remark in *Tischreden* that Melanchthon had forced him to translate the New Testament (I, 487, 11 f). — 6. *Briefe* II, 423, pp. 48 ff.: "In the meanwhile I shall translate the Bible, although I see I have shouldered a load that is beyond my strength. Now I know what it means to translate the Bible and why, until now, no one has undertaken it under his own name. I shall not even be able to touch the Old Testament unless you stand by me and lend your help. Yes, if it were possible for one of you to let me have a private room, I would come at once and with your help translate the whole Bible from the beginning, as it ought to be translated, into German that the people will read; for I do hope that we can give our people a better translation of the Bible than the Latin speaking people have. It is a great and worthy undertaking which every one of us will be glad to support, because it will redound to the benefit of all." — 7. Erl. Ed. 63, 7 ff. — 8. W. Ed. 10, I, 2, LXII ff. — 9. Gerbel's *Novum Testamentum Graece* bears the imprint: *Hagenoae, in aedibus Thomae Anshelmi Badensis, Mense Martio, Anno salutis nostrae M. D. XXI.* It must have been printed in March and was then sent by Gerbel to Luther at Worms, but did not actually reach him until he had established himself at the Wartburg. Regarding Gerbel, see Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel* 3, 155. Gerbel's New Testament is regarded as the basis for Luther's translation by W. Walther, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, 1917, p. 58; G. Kawerau in his supplement to the reprint of the *Septemberbibel*, 1922 pp. 5 f.; von Dobschuetz, *Einfuehrung ins griechische Neue Testament*, 1923, p. 63; Hans Lietzmann, *Luther auf der Wartburg*, 1928, pp. 23 ff. But Freitag (*Luthers Deutsche Bibel* 7, 1931) adduces evidence to prove that Luther used Erasmus' edition of 1519 with its *Annotationes*. — 10. *Briefe* II, 397: "The former letter which you sent me to Worms finally arrived here in this solitude. It is wonderful what great delight both wife and best man have brought me. She has born me the children I named above." The "wife" was the *Novum Testamentum Graece*, the "best man" was Gerbel, the "children" to whom this wife had given birth were the writings he had thus far composed at the Wartburg. How familiar Luther must have been with this Testament, how greatly he must have cherished it to call it his wife! — 11. Freitag, D. B. 7, 547. — 12. Ibid. 6, ff. — 13. Ibid, 7, 546. — 14. Cf. D. B. 6, 599 f. and A. Freitag, *Die Urschrift der Lutherbibel als Dokument f. Luthers Benutzung d. deutschen Bibel d. Mittelalters. (Sitzungsberichte d. preussischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften)*, 1929, pp. 5f. — 15. See M. Burgdorf, *Johann Lange, Der Reformator Erfurts* (Rostocker Dissertation), Kassel 1911, pp. 78 ff.; W. Walther, *Die ersten Konkurrenten d. Bibeluebersetzers Luther*, Leipzig 1917, pp. 36 ff. — 16. D. B. 6, 602. — 17. On June 10 Luther wrote: *Ego interim unam epistolam vernacula absolvi.* (*Briefe* II, 354, 17 ff. — 18. *Briefe* II, 354, 1. — 19. The theory that Luther used the Bible of the middle ages is disputed by W. Walther, *Luthers Bibeluebersetzung kein Plagiat*, 1891, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, 1917; M. Reu, *Thirty-five years of Luther Research*, 1917; O. Reichert, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel* 1910; G. Kawerau, *Beilage z. Neudruck d. Septemberbibel* 1922; A. Risch, *Luthers Bibelverdeutschung*, 1911; W. Koehler, *Luthers Werke* 10, I, 2, p. LXXIII, f. 1925; P. Pietsch, *Ewangely u. Epistel Teutsch*, 1927; E. Hirsch, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel*, 1927; *Lutherbibel u. Zainerbibel (Allg. Ev. Luth. Kirchenzeitung)*, 1928. That Luther used this Bible was maintained by G. W. Hopf, *Wuerdigung d. luth. Bibelverdeutschung*, 1847; J. Geffken *Der Bilderkatechismus d. 15. Jahrh.* 1885; W. L. Krafft, *Die deutsche Bibel v. Luther u. dessen Verdienste um d. Bibeluebersetzung*, 1883; W. Grimm, *Geschichte d. Lutherschen Bibeluebersetzung mit Beruecksichtigung d. vorlutherschen Deutschen Bibel*, 1884; E. Nestle in R.E. 3, 72, 1897; Koestlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, 1903; G. Roethe, *Luthers Bedeutung f. d. Deutsche Literatur*, 1918; G. Roethe, *Akademierede ueber d. Verhaeltnis d. Lutherschen Bibel z. d. vorluth. Bibeluebersetzung (Sitzungsbericht d. preussischen Akademie)*, 1922; G. Roethe, *Luthers Septemberbibel (Luther Jahrbuch)*, 1923; K. Burdach, *Die nationale Aneignung d. Bibel*, 1924; A. Freitag, *Die Zainerbibel als Quelle d. Lutherbibel (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken)*, 1927-28; O. Albrecht, *Zur Revision d. Lutherbibel (Theol. Blaetter)*, 1929; A. Freitag, *Die Urschrift d. Lutherbibel als Dokument f. Luthers Benutzung d. Deutschen Bibel d. Mittelalters (Sitzungsber. d. preussischen Akademie)*, 1929; A. Freitag, *Deutsche Bibel 6*, 595-637 (1929); 7, 545-660 (1931). We can dispense with a refutation of statements such as that of Wedewer, a Catholic (*Johann Dieten-*

berger, Freiburg 1888, pp. 174 f.): "Without hesitation Luther took the Catholic German Bible and used it extensively without saying a word about it," or "Luther's translation was a mere revision of the former translations." We need only compare the selections in Part Two from Bibles of the Middle Ages with those from Luther's *Septemberbibel.* H. Grisar, also a Catholic, (*Luther,* III, Freiburg 1912, pp. 418, 462, f), is more careful in his estimate. — 20. *Preussische Jahrbuecher,* Vol. 90, No. 3. — 21. W. Ed. 54, 490 f.

22. Unfortunately Luther's manscript of the translation of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges 1-15 is lost; but that beginning with Judges 16 has come down to us and may be found in two volumes of the Weimar Edition. For the following see A. Risch, *Luthers Bibelverdeutschung,* 1922, pp. 50 ff. — 23. D. B. 1, 171. — 24. D. B. 1, 166. — 25. D. B. 1, 513. — 26. D. B. 1, 523. — 27. *Institutiones Graecae Grammaticae of 1518,* Corp. Ref. XX, column 83 f. — 27a. D. B. 6, 535-637; 7, 545-660. — 28. F. i. in translating Luke 2:8 he exhausted the term ἀγϱαυλοῦντες still more perfectly by keeping in mind that it contained the root αὐλή (aula, atrium, caula, pen, fold, Pferch, Huerde), and added the words *bei den Huerden* in his translation of the pericopes, thus obtaining the reading, *Sie waren auf dem Felde bei den Huerden.* — 29. Freitag, D. B. 7 (1931) p. 545: "Luther's Bible is a translation of the original text. That is plain as day, especially in the intricate phraseology contained in the epistles. One may say that Luther traces the Greek terms back to their roots. And in his translation of the epistles where there naturally is a greater variety and intricacy of forms and their meaning than in those books in which the narrative predominates, this is most apparent. Luther endeavors always to discover the original meaning, and often he finds it in a different form (of the same word) from that used in the original, f. i. in the noun rather than in the verb (Cf. παϱεσϰεύασται in II Cor. 9:2). He carefully divides composites (Luke 2:8 ἀγϱαυλοῦντες) into their component parts and as he shifts the emphasis or interprets the preposition, arrives at different shadings of renditions as they are found in the various editions of his New Testament(f. i. συνστενάζει in Rom. 8:22). Luther explored the original in its depths, and his work of rendering it into German was more than a translation, it was a creation." — 30. Albrecht rightly, I think, arranges the letters that contain references to the matter in the following order: Melanchthon's letters to Spalatin in *Corp. Ref.* I 563 and 565, and Luther's letters to Spalatin dated March 30

(*Briefe* II, 489 f.). Spalatin, it seems, did not know that Luther had finished translating not only the first four books, but the whole New Testament until he was informed by the letter of March 30. The words, *Non solum Johannis euangelion, sed totum testamentum novum in pathmo mea verteram,* must mean "to and including John's Gospel" if they are not to contradict Melanchthon's letters, which plainly refer to the translation of the four Gospels *(interpretatio evangeliorum).* Cf. W. Koehler in W. Ed. X, 1, 1, p. LXI and O. Clemen, *Briefe* II, 491. Clemen's attempt to ascribe to the words *Non solum Johannis euangelion* a different meaning is worthy of notice, but it does not change the fact that Melanchthon first received the four Gospels. — 31. *Briefe* II, 490, 9 f.: *Verum omnia nunc elimare coepimus Philippus et ego.* Cf. Melanchthon's letter in C. R. I, 567: *Recognoscimus una D. Martinus et ego novum testamentum...*— 32. C. R. I, 567. — 33. *Briefe* II, 527: *Eunuchi vernaculum tuum non satisfecit; didici in Vestphallia vocari eyn Ron, and Ronen sit castrare proprie homines; nescio an eo utemur.*" In the *Septembertestament* he translated Matt. 19:12: *Denn es sind etliche verschnitten.* — 34. C.R. I, 567, 570 f. 574 f. — 35. Regarding M. Lotther, see John Luther's essay in *Weimar Lutherstudien,* 1917, pp. 273 ff. — 36. *Briefe* II, 524: *Mitto tibi gustum novae bibliae nostrae, sed sic, ut serves, ne vulgetur.* This *gustus,* as Clemen notes, could have consisted of the first sheet only, because the type for the second was not set until after May 10, and so far as the third sheet is concerned, (on which Matt. 15:18-23:9 were to appear) we know that on May 15 it had not yet been settled as to how εὐνοῦχος of Matt.. 19:12 was to be rendered. — 37. *Briefe* II, 552. Enders (III, 381) dates the letter May 29, or a little later. Clemen gives evidence to show that it was written in the early days of June. — 38. For evidence in support of this see Walther, *Festschrift,* 61, and O. Albrecht, D. B. 6, XLV f. — 39. *Briefe* II, 598 (probably of Sept. 20) and II, 599 (probably of Sept. 21). — 40. *Briefe,* II, 600 f. — 41. *Briefe* II, 604. — 42. Cf. Pietsch, D. B. 2, 202. — 43. The passage reads: "After your departure we received from our Elijah the whole New Testament in the vernacular. It seemed to us wise to preface the whole with a map of the Holy Land to make it easier to understand" (C.R. I, 583). — 44. Cf. the mass of evidence which Ficker (*Luther als Professor,* Halle, 1928, pp. 43-44) has compiled from Luther's books and letters.

45. See esp. R. Kuhn, *Verhaeltnis d. Dezemberbibel z. d. Sep-*

temberbibel, Greifswald 1901, and Weber's essay in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch.* 1912. — 46. Cf. Walther, *Festschrift,* 214 f. Note 49. From this remark Enders (*Briefwechsel* 3, 436), arrives at an estimate of 5,000, Hoppe (St. Louis Ed. 15, 257) likewise; while O. Clemen (*Briefe* II, 581) estimates 3,000. The passage in Luther's letter to Spalatin reads: "The work is going forward slowly as you can see. So far you have received only half of it; 18 sheets *(terniores)* are yet to come. It will not be finished before Michaelmas, although they are working with three presses, doing their utmost, and printing 10,000 pages *(chartarum)* every day." — 47. D.B. 2, 405. — 47a. D.B. 6, XLIII. — 48. About Erasmus' position in this question and his controversy with Faber Stapulensis cf. esp. J. Leipold, *Geschichte d. neutestamentlichen Kanons, 2. Teil,* Leipzig 1908, pp. 13-32. — 49. For Kajetan's position, ibid., pp. 33 ff. The extent of the Old and New Testament canon was not officially determined until the Council of Trent, and then, only after a protracted struggle (Leipold pp. 43 ff.) — 50. W. Ed. 2, 425, 10 ff. — 51. Ibid 5, 568, 1 ff. — 52. Cf. his sermons on the first Epistle of Peter, written in 1522, W. Ed. 12, 268, 17 ff. and other passages quoted by Leipold, 73-76. — 53. For opinions on the distinction between the canonical and deutero-canonical writings, from Luther until the present day, see Leipold, 88 ff. For Luther's later opinion, esp. of the Epistle of James, which became even more pronounced, see W. Walther, *Luthers spaetere Ansicht ueber d. Jakobusbrief* (*Zur Wertung d. Reformation,* Leipzig 1909) pp. 170-172. The general opinion on this epistle in the 16th cent. is discussed by G. Kawerau, *Die Schicksale d. Jakobusbriefes im 16. Jahrh. (Zeitschrift f. kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben)* 1889, pp. 359 ff. — 54. D. B. 6, p. XLVII. — 55. O. Reichert, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel* 1910, p. 24. — 56. W. Ed. 48, 258. — 57. Krafft, *Dokumente,* pp. 72 f. Bugenhagen in later years celebrated at his home the anniversary of the translation of the Bible, probably of the translation of the whole Bible, D. B. 6, XLVIII. — 58. Cf. W. Walther, *Festschrift,* 108 f. — 59. For particulars on this writing of Rhegius see D. B. 6, pp. LXXII ff. — 60. See Walther p. 111-119. — 61. Ibid, pp. 119-128. — 62. Ibid. pp. 128-134. — 63. This does not include parts of the New Testament; also a number of these was printed. — 64. R. Kuhn, *Verhaeltnis der Dezemberbibel* 1912. — 65. That in medieval bibles, Latin as well as German, either tables of the pericopes were appended, or the beginning and end of the lessons indicated in the text, is definitely known (p. 22).

When Luther's New Testament was first published, the wish to have it similarly equipped soon found expression. And in response to this, George Erlinger in Bamberg in 1523 edited and published a table of the medieval pericopes which was appended to and bound with some Wittenberg editions of Luther's Testament. Four copies of the September Testament that contain this table are extant (D.B. 2,205; D.B. 7,529 ff.). This was done without Luther's knowledge. The edition printed by Lufft in 1526 (D.B. 2,389 f.) is the first Wittenberg edition that contains a table of the pericopes: *Register zu finden die Episteln vnd Euangelien vnd namhafftigen Festen.* Also this table was very probably compiled and appended without Luther's assistance. In Luther's postils for Christmas, Advent and Lent, and perhaps also in Roth's *Sommerpostille* of 1526 the compilers found the basis for a table of lessons that was almost complete. The lessons missing there (the Epistles for the season from Easter to the end of the Christian Year) were then supplied from medieval lectionaries, with which the texts in Luther's postils largely agreed. While this table follows medieval lectionaries quite closely, it has rightly been described as "compiled according to evangelical principles"; not because the lessons for week days (Wednesday and Friday) are omitted; for also the Reformation had retained week-day preaching; but because it contained no lessons for saints' days, and because the lessons for the apostles' days and for the few saints' days that were retained (St. Andrew, St. Thomas, Conversion of St. Paul [The Presentation of our Lord] St. Matthias, Annunciation of Mary, St. Philip and St. James, St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary [to Elizabeth], St. James, St. Laurence, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Michael and All Angels, St. Simon and St. Jude, Dedication Festival) were listed separate from those *fuer die Sonntage und namhaften Feste* and designated as retained "for the sake of the weak." — 66. Luther's notes in his own copy are particularly extensive in the Gospel of St. Luke and the Book of Acts. The following examples afford an idea of their character. On Luke 15:17, "He came to himself" he writes: *Ecce fiduciam erga patrem ante omnia concipit, postea vadit, confitetur etc., ut stet sine operibus fide iustificatus. Exemplum pulchrum poenitentiae et fidei, quia peccatum agnoscit, patris gratia fidit* (D. B. 4,452). On Luke 15:25, "Now the elder son" he writes: *Operator in lege, Gratia laetificat, Lex operatur tristis* (D.B. 4,452). On Luke 23:40 he writes: "I certainly believe that this murderer was made holy without works." On John 3:9, "How can these things be?" he writes: *Comprehendere vult ratio, non credere. Econtra incredulos non possumus convincere, et fidei causa non demonstratur. Sed hic Christus Nicodemum ad fidem potius vocat, et non respondet quomodo haec fieri possunt* (D.B. 4,454). On Acts 2:37, "They were pricked in their hearts" he writes: *Ecce hi omnes ex verbo fidei sine operibus convertuntur et iustificantur.* On 2:41 "They that gladly received his word" he writes: *etiam sine operibus praecedentibus.* On Acts 7, 4, "When his father was dead" he writes: *Non est ita. Abraham Idolatra fuit in Mesopotamia, antequam evocaretur, Josuae ultimo. Ista narratio manifeste errat, nisi diligenter omnia consideres. Nam Tharec genuit Abraham 70 annos natus, Genesi XI. Abraham egressus est Haran 75 annos natus, Genesi XII. Tharec autem vixit 203 annos. Ex 60 annis ante mortem Tharec egressus est Haran* (D.B. 4,459). Luther discusses this difficulty at greater length in *Scrupuli in supputatione annorum mundi* in W. Ed. 53, 177 ff.). On Acts 16:14, "Whose heart the Lord opened" he writes: *Ecce operitur cor, ut verbo sine operibus convertantur.* The Epistle of James fares badly here. On Jas. 1:25, "But let him ask in faith" he admits: *Optimus unus locus huius epistolae* (D.B. 4,496); but on 1:25, "Whoso looketh into" he remarks: *Ecce nihil de fide, omnia de lege docet;* on 1:27, "Pure religion and undefiled": *Non dicit fides, sed opera sunt religio coram Deo;* on 2:12, "So speak ye, and so do": "Alas, what chaos!"; on 2:19, "That there is one God," "And not much about Christ"; on 2:21: "Was not Abraham our father justified by works?": "Where is that written?"; on 2:22, "And by works was faith made perfect": "Oh yes, and that is in perfect harmony with 2:24, that by works a man is justified. *Falsum!*" On 2:26, he writes: "For as the body without the spirit" "A fine figure! Turn back, freedom!" On 3:1, "Be not many masters" he adds: *utinam nec tu!* (D.B. 4,496 ff.). Fortunately these glosses did not find their way into the Bible; nor did Luther have that in mind. The fact that he was collecting material for his book *de iustificatione* sorely biased his judgment.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Examples to verify this may be found at the beginning of Chap. 6. — 2. *Tischreden*, 3271. — 3. A Freitag, *Die Urschrift d. Lutherbibel als Dokument f. Luthers Benutzung d. Deutschen Bibel d. Mittelalters,* Berlin 1929, pp. 6 ff. — 4. See f. i. Freitag, loc. cit. p. 11 and often. — 5. Walther, 69. — 6. Mathesius, *Luthers*

Leben, 13 Predigt (Loesche's Ed. 316). — 7. *Briefe* II, 613.— 8. *Briefe* II, 625, 630 ff. — 9. D. B. 2, 217; cf. A. Schramm, *Luther u. d. Bibel*, Leipzig 1923, p. 6, table 27 ff. — 10. Luther's prefaces to the books of the Bible are found in the Erl. Ed. 63, and, translated by Charles Jacobs, in Vol 6 of the Philadelphia Ed. of Luther's Works in English. — 11. D.B. 2, 272 ff.; Schramm, p. 10, table 120 ff. — 12. D.B. 1, 17-391. — 13. *Briefe* III, 249. — 14. W. E. 30 II, 636, 65, 109. — 15. D. B. 1, 393-639. — 16. D. B. 1, 432 f. — 17. D. B. 1, 401. — 18. D. B. 1, 503; Walther, 74. — 19. Cf. the bibliography by P. Pietsch in D. B. 2, 217-276. — 20. D. B. 2, 276 ff.; Schramm p. 12; table 171 ff. — 21. The statement in the Erl. Ed. 63, 35 ff. and Jacobs (VI. 389 ff.) that the *Vorrede auf die Buecher Salomonis* was written in 1524 is an error. As far as I have been able to trace it, it was first published in 1535 in a separate edition of the Books of Solomon, printed by George Rhau in Wittenberg (D.B. 2, 564), and was later included in the complete Bible published by Hans Lufft in 1535 (D.B. 2, 566 f.). The preface to Job is found in Erl. Ed. 63, 25 ff., to the Psalter, Erl. Ed. 37, 107 ff., to Proverbs, 63, 38 ff., to Ecclesiastes, 63, 40 f. — 22. Since 1527 the Book of Proverbs was also frequently published as a school text: *Die sprueche Salomo. Der Jugend sehr nuetzlich vnd gut. Mart. Luther. Wittenberg. Anno M. D. XXVII;* cf. D.B. 2, 435; frequently mentiond in Reu, *Quellen z. Gesch. d. Unterrichts zwischen 1530-1600.* — 23. D. B. 2, 278. — 23a. Cf. *Briefe* III, 437, 433, 439; these *Annotationes* to Deuteronomy were published in 1525 (W. Ed. 14, 407-744). — 24. D. B. 2, 392, 394, 439; see also *Briefe* IV, 110, according to which he at that time (Aug. 1526) was lecturing on Ecclesiastes; and IV, 198, according to which he was lecturing on Isaiah in May, 1527. — 25. *Briefe* IV, 484. — 26. *Festschrift* 76. — 27. D. B. 2, 278-438. — 28. D. B. 2, 438. — 29. Erl. Ed. 63, 27; Jacobs VI, 385. — 30. Walther 102 f; Walther, *Die ersten Konkurrenten d. Bibeluebersetzers Luther*, Leipzig 1917; George Baring, *Die Wormser Profeten von 1527 (Hamburger Deutsches Bibelarchiv)*, Potsdam 1933. Baring shows not only that Luther made use of the Worms translation of the Prophets, but also that his own translation was nevertheless original, and far superior to that of Haetzer and Denck. In his article *Die Wormser Propheten, eine vorlutherische evangelische Prophetenübersetzung aus dem Iahre 1527* (*Archiv f. Reformationsgeschichte*, 1934) Baring informs about the many editions of this translation and promises a detailed appraisal of it in his forthcoming book on Johann Denck. — 31. D. B.

2, 435. — 32. D. B. 2, 431-433. — 33. D. B. 2, 474 f. 34. D. B. 2, 500. — 34a. Enders 7, 101, D. B. 2, 455. — 35. D. B. 2, 484. — 36. D. B. 2, 485. — 37. D. B. 2, 512 f. — 38. Erl. Ed. 63, 42 f. — 39. Erl. Ed. 63, 52 ff. — 40. Erl. Ed. 63, 59 f. — 41. Erl. Ed. 41, 237 ff. — 42. D. B. 2, 528, 531. — 43. Corp. Ref. I, 583. — 44. D. B. 3, XVI. — 45. Buchwald, *Jenaer Lutherfunde (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken* 1894*)*, pp. 374-391. — 46. D. B. 3, XVIII ff. p. 1-166. — 47. D. B. 3, 3 and XXXVX. — 48. For examples see D.B. 3, XLIII f. — 49. D. B. 3, 1. — 50. D. B. 3. 17. — 51. D. B. 3, 41. — 52. D. B. 3, 45 f. — 53. D. B. 3, 115. — 54. D. B. 3, 88. — 55. D. B. 2, 502. — 56. D. B. 3, XLII f. — 57. D. B. 3, XVI. — 58. D. B. 4, XIX. — 59. D. B. 4, XXIV. — 60. Enders 10, 21. — 61. D. B. 4, XXIV. — 62. D. B. 2, 545 ff. — 63. *Luther u. d. Bibel*, 22. — 64. D. B. 7, 386. — 65. D. B. 7, 386; 2, 480 f. — 66. D. B. 6, 414 ff. — 67. D. B. 2, 524 f. — 68. D. B. 6, XXXII.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. D. B. 2, 566. — 2. D. B. 2, 589. — 3. D. B. 2, 611 ff. The Old Testament was printed in 1538, the Apocrypha and the New Testament, in 1539. The complete Bible is dated 1539. — 4. D. B. 2, 622. A number of changes in the historical books of the Old Testament in this edition can be traced back to notes in Luther's Jena hand copy of 1539. — 5. D. B. 2, 634 ff. — 6. D. B. 2, 637 ff. — 7. On Sept. 8, 1539 Spalatin informs the Elector that in August Luther had begun to write "*glossam ordinariam* on the whole Bible," and in a *Tischrede of* 1540 (*Tischreden* No. 102) Luther says: "If they should relieve me of these burdens I would write little commentaries on the whole Bible *(commentariolos in tota biblia)*." See also Luther's statement in 1544, in DeWette, *Briefe* 5, 701. This plan of Luther's was connected with the revision of the Bible, just as his *Summarien* on the Psalter had grown out of the revision of the Psalter in 1531 (W. Ed. 38, 8 ff. 31, 1, 483 ff.). Unfortunately, however, this revision did not result in a similar companion volume to the whole Bible. Luther's changes in the translation and his glosses on these changes serve us somewhat as a substitute. — 8. *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken* 1894, pp. 374-391. — 9. D. B. 2, 611 ff. — 10. D. B. 4, XXX f. Occasionally some member of the committee was absent from Wittenberg at the time of meeting. Whenever important or disputed matters were discussed, the minutes indicate that also the absent member was to be consulted. In the notes on Ex. 29, f. i., we read:

De oblatione ignita conferendum cum D. Philippo; on I Sam. 4:5: *Consulendus Aurogallus.* The Hebraist was called upon to decide a matter of dispute between Luther and Melanchthon. In the notes on Dan. 8: *Consulendus Philippus.* Melanchthon and Cruciger were at that time attending the colloquy at Worms, from where, as the minutes show, they did not return until Feb. 1, 1541. On Cruciger's services in behalf of the work of translating the Bible, the Corp. Ref. (XI, 834 ff) says: . . . *bene meritus est, . . . quia in transferendis in sermonem Germanicum libris propheticis magna fide, diligentia et adsiduitate Reverendum . . . Lutherum adiuvit. Etsi Lutherus Ebraeam linguam probe callebat, tamen . . . adhibuit viros in ea lingua praeclari eruditos, Aurogallum, Crucigerum et Forsterum* (D.B. 4, XXXI). — 11. D. B. 4, XXXIX. — 12. D. B. 2, 637 ff. — 13. D. B. 2, 640. A copy for Anhalt printed on parchment is at present offered for sale in Washington at an excessive price. — 14. They are all listed in A. Schramm, *Die Illustration d. Lutherbibel in Luther u. d. Bibel* (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 33 ff. and illustrated on table 217 ff. — 15. The *Postfatio* of Roerer in which he expresses his opinion on the matter, is found in D.B. 7, XIII. Hence Roerer had all quotations from the Old Testament printed in letter-spaced type "because from them we can see that our holy Christian faith is supported by convincing testimonies since the beginning of the world." The fanciful practice of indicating the character of such and similar passages by adding the letters A B C either in German or in Latin script was hardly inspired by Luther. — 16. D. B. 7, XIV. — 17. This warning is printed in E. A. 63, 5 ff. The date given to it there (1545) is incorrect. — 18. D. B. 3, 169. — 19. D. B. 3, 169. — 20. D. B. 3, 213. — 21. D. B. 3, 377. — 22. D. B. 3, 419. — 23. D. B. 3, 421. — 24. D. B. 3, 542. — 25. D. B. 3, 488. — 26. D. B. 4, 70. — 26a. D. B. 4, 76. — 27. D. B. 4, 78. — 28. D. B. 4, 104. — 29. D.B. 4, 171-196. — 30. D. B. 3, 381. — 31. D. B. 3, 556 ff. — 32. D. B. 3, 573. — 33. D. B. 2, 657 ff. and 660 f. — 34a. D. B. 2, 75 ff; cf. D. B. 4, XL f. In this last edition improvements of the text such as of Gen. 21:7; 22:14; 38:2; Lev. 21:3; Josh. 19:33; 2 Sam. 6:20; 7:19; 1 Kings 5:9; 2 Kings 2:17; 1 Chron. 2:24 were taken from Luther's notes in his own copy of the Bible. — 34b. It is true, Mathesius in his 13th sermon does say: "Later, when Doctor Luther wrote against the Jews, the understanding of the Scriptures grew from day to day, and many beautiful passages were rendered in a clearer and more convincing translation which Roerer, with the knowledge and advice of the leading men at Wittenberg, after Luther's death, put into the last bibles," but that does not prove that Luther called a meeting of the commission after Feb. 1541. — 35. D. B. 2, 620 f. — 36. Albrecht's investigations are recorded in *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1914, pp. 153 ff. See also O. Reichert, *Zwei neue Protokolle zur Revision d. Neuen Testaments, in Lutherstudien zur 4. Jahrhundertfeier d. Reformation* (Weimar 1917), pp. 203 ff.; O. Reichert, *Wert u. Bedeutung d. Bibel v. 1546, in Theol. Studien u. Kritiken* 1918, pp. 193 ff.; O. Reichert, *Luthers letzte Arbeiten am Neuen Testament (Archiv f. Ref.)* 1918, pp. 205 ff.; O. Reichert, *Die Revisionen d. Neuen Testaments in d. Jahren 1541 u. 1544 (Deutsche Bibel* 4 (1923), pp. XLIII ff. — 37. D. B. 4, 279-418. — 38. Luther's letter to Justus Jonas dated May 22, 1541: "You must not expect me to write long letters; for tomorrow I shall begin to revise the New Testament, according to the command of our masters the printers. Therefore I wish that noone would bother me. I shall bear in my frail body the marks of my lords the printers" (Enders). — 39. D. B. 2, 639; D. B. 7, XIII; Bindseil 7, XXV *(Dr. Martin Luther's Bibelübersetzung nach der letzten Originalausgabe kritisch bearbeitet von Dr. H. E. Bindseil und H. A. Niemeyer,* 7 vols., Halle 1850-1855. — 40. D. B. 2, 657. — 41. Bindseil 7, XXXII. — 42. D. B. 2, 660 ff. — 43. Bindsell 7, XXXIII. — 44. D. B. 2, 675 ff. — 45. Christoph Walther, for many years corrector for the press of Hans Lufft in his *Bericht von den falschen Nachdrucken der Deutschen Biblia* of 1569 (leave A 4b) writes: "Besides, Luther did not himself read the proofs for the Bible of 1545" (D.B. 6, LVIII). — 46. D.B. 4LII. — 47. Bindseil 7, XXXV f.; D. B. 7, XV f. — 48. D. B. 4, XLIX f. Also note that on Nov. 23, 1544 Melanchthon informs the Elector John Fredrick that he and others had come together to read through the translation of St. Paul's letters into German (D.B. 4, LII, note 5). — 49. D. B. 4, LII; but Reichert confirms this with a faulty proof when he reasons that the printing of the New Testament was undertaken first, and therefore must have been finished long before the revision in the fall of 1544 was begun. — 50. D. B. 4, 313 ff. Here Reichert presents in three parallel columns: the minutes of the summer of 1541, Luther's notations in his own Bible, and these minutes of 1544. — 51. D. B. 4, 315. — 52. D. B. 4, 315 f. — 53. So argues Bertram in his *Historische Abhandlung von Unterdrueckung d. letzten Aenderungen Lutheri im teutschen Neuen Testament* (printed in Simon's *Kritische Schriften ueber das Neue Testament, 3. Teil, uebersetzt v. Cramer*, 1780, pp. 340-358); cf. D. B. 7, 557. —

54. D. B. 2, 687. It is an edition in quarto which Luther had planned especially for readers with poor eyesight, and which was already passing through the press at the time of his death. Cf. note 56. — 55. D. B. 2, 688 f. — 56. The letter is found in D. B. 6, LXI. — 57. Also the statements of Chr. Walther, corrector for the press, lead to the same conclusion. Cf. D. B. 6, LVII ff. and Bugenhagen's statement in his letter to Christian III, King of Denmark, (D. B. 6, LIX f.). — 58. So states Walther himself (D. B. 6, LVIII). Since, as we know definitely, Roerer also had a copy which he later took with him to Jena, this must have been the original copy. — 59. In Phil. 2:13 we read: *Beide, das Wollen und das Vollbringen, dass etwas geschehe, das ihm wohlgefaellig sei.* I Thess. 4:10-11 should have read: *Wir ermahnen euch aber, lieben Brueder, dass ihr vor andern sonderlichen Fleiss tut, und das fuer eure Ehre achtet, dass ihr stille seid und tut was euch befohlen ist.* Due to an oversight this correction was omitted in the print of 1546. — 60. D. B. 4, 391. Roerer permitted Melanchthon to enter this version in his own hand writing into Luther's personal copy. The same version appears, however, also in Roerer's hand writing on the top margin of the page, just as Roerer entered many other things in his own hand writing at Luther's direction. Also the change in I Thess. 4:10-11 appears in Roerer's hand writing (D. B. 4, 394). Possibly Roerer, in order to verify his entry, consulted Melanchthon, and Melanchthon confirmed it in this manner. Cf. also a correction in Melanchthon's hand writing of Eph. 1:10 and Luke 12:29 (D. B. 4, 295, 387). — 61. In D. B. 6, L f. Albrecht gives a list of books relating to the subject. See also D. B. 4, XLIV f.; D. B. 7, XX ff. — 62. Cf. esp. the introductions to vols 6 and 7 of the *Deutsche Bibel* in the Weimar Ed.; esp. 6, L-LXIII; 7, XX-XXX; H. W. Beyer, *Ueber Luthers Bibeluebersetzung (Theol. Rundschau, Neue Folge,* 1929) pp. 313-360; H. W. Beyer, *Ueber die Urgestalt d. Lutherbibel (Luther, Vierteljahrschrift d. Luthergesellschaft,* 1930), pp. 43-45; O. Albrecht, *Kritische Bemerkungen zur neuesten Lutherbibelforschung; e. kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Prof. D. Beyer (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken),* 1930.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. The most important books on the peculiarity of Luther's translation are the following: G. W. Hopf, *Wuerdigung d. Lutherschen Bibelverdeutschung,* Nuernberg 1847. J. Fr. Wetzel, *Die Sprache Luthers in seiner Bibeluebersetzung,* Stuttgart 1859. A. Lehmann, *Luthers Sprache in seiner Uebersetzung des Neuen Tes-*

taments, Halle 1873. G. W. Hopf, *Alliteration, Assonaz und Reim in der Lutherbibel,* Erlangen 1883. P. Pietsch, *Martin Luther und die hochdeutsche Schriftsprache,* Breslau 1883. R. Neubauer, *Martin Luther (mit Einleitung in Luthers Sprache),* Halle 1903. K. Burdach, *Die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache,* Halle 1884. Wunderlich, *Untersuchungen ueber d. Satzbau Luthers,* Muenchen 1887. J. Luther, *Die Sprache Luthers in der Septemberbibel,* Halle 1887. L. P. Ranke, *Luther als Bibelueber-setzer,* Luebeck 1905. A. Risch, *Die Deutsche Bibel in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung,* Berlin 1907. O. Reichert, *D. Martin Luthers Deutsche Bibel,* Tuebingen 1910. C. Franke, *Grundzuege der Schriftsprache Luthers,* 2 Aufl., Halle 1913-1922. W. Walther, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel,* Berlin 1917. H. v. Schubert, *Luther und seine lieben Deutschen,* 1917. A. Risch, *Luthers Bibelverdeutschung,* Leipzig 1922. G. Wahl, *Die Deutsche Bibel vom 15.-18. Jahrhundert,* 1922. E. Hirsch, *Luthers Deutsche Bibel,* Muenchen 1928. F. L. Meyer, *Luthers Stellung zur Sprache,* Hamburg 1930. G. Roethe, *Luthers Septemberbibel (Jahrbuch d. Luther-Gesellschaft),* Wittenberg 1923. Fr. Jehle, *Zur Lutherbibel,* Stuttgart 1934. F. G. Ritter, *Luther der Deutsche,* München 1933. K. Heussi, *Luthers deutsche Sendung,* 1934.

2. All that can be done at this time is to append a bibliography. G. Roethe, *D. M. Luthers Bedeutung fuer die deutsche Literatur,* Berlin 1918. E. P. Merker, *Reformation und Literatur,* Weimar 1918. H. Zerener, *Studien ueber das beginnende Eindringen d. Lutherschen Bibeluebersetzung in die deutsche Literatur,* Leipzig 1911. Schaub, *Die niederdeutschen Uebertragungen der luth. Bibel,* 1889. J. J. Mezger, *Geschichte der deutschen Bibeluebersetzung in der schweizerischen reformierten Kirche,* Basel 1876. H. Byland, *Der Wortschatz des Zuericher Alten Testaments von 1525 und 1531 (verglichen mit dem Wortschatz Luthers),* Berlin u. Basel 1902, 1903. v. Bachmann, *Der Einfluss von Luthers Wortschatz auf die schweizerische Literatur des 16. u. 17. Jahrhunderts,* 1909. W. Hadorn, *Die Deutsche Bibel in d. Schweiz,* Leipzig 1925. J. Belsheim *Skandinavische Bibeluebersetzungen* (R.E. 3), Leipzig 1897. J. Belsheim, *Finnische Bibeluebersetzungen* (ibid.), 1897. Leskien, *Litauische u. Lettische Bibeluebersetzungen* (ibid.) 1897. In this volume Leskien also gives an account of the translations of Polish Lutherans (3, 165 f.). Franz Balogh, *Magyarische Bibeluebersetzungen* (ibid.). H. van Druten, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bibelvertaling,* Leiden-Rotterdam.

1896. 1909. F. B. Westcott, *History of the English Bible,* London 1905. L. F. Gruber, *The First English New Testament and Luther,* Burlington 1928. W. Gerber, *Die Bibel das Buch der Menschheit (Luther u. die Bibel)* Leipzig 1923.

BUGENHAGEN'S EDITION OF LUTHER'S BIBLE IN LOW GERMAN

On page 206 the fact should have been more emphasized that even the Low German edition of the whole Bible by Bugenhagen, although based entirely on Luther's translation, had been published before Luther's High German Bible of 1534 appeared. The fact is mentioned on page 39 and in note 75 (p. 307), but its significance is not stressed. Bugenhagen always eager to serve the Low German people acted with Luther's Bible exactly as with his Catechism. Before Luther had published the content of the various catechism charts in a booklet, Bugenhagen gathered them, translated them into Low German and published them during his stay at Hamburg in April 1529 while Luther's first book edition in High German appeared not before May 16th. So he did with Luther's Bible. As soon as parts of Luther's Bible appeared he translated them or had them translated into Low German. So 1524 the New Testament was published in Wittenberg in Low German; until 1533 six Wittenberg and seven other editions followed, besides several parts of the O. T. in six Wittenberg and eight other editions. Before Luther's High German Bible was completed Bugenhagen started in 1531, during his stay at Luebeck, with the edition of a Low German Bible and although this edition making use of Luther's translation of the Prophets of 1532 was not completed before 1533 and published 1534, it appeared several months before Luther's complete Bible of 1534.

SOURCE MATERIALS

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER ONE

I. SELECTIONS FROM COMESTOR'S HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA

(12th century)

1. *Abraham offers his son Isaac:* Post haec dum habitaret in Bersabee, et Isaac, ut dicit Josephus, viginti, quinque annorum esset, dixit Dominus illi: *Tolle filium tuum unigenitum, quem diligis, Isaac, et vade in terram visionis, et offer mihi eum in holocaustum super unum montium, quem monstravero tibi.* Terram visionis dixit, illam partem Judeae, quae est in montanis, quia et ipsa a longe, et de illa longe videri potest, quae et ab Isaia vallis visionis dicitur (*Isa.* xxii). In summitate vero montium Judeae monticulus erat eminentior, dictus mons Moria, quem monstravit Deus Abrahae ad immolandum filium. In hoc tradunt Hebraei templum post factum, et altare factum in loco, ubi Abraham altare fecit, et David Angelum reponentem gladium, vidit in area Ornan Jebusaei. Unde dicit Isaias: *Erit mons domus Domini in vertice montium, et ad eum fluent omnes gentes* (*Isai.* ii), de quo et Dominus praecepit Judaeis, ne immolarent sibi in omni loco, nisi in loco quem ostenderet eis Dominus (*Deut.* xxxiv). *Abraham ergo de nocte consurgens,* nemini quod facturus erat indicans, *stravit asinum suum, ducens secum duos juvenes, et filium,* ivitque iter duorum dierum. *Tertio die, elevatis oculis, vidit locum procul.* Hinc probantur illi errasse inter Bethel et Hay. Locus enim ille non distat a monte Moria per iter unius diei. Et cum accepisset ligna, et ignem, relictis infra juvenibus cum asino, cum filio ascendit solus. Cui filius: *Ecce,* inquit, *ignis, et ligna, ubi est victim holocausti? Cui pater: Deus providebit sibi victimam.* Et statuit aram, et lignis impositis, ignem adhibuit. Refert autem Josephus verba patris ad puerum dicentis: Quia sicut ex voluntate Dei ingressus fuerat mundum mirabiliter, ita etiam ex voluntate Dei, necesse erat ei egredi mirabiliter, quem Dominus quidem judicasset dignum, non aegritudine, non bello, non aliqua passione, humanam vitam finire, sed cum orationibus, et sacrificiis animam ipsius ad se vocare, quod suscitaret eum ob implendas promissiones. Et sic Isaac libens accessit ad aram, et

mortem. De hoc Alcuinus dicit: Indubitanti animo mactare volebat filium, laudandus in constantia offerendi, et in fide suscitandi filii. Arrepto autem gladio, ut filium immolaret, clamavit ad eum angelus: *Non extendas manum in puerum, nunc cognovi quod timeas Dominum.* Non enim sanguinem pueri sitiebat Dominus, sed ut sciretur, quantum Abraham timuerit Dominum. *Et vidit Abraham post tergum arietem inter vepres haerentem cornibus, quem obtulit pro filio.* Hebraeus *in virgultis* habet, Sabech *haerentem cornibus, quem obtulit pro filio.* Hebraeus *in virgultis* habet, Sabech *haerentem cornibus,* et est Sobech *genus virgulti.* Hic erravit Eusebius dicens, Sabech hircum erestum ad carpendas frondes. Dixit ergo arietem Sabech, id est quasi hircum erectum. Et dicit eum Rabanus non noviter creatum, sed aliunde ab angelo allatum. *Et vocavit nomen loci: Dominus videt. Et usque hodie,* quasi in proverbium, *dicitur* a Judaeis in arcto positis: *In monte Dominus videbit,* quasi dicerent: Sicut respexit Issac in monte, sic videat nos in hac angustia. Diem autem liberationis Isaac, dicunt Hebraei primam diem Septembris. Unde in eo solemnizant, et clangunt cornibus pecorinis in memoriam arietis. Et juravit Dominus per seipsum de semine multiplicando ex Isaac, et de terra danda semini ejus. Altera die rediit Abraham, et reversus est in Bersabee.

2. *Jesus' last discourse* (John 14-17): Tunc subdidit Jesus consolando longum sermonem, quem scripsit Joannes (cap. xiv): "Non turbetur cor vestrum neque formidet. In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt, si quo minus dixissem vobis." *Minus,* ponitur pro *non,* et est, si quo minus, id est in aliquo non dixissem vobis, non id est si non essent ibi, ego dixissem vobis, id est non celassem vos, imo dixissem vobis, quia non sunt ibi. Sed, subaudi, sciatis "quia vado vobis parare locum." Jam paratae erant mansiones, ut dixerat, praedestinatione, sed tamen adhuc parandae erant apertione, et ipsorum meritoria operatione. Hieronymus autem contra Jovinianum legit totum sub una distinctione sic: "Si non mansiones multae essent apud Patrem, dixissem vobis, quia vado parare vobis locum," hoc est si non unusquisque praepararet sibi mansionem ex propriis operibus, "dixissem vobis, quia vado parare vobis locum." Meum autem non est parare, sed vestrum. Et est dictum, sicut illud: "Sedere a dextris, vel a sinistris non est meum dare vobis (*Matt.* xx)." Tamen, et quod quisque sibi parat, etiam Deus ei parat. Parat enim mansiones, mansionibus parando mansiones. Cumque dixisset ei Thomas:

"Domine, quo vadis? Respondit ei Jesus: Ego sum via, veritas et vita," quasi dicat: Qua vis ire? Ego sum via, id est imitare. Quo vis ire? Ego sum veritas, id est verus et supremus finis, qui solus quaerendus est. Ubi vis permanere? Ego sum vita. Et nota quia modo arguit eos in hoc sermone, quasi nescientes ipsum, modo commendat, tanquam scientes, quod secundum regulam Ticonii de aliis et aliis est intelligendum. Sunt et quaedam in hoc sermone, quibus applaudit Sabellius, ut, "qui videt me, videt et Patrem." Quaedam quibus insultat Arius, ut, "verba, quae ego loquor, a me ipso non loquor," et "major me est," et hujusmodi. Etiam promissionem hanc addidit Jesus: "Qui credit in me, opera, quae ego facio, ipse faciet, et majora horum faciet," genitivus est pro ablativo more Graecorum. Majus fuit sanari umbra Petri, quam fimbria vestis Christi, quasi dicat: Non erit major me, qui credit in me, sed majora faciam per eum, quam sine eo. Dicit enim Augustinus: Non de omnibus operibus Christi hoc dicitur. Non audeo praecipitare sententiam, ut dicam majus esse salutem fieri peccatorum Christo operante, quam sunt angeli. Intelligat qui potest utrum majus sit justos creare, quam impios justificare, cum hoc sit majoris misericordiae, illud majoris potentiae. De verbis justitiae, quae tunc fecit, est hic sermo, non de omnibus operibus ejus. Quod autem ait: "Rogabo Patrem, et alium Paracletum dabit vobis," sic est construendum; dabit vobis Paracletum, qui est alius a nobis, id est alia persona a nobis, id est a Patre et Filio. Pater enim, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus sunt idem *advocatus*, vel *consolator*. Quod dixit Paracletum mitti in nomine suo, hoc est ad notitiam ejus et glorificationem. Vel quia habet idem nomen quod Filius, id est Deus. Nec hoc quod ait: "Sermonem, quem vos audistis, non est meus," obloquitur ei, quod dixerat, diligentem se, sermones suos servare. Singulariter enim dixit sermonem Patris esse, nec esse suum, id est a se. Et dixit eis: "Quando misi vos sine sacculo, et pera, et calceamentis, nunquid aliquid defuit vobis?* At illi dixerunt, Nihil. Et dixit eis: Qui nunc habet sacculum tollat similiter et peram, et qui non habet gladium, emat (*Luc.* xxii)." Instruit eos Dominus in discretione virtutum. Sunt enim quaedam semper tenenda, ut misericordia, humilitas, fides, spes et charitas, quaedam pro tempore et loco mutanda, ut fames, sitis, vigiliae, orationes, labor operandi et docendi. Tempore ergo persecutionis docet necessaria tollere, donec tempus evangelizandi rediret, sopita persecutione. Cumque dixissent: "Domine, ecce duo gladii hic, respondit: Satis est (*ibid.*)." Unus, qui amputaret auriculam, in cujus sanatione virtus Domini monstraretur, alter, qui non evaginatus ostenderet apostolos non permissos facere quidquid posset in Domini defensione. Praedixit quoque eis Jesus: "Ecce veniet hora, etiam venit, ut dispergamini unusquisque in propria, et me solum relinquetis (*Joan.* xvi)." — "Postea elevatis oculis in coelum, oravit, dicens: "Pater, venit hora," etc. (*Joan.* xvii). Et oravit primo pro se, post pro discipulis, tertio pro his qui credituri erant per verbum eorum.

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* *Additio* 1. Quasi diceret: Habebitis per modicum tempus persecutionem; et ideo praemunite vos, et in armis ad defensionem, et in saeculis ad necessariorum repostionem.

3. *From the history of Christ's passion:* "Tunc venit cum illis in villam, quae dicitur Gethsemani, quae est ad radicim montis Olveti trans torrentem Cedron (*Matt.* xxvi; *Marc.* xiv; *Luc.* xxii; *Joan.* xviii)." Cedron genitivus est Graecus pluralis, qui Latine dicitur *Cedrorum.* "Et introivit Jesus in hortum cum discipulis suis. Sciebat autem et Judas locum illum, quia consueverat Jesus illuc venire cum discipulis suis. Et cum intrasset, dixit eis: Sedete hic donec vadam illuc, et orem, et etiam vos orate ne intretis in tentationem, ne scilicet succumbatis tentationi. Et assumpto Petro, et filiis Zebedaei coepit contristari, et ait: Tristis est anima mea, usque ad mortem." Usualiter dictum est, id est multum tristis est anima mea, vel tristis est usque ad timorem mortis et pro timore mortis. Testabatur autem pro ruina apostolorum, vel potest esse *usque* exclusivum. Tristabatur enim, donec se et suos morte sua liberaret. Vel inclusivum, scilicet, donec post mortem suam redirent apostoli ad fidem ejus. "Et progressus ab eis quantum jactus est lapidis, procidit in faciem suam, et orabat: Abba Pater, si possibile est, transfer hunc calicem* a me." Idem est Abba, quod Pater. Et est *Abba* Hebraeum et Syrum, *Pater* Graecum et Latinum. In quo innuit Deum Patrem esse omnium gentium. Ut verus homo horrebat mortem, et vellet non mori, si fieri posset de justitia. Habebat enim justitia Patris, ut Christus pateretur, et a constitutione mundi hoc sacramentum ab eo erat praeostensum. Haec voluntas non moriendi gloriosos martyres fecit. Non enim vult sensus carnis, nisi quod delectat. Si autem delectaret eos mori, non inde viderentur mereri, sed quia

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* *Additio* 1. Nomine calicis, intelligitur passio ratione mensurae, quia Dei justitia non patitur aliquem pati supra id quod possit.

hanc moriendi voluntatem subjiciunt Deo, merentur. Unde et Christus subdidit: "Verumtamen non quod ego volo, sed quod tu." Quidam tamen adhaerentes particulae demonstrativae, scilicet *hunc*, dicunt orasse misericorditer pro Judaeis, ut si fieri posset, quod intrarent gentes, sine caecitate Judaeorum, non biberet hunc calicem, mortem scilicet a Judaeis, quae sibi imminebat. "Et cum venisset ad discipulos, invenit eos dormientes. Et ait Petro: Sic non potuisti, etc." Vel ait Petro sic ironice, quasi dicat: Sic erat faciendum? In communi autem dixit illis tribus: Quid dormitis? Spiritus quidem promptus est, subaudi, vester, quasi promptulum habuistis spiritum, in promittendo mori etiam pro me, sed nunc patet carnis infirmitas. "Secundo abiit, et oravit eumdem sermonem. Et apparuit illi angelus confortans eum. Et factus in agonia prolixius orabat, id est in certamine contra mortem." Jam quasi vincebat mortem in animo, dum etiam mori volebat, quam post vicit actu ipso, scilicet resurgendo. "Et factus est sudor eius, sicut guttae sanguinis ** decurrentis in terram. Et rediens ad discipulos invenit eos dormientes. Tertio abiit, et oravit eumdem sermonem. Tunc venit ad discipulos, et ait illis: Dormite jam, et requiescite. Et cum paululum dormissent, ait: Surgite. Sufficit, eamus. Ecce prope est, qui me tradet."

Adhuc eo loquente, venit Judas cum cohorte militum, accepta a praeside, et turba ministrorum, accepta a principibus sacerdotum, et armis (*Matt.* xxvi; *Marc.* xiv; *Luc.* xxii; *Joan.* xviii). Et dederat illis signum, quia osculo indicaret eis Jesum, et ipsi ducerent eum caute. Putabat enim quod magicis artibus posset se transformare, et elabi. Et suscepto osculo, vocavit eum Jesus amicum, vel ironice, vel secundum statum praeteritum. Et primo

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** *Additio* 2. Nota, prima effusio sanguinis Christi fuit in circumcisione, secunda in sudore, tertia in flagellatione, quarta in crucifixione, quinta in mortui lanceatione. Prima in exemplum, ut circumcidamus membra nostra: secunda in signum, quia in sanguine suo irrigaret et fecundaret; tertia et quarta ad remedium; quinta ad sacramentum. Inde est quod officium missae in quinque partitum est. Prima ejus pars est usque ad epistolam, ut ab ea incipiat; secunda pars usque ad evangelium inclusive; tertia usque ad canonem: quarta usque ad embolismum, quod interpretatur *superexcrescere*, quia novissime superadditur, sed *Libera nos*, etc., quod in quibusdam ecclesiis alta voce dicitur; quinta pars usque ad finem. Sed quia in sola cruce etiam quinaria fuit effusio sanguinis, ideo et solus canon subdividitur in quinque partes. Prima usque *Qui pridie*, secunda usque ad *Memento*, tertia usque *Praeceptis*; quarta et quinta usque ad embolismum, vel ad finem.

interrogaverat eos: "Quem quaeritis?" At illi dixerunt: Jesum. Et cum dixisset Jesus quaerentibus se: Ego sum, abierunt retro, et ceciderunt. Postea tenuerunt Jesum, et ligaverunt eum. Simon autem Petrus amputavit auriculum servo, cui nomen erat Malchus. Jesus autem sanavit eum, et ait Petro: Omnis, qui gladium accipit, gladio peribit, illo scilicet, qui vertebatur ante Paradisum, vel pro gladio accepto peribit. Nec accipit gladium pro eo, qui datur a Deo, vel a lege, vel a judice.

Adduxerunt autem Jesum ad Annam primum, non quia collega Caiphae*; sed quia socer ejus. Turpe esset, si domum Annae antepositam, praeterissent. Adolescens autem sequebatur eum amictus sindone super nudo, subaudi, corpore. Aliter enim non habebat indumentum, quam sindonem, qui relicta sindone, aufugit ab eis. Tradunt quidam hunc fuisse Joannem, quem tunc fuisse adolescentem, longa ejus vita indicium est. Hieronymus tamen superlocum illum Psalmi (*Psal.* xxxii): "Vim faciebant, qui quaerebant animam meam," ait: Judaei vim faciebant, vel Petro cum dicerent: "Et tu ex illis es." Vel Jacobo, qui cum traheretur, relicta sindone, nudatus aufugit ab eis. Videtur tamen potius opinando, quam affirmando dixisse.

"Sequebatur autem Petrus a longe, ut videret finem. Joannes vero notus pontifici introduxit Petrum. Quem cum intuita esset ancilla ostiaria, dixit: Nunquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius? Dicit ille: Non novi illum, neque scio quid dicis (*Matt.* xxvi; *Marc.* xiv; *Luc.* xxii; *Joan.* xviii)." Quidam volentes excusare Petrum dicunt, quod bene dixit, se non nosse illum, quem nimo perfecte novit, nisi Pater. Et cum dixisset: "O homo, non sum," se negavit, et non Christum. Cumque dixisset, "homo, nescio quid dicis," dixit se nescire falsa eorum consilia et dolos. Sed stultum est excusare, quem Dominus accusavit. Ipse etiam se reum lacrymis indicavit. Stabat autem cum ministris Petrus ad ignem. Interrogabat autem pontifex Jesum de doctrina ejus. Et cum dixisset Jesus: "Palam mundo locutus sum, interroga eos, qui audierunt," unus ministrorum dedit alapam Jesu. "Et ait Jesus: Si bene locutus sum, quid me caedis?" Ostendit Jesus, percutienti maxillam, non actu ipso praebendam esse alteram, sed animo paratum esse ad patiendum, si opus fuerit. Et misit eum Annas ligatum ad Caipham.

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* *Additio* 1. Id est, primo emerant Caiphas, et Annas summum sacerdotium a Pilato, sed Caiphas illo anno habuit, sed quia domus Annae erat in transitu eorum, pro reverentia sacerdotali, antequam ad Caipham illuc eum introduxerunt.

Erat autem Petrus stans in atrio, et calefaciens se, et dicente alia ancilla: Et hic cum Jesu erat, dixerunt, qui astabant: Vere tu ex illis es, nam et Galilaeus es, et loquela tua, id est idioma Galilaeae, manifestum te facit. Tunc negavit Petrus cum juramento, et ante hanc negationem exierat, et cantaverat gallus. Et quasi post horam cognatus Malchi dicebat eum se vidisse in horto cum Jesu. Et tunc Petrus coepit anathematizare, et jurare, quia non novisset hominem, et statim gallus cantavit. Et conversus Dominus, respexit Petrum. Et recordatus Petrus verbi, quod Dominus dixerat, egressus foras flevit amare, fugiens in caveam, quae modo Gallicantus appellatur, in quo loco aedificata est ecclesia. Secundum hunc ordinem Joannis videtur Petri trina negatio inchoata in atrio Annae, et consummata in atrio Caiphae. Secundum alios, qui non faciunt mentionem de Anna, videtur tota facta in atrio Caiphae. Augustinus in libro *De concordia evangelistrarum*, asserit totam factam in atrio Annae, et quae dicta sunt inde post missum Jesum ad Caipham, recapitulanda dicta. Hieronymus in Matthaeum, et Beda in Lucam, videntur velle quod Petrus in atrio Caiphae negaverit.

"Mane facto convenerunt apud Caipham sacerdotes, et seniores populi, et Scribae, et Pharisaei, et quaerebant falsum testimonium contra Jesum (*Matt.* xxvi; *Marc.* xiv). Et dixerunt duo falsi testes: Nos audivimus eum dicentem: Possum destruere templum Dei hoc manu factum, et post triduum non manu factum reaedificare. Cumque non respondisset Jesus, exsurgens Caiphas dixit ad Jesum: Adjuro te per Deum vivum, ut dicas nobis, si tu es Christus Filius Dei benedicti. Et respondit Jesus: Tu dixisti. Si dixero vobis, non creditis mihi, amodo videbitis Filium hominis sedentem a dextris virtutis Dei, et venientem in nubibus coeli," quod de secundo adventu ejus congrue intelligi potest, vel de adventu ejus in orbem per praedicatores. "Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua* dicens: Blasphemavit;" consuetudinis Judaicae erat audita blasphemia in Deum, scindere vestimenta sua. "Et dixit: Quid vobis videtur? Et dixerunt: Reus est mortis."

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* *Additio* 1. Hoc in lege non habebant, sed signum doloris debuit esse.

II. SELECTIONS FROM THE GERMAN MANUSCRIPT BIBLE

a. *From the Monsee Gospel of the eighth century.*

4. Matthew 9:1-8.

(En)ti genc er in sceffilin, ubar ferita dhen (ke)ozun, enti quam in sina burc.	Und er ging in (ein) Schiff, ueberfuhr den See und kam in seine Stadt.
(En)ti see saar, butun imo befora laman, licchen (t)an in baru, enti gasah ihesus iro galaupin, (qu)had demo lamin: Gatrue sunu, forlaaz(sen)u dhir uuerdant dino suntea. Enti see (saar) ein huuelihhe scribera quhattun untar im: (Dh)ese lastrot, enti so ihesus gasah iro gadancha, (quh)at zahuuiu dencet ir ubil in iuuueremo (muo)te. Huuedar ist gazelira, za quedanne (forl) az seno dhir uuerdant dhino suntea (odo) za quhedanne: arstant enti ganc. Daz ir auh uuizit, dhaz mannes sunu (hab)et gauualt, in herdhu za forlazanne suntea, (duo) quhat dhemo lamin: arstant, nim (dii)n betti enti ganc za dinemo hus. enti er (arstu)ont enti genc sa sinemo hus. Gasahhun iz (diu) folc, gaforahtun im enti aerlihho b lobotun. (got) dher solihha gauualtida forgab mannum.	Und siehe da, (sie) trugen vor ihm (einen) Lahmen, liegend auf (einer) Bahre. Und sah Jesus ihren Glauben, sagte dem Lahmen: Getraue, Sohn, erlassen dir werden deine Suenden. Und siehe da, einige Schreiber sprachen unter sich: Dieser laestert. Und da Jesus sah ihre Gedanken, sprach (er): Wozu denket ihr uebel in eurem Gemuete? Welches von beiden ist leichter, zu sagen: Erlassen werden dir deine Suenden, oder zu sagen: Erstehe and gehe? Dass ihr aber wisst, dass (des) Menschen Sohn hat Gewalt auf Erden, zu erlassen Suenden, da sagte (er) dem Lahmen: Erstehe, nimm dein Bett and gehe zu deinem Haus. Und er erstand and ging zu seinem Haus. Sahen es die Scharen, fuerchteten sich und ehrerbietig lobten Gott, der solche Gewalt gab Menschen.

b. *From a fragment of the eleventh century.*

5. *Matthew 22:22-34:* An dem Tage do chomen zuo zim die uer leitare, di da niht gelovben die urstende, unt urzgiton in unt sprachen: Maister, moyses sprach: Swer so irsturbe unt enhe te der niht sunes, daz sin bruoder name sie wip unt erchuhte an ir den samen sines bruoder. Vnt ez waren bi uns siben bruoder; unt der erste nam ein wip unt starp unt gewan bi ir niht chindes, unt er lie sinem bruoder sin wip, unt der ander lie sie dem dritten untze an den sibinden. Vnt ze iungest do erstarp daz wip. Von div so sage uns, an der urstende welhem dirre sibinen wirt daz

wip, wan si hetens alle? Vnt ihesus antwrte in vnt sprach: Ir irret. Ir enwizzet niht die scrift nohc des gewaltes gotes. An der urstende enbrutet man niht noh en sint niht brutlofte. Wann sie sint alse die engile gotes in dem himile. En hat ir niht gelesen uon der urstende der toten, daz da ist gesprochen uon gote sprechinde zvo: Ego sum Ihc bin got abrahames unt got ysaaches unt got iacobes. Vnt niht got der toten wan der lebindigen. Vnd daz erhorte div menige unt wderton sih siner lere. (Dom. Xviii post octavam pentecostes*). Do die pharisei gehorten, daz ihesus hatte . . .

c. *From Notker's Psalter, eleventh century.*

6. *Psalm 1:* Der man ist salig, der in dero argon rat ne gegieng, Noh an dero sundigon uuege ne stuont, Noh an demo suhstuole ne saz. Nube der ist salig, tes uuillo an gotes eo ist, unde der dara ana denchet tag unde naht. Unde der gediehet also uuola, so der boum, der bidemo rinnenten uuazzere gesezzet ist, der zitigo sinen uuuocher gibet. Noh sin loub ne riset, Unde fram diehent alliu, diu der boum biret unde bringet. So uuola ne gediehent aber die argen, So ne gediehent sie. Nube sie zefarent also daz stuppe dero erdo, daz ter uuint feruuahet, fone demo gotes riche. Pediu ne erstant arge zedero urteildo, Noh sundige ne sizzent danne in demo rate der recton. Vuanda got uueiz ten uueg dero rehton, Unde dero argon fart uuirt ferloren.

d. *From the Windberger Psalter of 1187.*

7. *Psalm 1:* Ein saliger man, der nihne hinefuor in deme rate der unguoten, unde an dem wege dere suntaere nihne stuont, unde uf deme stuole dere suhtluome nihne saz, halt in der ewe des herren wille sin, unde in der ewe siner ahtet er tach iouh naht. Vnde wisit also daz holz, daz gephlancit ist bi den niderfluzzen dere wazzere daz wuocher sinen gibit in zite sinem Vnde blat oder loub sie nihne zeflinzzet oder abene vallet, unde elliu suelihiu er tuot werdent geframsputiget. Niht so die unguote niht so halt also der molte, den wirfit der wint none dem antluzce der erde. Vone diu nihne erstent die unguote an dem urteile oder an dem gerihte noh die suntaere an dem rate der rehten. Wande erchennet der herro den wech der rehten unde daz geuerte der unguoten wirdit uerlorn.

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* Thus the beginnings and endings of the pericopes were marked.

e. *From a Manuscript of the 13th century* (Walther 485ff.).

8. *Psalm 1:* Selig ist der man, der nit enweg ist gegangen im rat der vnmilten, vnd im weg der suender nit ist gestanden, vnd in dem meister sessel der schelmen nit ist gesessen. Me in gesetzde dez heren ist sie wille, vnd in sie gesetzede sol er betrahten tag vnd naht. Vnd er wirt als ein holtz, dz gephlantzet ist bi dem wasser hin fluessen, vnd allez, dz er getut, daz sol im genossenlich ergan. Nit also die vnmilten nit also, me als dz gemuelle, dz der wint wirfet von antluet der erden. Da von suelent nit wider vferstan die vnmilten im urteile, noch die suender im rat der gerehten. Wan der here der ekant der gerehten weg, vnd der vnmilten weg sol verderben.

f. *From the Wenzel Bible of the 14th century* (Walther 291ff.).

9. *Isaiah 60:* Ste vff, wird derleuchtet ierusalez, wann komen ist dein licht, vnd di ere des herren ist vber dich entsprossen. Wann sich vinsternvsse werden bedecken di erde vnd der nebel di volk, Aber vber dich wirt entspriesen der herre, vnd sein ere wirt in dir gesehen, vnd wandern werden di heiden in deinem lichte, vnd die konge in dem scheine deines vff ganges. Heb vff in dem vmmeringe dein augen vnd sich alle dise gesamen sint vnd sint komen dir. Deine svne werden von verrens kvmen vnd deine tochter werden saugen von der milich. Denne wirst dv sehen vnd wirst vbervlisen vnd wundern wirt sich dein hercze vnd wirt geweitet, wann czv dir gekart wirt die menke des meres, vnd wann di sterke der heiden wirt komen dir. Di vbervlussikeit der camelen wirt dich bedecken, dromeden madian der lande vnd effa. Alle werden sie kvmen von dem lande saba, golt vnd weirauch bringende vnd lop dem herren kvnde.

g. *From Claus Cranc's translation of the Prophets, 1360-1380.*

10. *Isaiah 9:1-7:* In der ersten zit wart entringet dem lande Zabulon und deme lande Neptalym, und zu jungste wart beswert der weg des meres andirsyt des Jordans zu Galyleen der heiden. daz volk, daz do wandirte in deme vinstirnisse, sach ein groses liecht, di do woneten in deme lande des todis schemen, den ist ein liecht entstanden. du hast gemeret daz volk und hast nicht gegroset di vroyde. und si werden sich vroyen vor dir als di sich vroyen in deme ouste, als sich vroyen di do gesegit haben und einen roub bejayt haben, wen sie den roub buyten. wand daz

joch sinir burde und di gerte sinir achsiln und daz sceptrum sinis schoswalden hastu ubirwunden als an deme tage Madyan. wand alle gewaltroubunge ist mit gelodem und daz cleit, das mit blute gemischit ist, wirt gebrant und ein spise des vueres. ja ist uns geborn ein kindelin und der sun ist uns gegeben, und sin vurstentum ist vunden uf sinir achseln und sin name wirt genant der wundirliche, ratgebe, got, starc, vatir der zukumftigin werlt, vurste des vridis. sin gebijt wirt gemeret und vrides wirt kein ende. uf deme stule Davidis unde uf sinem riche wirt er sitzen, daz er das bestetige und bevestene mit gerichte und mit gerechtikeit von dirre stunde vort ewiclichen. di liebe des herren der engil wirt daz tun.

11. *Isaiah 12:* Unde an deme tage wirdistu sprechen: ich lobe dich, herre, daz du uf mich gezornet hast, ja hat sich din grym gewant und du hast mich getrost. set, got ist min heilant, ich wil kunlich gebaren und wil mich nicht vorchten. ja ist der herre mine craft und min lob und ist mir wurden zu selikeit. ir wert scheppen wazzer uz des heilandis brunnen in vroyden und ir wert sprechen an deme tage: bekennet deme herren und rufet an sinen namen, tuet kunt undir deme volke sine vunde, gedenket, daz sin name hoch ist. singet deme herren, ja hat er tuchticlich getan, mer ist kunt in alle der werlde. vroye dich unde lobe, du wonunge zu Syon, ja ist der heilige Israhel gros mitten undir dir.

12. *Isaiah 40:* Syt getrost, syt getrost, min volk, spricht uwir got. sprecht Jherusalem zu herzen und locket si, ja ist ire bosheit geendit, ire missetat ist vorgeben. sy hat enphangen von des herren hant zwevaldic um alle ire sunde. die stymme des rufindins in der wuste: bereit den weg des herren, machet recht in der eynote di styge unsirs gotis. alle grunde werden irhaben, und alle berge und hobil werden genydirt, was do slym ist, daz wirt recht, was do strub ist, daz wirt slecht. und di ere des herren wirt geoffenbart, unde allis vleisch mit eynandir wirt sin, was der munt des herren gesprochen hat. di stimme eynis sprechendins: ruf. do sprach ich: waz sal ich rufen? allis vleisch ist sam eyn heu, und alle sin rum ist als eyne veltblume. daz gras ist vordorret, und di blume ist gevallen des halben, das der wynt des herren doran gewehet hat. werlich das volk ist eyn gras. das gras ist durre wurden und di blume ist gevallen, abir des herren wort wirt eweclichen sten. uf einen hochen berg mache dich, du der du bebotschaftest Syon. irhebe in craft dine stimme, der du gute botschaft brengist Jherusalem. irhebe und vorchte dich

nicht. sage den steten Jude: set, uwer got, set, der herre got wirt komen in sterke, unde sin arm wirt herschen. set, sin lon ist mit im, und sin werk ist vor im. als der hyrte sine hert weydit, mit synem arme sament di lam und boret di in sine schoz und treit di swangeren: wer hat die wazzer gemessin mit der vuyst und di himel gepoyset mit der hant? wer hat an dri vinger gehangen der erden last und berge und hobil noch gewichte gewegen mit einir wage? wer hat des herren geiste gehulfen adir wer ist sin ratgebe gewest unde hat iz im gezeiget? mit weme hat er zu rate gegangen, der im ingegeben habe und in gelart habe den styg der gerechtikeit und der in anbracht habe di kunst und im gezeyget habe den weg der clucheit? set, daz volk ist vor im als einis wazzirvassis czor und als einir wogen czunge geacht. set, dy werdir sin als eyn cleinis stoubelin. und der Lybanus ist nicht gnug zu opphir. alle lute sint rechte vor im, ob si nicht sin und alse nichtisnicht, und ytil sint si im geacht. und weme hat ir got gliche gemacht adir waz bildis setzet ir im? sal ein smyt gyzen ein bilde, der goltsmyt iz formen mit golde adir ein silbersmyt mit silbirblechen? eyn wisir werkmeister irwelet im ein veste holtz, daz nicht vulen mag. er wart, wi er ein bilde gesetze, daz iz icht waget. wisset ir is nicht? habet ir is nicht gehort? ist is uch nicht kuntgetan von anbegyn? habet ir nicht vornomen di gruntvesten der erden? der do sitzet uf deme reyfe der erden, und ire woner sint als die heuschrecken. der di himel breitit sam ein nicht und spennet si als eyn gezelt zu wonen. der do macht heimelichir dinge vorscher, als ab si nicht sin, der do der erden richter gemacht hat als eyn ytil. ja enist werlichen noch gephlanzt noch geseet noch geclyben ir stok in der erden. der wynt des herren hat snellichin an si gewehet, und sie sint vordorret. der sturm vorvuret si als eynen strobalg. und weme habet ir mich gelichet und geenelichet? spricht der heilige. hebet uf in di hoe uwir ougen und sehet, wer di ding geschaffen habe, wer ire rittirschaft noch zal uzvurit, der si alle nennet by namen. von der zal sinir sterke und siner craft und sin tuchtikeit so blibit ein eynigis nicht hindirstellig. worumme sprichestu, Jacob, und saistu, Israhel: myn weg ist vorborgen von gote und min gerichte ist vorwuscht von mynem gote? weistu is nicht adir hastu is nicht gehort? got der ewige herre, der di ende der erden geschaffen hat, nymt nicht ab ouch arbeit er nicht ouch ist keyn irvorschen sinir wisheit. der do gibt deme muden tuchtikeit und meret sterke und craft den, di nicht sin, kyndir irlegen und werden arbeiten sich muyde und di jungen vallen in irer cranckheit. abir di an den herren hoffen, di wandiln ire sterke, si nemen gevidir als dy arn, si loufen und arbeiten nicht, si wandirn und irlegen nicht.

13. *Isaiah 53:* Wer geloubet unsym horen und weme ist geoffenbart der arm des herren? ja get er uf vor ym als eine rute und als eyne wurzele uz einir durren erden und hat noch schonde noch zirde. wir haben in gesehen, und keine lutselikeit waz an ym. wir haben sin begeret, und er waz vorsmehet und vorwurfen uz allen mannen. einen man vol smerze, der do weyz von crancheit, und sin antlitze daz ist, als ab is vorborgen si und vorsmehet, und dorumme so habe wir uf in ouch nicht gezechet. werlichen, unse sueche hat er uf sich genomen und unse smerze hat er getragen, und wir haben in geacht als eynen uzsezigen, geslagen von gote und genydirt. und er ist vorwunt durch unsir missetat und iz gequezit durch unsir bosheit. dy zuychtigunge unsis vridis hat in obirgangen, und mit synen strichen sy wir heil wurden. wir syn alle irre gegangen als di schaf, eyn izlicher an sinen wek besiten, und der herre hat uf in geleget unsir aller missetat. er ist geopphirt und daz wolde er, und synen munt den tet er nicht uf. er ist gevurt as eyn schaf zu der slachte, und als eyn lam vorstummete er vor deme, der is schiret, und wirt sinen munt nicht uftun. von engisten und von dem gerichte is er irhaben, und wer mag volsprechen syne geburt? ja er ist abgesniten von deme lande der lebenden. durch di sunde minis volkis habe ich in geslayn, und er wirt geben di bosen zu siner bygrab und di richen umme sinen tot hirumme, daz er keyne sunde hat getan und keyn valsch ist vunden in sinem munde. und der herre wolde in queczen in crancheit hirumme, daz er sine sele hat gesatzt vor di sunde, so wirt er sehen eynen langwerinden somen, und der wille gotis wirt vortgang haben in sinir hant. er wirt sehen und wirt gesetet umme daz, das sine sele gearbeit hat. mit sinir kunst er, myn gerechtir knecht, wirt rechtvertigen vil luyte und wirt tragen ire sunde. und hirumme werde ich ym irteilen vil volkis, und der starken roub wirt er buyten, want er sine sele gegeben hat in den tot und mit den lestereren gezalt ist. ja hat er getragen vil luyte sunde und hat gebeten vor di sunder.

14. *Isaiah 60:* Stant uf, laz dich irluchten, Jherusalem, ja ist din liecht komen und di ere des herren ist uf dir entsprungen. want sich, vinstirnisse wirt di erde bedecken und tunkilheit daz volk. abir uf dir sal der herre entspringen, und syne ere wirt in dir gesehen. und di heyden werden wandirn in dinem liechte und

di konige in deme glancze dinis ufgangis. hebe uf allumme dich dine ougen und sich: alle dise gesameten, di sint dir komen, dine sone werden komen von verrens, und dine tochtir werden sich irheben besiten zu. denne wirdistu sehen und iz wirt dir zuvlyzen und din herze wirt sich vorwundirn und zubreyten, wenne di menige des meris wirt zu dir gekart unde di sterke der heiden dir kummet. der kamelyn vluyt wirt dich bedecken, di dromedarien von Madyan und Effa. von Sabba werden si komen alle brengende golt und wyrouch und gotis lob schallende. alle das vye von Cedar wirt dir gesamt, und di ster Nabayoth werden dir zu dinste. sy werden geopphert uf mynem behegelichen altir. und das huys minir majestaten wil ich eren. wer sint di, dy do vlygen als dy wolken und als di tuben zu iren venstirn? ja beiten min dy werdir und di schif des meris in dem begyn, daz ich herzu ervure dine sone von verrens. ir silbir und ir golt ist mit in deme namen des herren dinis gotis und deme heiligen Israhelis, der dich eren wil. der pylgerim sone werden buyen dine muyrn, und ire konige werden dir dinen. ja habe ich dich geslayn in mynem unmute, und in mynir sune hat mich dinir irbarmet. und dine phorten sullen geoffent werden steticlich, tag und nacht werden sy nicht beslozzen, daz zu dir bracht werde di craft der heiden und ire konige dir zugevurt werden. volk und rich, daz dir nicht dinet, dy vorterben, und di heiden werden vorwuystet und vorhert.

h. *From a translation of selected parts of the Prophets, 1400-1425* (Vollmer III, pp. 1-92).

15. *Isaiah 11:* Darnach sprach got zu mir: Es wird entspringen ein gert von der wurzen Jesse — Glosa: Jesse was Davids vater —, und ein pluem wird aufsten von der wurz, da wird auf ruen gotes geist, der geist der weisheit und der verstandnus, der geist des rats und der sterk und der geist der kunst und der guet, und in wird erfullen der geist gotes furcht. Er wird richten, nicht als er sicht und hort, sunder er wird dem armen richten nach recht und wil den guetigen strafen nach seiner guet, und wird die welt slahn mit der gerten seins mundes — Glosa: got wil die welt slahen mit der gerten seins mundes, das ist mit der urteil, die von seinem mund get, so er spricht: get, ir verfluechten, in die ewig hel —, und den ungerechten — Glosa: den ungerechten an der stat bezeichnet den antichrist — den wil er toten mit dem

geheiss seins willen. Und die gerechticheit wird umb in gen als ein gurtel, und rechter glaub wird mit im wonund. Zu der zeit wird das lamb und der wolf mit einander guetlich wonund — Glosa: das lamb und der wolf wonent an schaden bei einander, so der weltlich und der geistlich in gotes minn pruederlich got mit fleiss mit einander lobent —, und der liepard und das kitz werdent geselschaft mit einander haben, und der leb und das kalb und das lamb werdent mit einander wonung haben, und ein kleins kind wird ir phlegen — Glosa: das ist geschehen im geistlichen leben, da der hohfertig und der diemuetig, und der unkeusch in der welt was, und der geitig und mit den untugenden, die bei disen wilden tiern bezeichent sein, uberladen was, der pos nu mit dem gueten und der edel mit dem unedeln und der knecht mit dem hern bei einander wonent durch got in geistlichem leben, und der wird ein kleins kind phlegund, das ist ein diemuetiger prelat. — An den selben tagen die wurz Jesse, die zu einem zeichen ist gegeben meinem volk, den werdent die heiden anpeten, und wird sein grab gar erberlich. An dem selben tag wil got seinen gewalt erzeigen und wil zesamen pringen alles sein volk von allen den landen, da sie inne sein, und wil in benemen ir sund als ferre, das sie in werdent loben und sprechen: Her, ich lob dich, wann du zornig wider mich wurde, und dein zorn hat wider gekert, und du hast mich getrostt; seht, got ist mein heil und mein trost, und davon so furcht ich mir nicht, wann ich wil in dem gedingen leben, wann mein sterk und mein lob ist got, und der ist mein heil worden — Glosa: mit seiner menscheit. —

16. *Isaiah 40:* Darnach sprach got zu mir: Ruef laut! Do sprach ich: Was schol ich ruefen? Werlich, dis volk ist nicht wann als ein heu, und des menschen gewalt wann als ein pluem, die da dorrt und wird ir schein zenichte. Also geschicht auch dem menschen. Darnach sprach got zu mir: Du, der da predigen wil zu Sion, du scholt sten auf einen hohen perg, erhoh dein stim und schrei laut — Glosa: do lert got den prediger, der da predigt zu Sion, das ist von himlischem leben, der schol sten auf den hohen perg, das ist, das er schol eins andechtigen lebens sein, und schol fast schrein, das ist: mit grosser minn predigen —. Seht, got kumbt mit groszem gewalt, und sein sterk ist gross; er pringt sein lon mit im, und sein werk get vor im. Er will fueren seine scheflein als ein rechter herter und wil sie samen mit seinem gewalt, und die alten und die kranken wil er selber tragen.

17. *Ezekiel 34 and 36:* Sprich zu in, die da herter sein meins volks — Glosa: das spricht got hinz allen den, die undertan under in habent, sie sein geistlich oder weltlich —: We den hertern, die sich selben fuerent! Wisst ir nicht, das der herter die herd fueren schol? Ir habt die milch von der herd gass und habt euch gekleidt von der woll, und das das feistist was, das habt ir gass und habt meiner herd nicht phlegen; das da krank was, das habt ir nicht gesterkt, und das siech was, das habt ir nicht gesund gemacht, und das wund was, das habt ir nicht gepunden, und das verworfen was, das habt ir nicht widerpracht, und das irre gie, das habt ir nicht gesuecht, sunder ir habt mit scherf und mit macht in gepoten. Und davon sein zestreut meine schaf, darumb das sie nicht phleger heten; und davon so echtent ir alle tier und zestreuen sie; und davon sein meine schaf irr gegangen auf allen pergen und in allen talen und auf aller erden, wann niemand was, der meine schaf suecht oder widerprecht. Und davon, ir herter, hort, was got spricht: Zwar darumb das meine schaf zestreut sein und das alle tier ir echtent, davon das sie nicht phleger habent, die sie suechen und widerpringen, davon wil ich selber meine schaf suechen von iren hertern, und muessen sie mir von in antwurten und wil iren gewalt minnern, also das sie furbas von meinem vich nicht leben, und wil meine schaf von irem gewalt losen und wil meine schaf selber suechen und wil die beschauen. Als ein rechter herter beschaut seine schaf an dem tag, so er frolich stet enmitten under seinen schafen, die zestreut waren und die er widerpracht hat, also wil ich sie trosten und losen von aller stat, da sie zestreut sein, und wil sie samen aus aller welt und aus allen landen und wil sie fueren auf die aller pest weid — Glosa: die pest weid ist das himelreich —, und das irre get, das wil ich suechen — Glosa: got hat uns gesuecht auf erden dreiunddreissig jar und hat uns widerpracht mit seiner menscheit —; das verworfen was, das wil ich widerpringen, das krank ist, wil ich erzen; das feist ist und stark, des wil ich phlegen, wann ir seid mein herde. O ir herter, genuegt euch nicht des, das ir die guet weid abasst? uber das, was euch der uber was, das tratt ir under die fuess, und wenn ir das lauter wasser getrankt, das euch uber was, das truebtt ir mit den fuessen, und das muessten meine schaf trinken. Und davon wil ich selbs richten zwischen dem feisten und dem magern vich; wann ir nu mit eurem gewalt habt zestreut meine schaf, so wil ich sie selbs losen, also das sie nicht

mer werden geechtt, und wil in geben ein getreuen herter, das ist: meinen knecht David — Glosa: David bezeichent unsern lieben hern Jesum Christum —, der schol ir phlegen un schol wesen ir herter; und ich wil sein ir got, und mein knecht David ein furste enmitten under in ewiglich, und wil ein neues gelub mit in haben des ewigen frids und wil in alle echtsal benemen, also das sie ruen furbas an alle forcht, und wil in meinen segen geben, also das sie sein mein volk, und ich wil sein ir got — Glosa: der geheiss muess uns widerfaren in ener welt, wann dis ellend mag nicht ewigen frid gehaben. —

Ich wil euch samen aus den landen, da ir inne seid gefangen — Glosa: wir sein gefangen in disem ellend —, und wil euch pringen in euer vaterland — Glosa: unser vaterland ist das suess himelreich —, und wil auf euch giessen ein reines wasser und wil euch rein machen von aller eurer unreinicheit und von allen euren abgotern und wil euch geben ein neues herz, und einen neuen geist wil ich setzen in euch; ich wil euch nemen eure steineine herz und wil in euren leib geben ein herz von fleisch, und meinen geist wil ich euch geben und wil euch die gnad geben, das ir mein gepot haldet und das ir mein ee mit den werken volpringt, und wil, das ir wonung habt in dem lande, das ich euern vetern hab verheissen, und wil euch von eurer missewende losen und wil euch geben solche genuegsam, das ir furbas nicht leidet eurer nehsten unwird — Glosa: die geheiss gehorent all zu dem himelreich —. So werdet ir dann gedenken an eure alten sund, und werdent euch die missfallen und werdet euch schamen — Glosa: wenn ir werdet sehn die freud des himelreichs, so wird euch von herzen reuen, was ir wider mich habt getan. —

18. *Micah 6:* Was schol ich got ophern, das im wirdig sei? schol ich im mein erstes kind ophern, oder schol ich mein knie vor im peugen, oder mag ich in gesenften mit tausend feissten pöcken, oder schol ich vil tausend schaf, meinem hern für mein missetat ophern, oder schol ich die frucht meins leibes got geben für mein sünd? Nein, zwar, mensch, ich wil dir wol zeigen, was got genem ist, und was er von dir suecht: das ist, das du allen leuten recht mitfarst, und pis parmherzig uber alle menschen, und fleiss dich, das du got mit ernst suechst und das du seine gepot behaldest. Gotes stim rueft hinz den steten und spricht: Heil und seld habent alle die, die got fürchtend.

III. Selections from the Printed German Bible.

a. *Selections from the Mentel Bible, about 1466.*

19. *Genesis 1:* An dem anegang geschieff got den himel vnd die erde. wann die erde was eytel vnd lere: vnd vinster waren auff dem antlutze des abgrundes. vnd der geist gotz ward getragen auff die wasser. Vnd got der sprach. liecht werde gemacht Vnd das liecht ward gemacht. vnd got der sache daz liecht das es ward gut: vnd er teilt das liecht von der vinster. vnd das licht hiesz er den tag vnd die vinster die nacht. Vnd es wart gemacht abent vnd der morgen ein tag. Vnd got der sprach. Vestenkeit werd gemacht in mitz der wasser: vnd teilt die wasser von den wassern. Vnd got macht die vestenkeit vnd teilte die wasser die do waren vnder der vestenkeit von den die do waren ob der vestenkeit. vnd es ward getan also. Vnd got der rief die vestenkeit den himel: vnd es ward gemacht abent vnd der morgen der ander tage. Wann gott der sprach. Die wasser die do sint vnder dem himel die werdent gesamet an ein stat vnd die dirre derschein. Vnd es ward getan also. Vnd gott der rieff die durre die erde: und die sammenung des wassers hiesz er das mere. Vnd got der sach das es was gut. vnd sprach. Die erde keim gruns kraut vnd mache samen: vnd das oephelbau min holtze mach wucher nach seim geschlecht. des same sey in im selbs auf der erde. Vnd es ward getan also. Vnd die erde furbracht gruns kraut vnd bringent den samen nach irem geschlecht: vnd das holtz macht den wucher vnd ein yeglichs het samen nach seinem bilde. Vnd got der sach das es was gut: vnd es wart gemacht abent vnd der morgen der drittetag. Wann got der sprach. Liecht werdent gemacht in der vestenkeit des himels. vnd teilent den tag vnd die nachte: vnd sind in zeichene vnd in zeite vnd in iare. das sy leichtent in der vestenkeit des himels. vnd entleichten die erde. Vnd es wart getan also. Vnd got der macht zwey michel liecht: das merer zu leichten das es vor were dem tage. vnd das mynner zu leichten das es vor were der nacht vnd sternen. vnd saczte sy in die vestenkeit des himels das sy leichtent auff die erde: vnd vorweren dem tag vnd der nacht vnd teilten das liecht vnd die vinster. Vnd got der sach das es was gut: vnd es ward gemacht abent vnd der morgen der vierde tag. Idoch got der sprach. Die wasser fur furent kriechende dinge einer lebendigen sele vnd gefugel auff der erde. vnder der vestenkeit des himels. Vnd got geschuff grosz walvisch. vnd ein iegliche lebendige sele. vnd ein be-

weglich die die wasser fur furten in iren bilden. vnd ein ieglichs gefugel nach seinem geschlechte. Vnd gott der sach daz es was gut. vnd gesegent in sagent. Wachst vnd werd gemanigueltigt vnd erfullet die wasser des meres. vnd die vogel werdent gemanigueltigt auff der erde. Vnd es ward gemacht abent vnd der morgen der funfte. Vnd gott der sprach. Die erde fur fure ein legendige sele in irem geschlechte. die viche vnd die kriechenden ding. vnd die tier der erden nach iren bilden. Vnd es ward getan also. Vnd got der macht die tier der erde nach iren bilden. vnd die viche vnd ein iglichs kriechendes ding der erden in seinem geschlecht. Vnd got der sach das es was gut Vnd sprach. Wir· machen einen menschen zu vnserm bild vnd zu vnser gleichsam. vnd er wirt vor sein den vischen des meres. vnd den vogeln des himels. vnd den tieren der erden. vnd einer igklichen geschoepfft vnd allen kriechenden dingen das do wirt bewegt auf der erde. Vnd gott der beschuff den menschen zu seinem bilde vnd zu seiner gleichsam. zu dem bilde gottes beschuff er in. vnd er beschuff sy mennlichs vnd weiplichs. Vnd got der gesegent sy. vndsprach. Wachst vnd werd gemanigueltigkt vnd erfullent die erde. vnd vnderlegt sy. vnd ir werd herschen den visch des meres. vnd den vogel des himels vnd alle selige ding die do werdent bewegt auff der erden. vnd got der sprach. Secht ich hab euch gegeben alles kraut bringent den samen auf der erde. vnd alle die holczer die do habent den samen ires geschlechtes in jn selber. das sy euch sind zu einem essen vnd allen seligen der erde vnd eim yglichen vogel des himels vnd allen den dingen die do werdent bewegt auff der erde. vnd in den do ist die lebendig sele. das sie sy haben zeessen. Vnd es ward getan also. Vnd got der sach alle ding die er het gemacht. das sy waren gar gut. Vnd es ward gemacht abent vnd der morgen der sechste tage.

20. *Genesis 18:* Wann der herre erschein im in dem tale manbre. do er sasz vnter der turen seines tabernackels in der hitz des tages. Vnd do er het aufgehaben die augen. drey man erschinen im stende bey im. Do er sy het gesehen. er lieff in engegen von der tur des tabernackels. vnd er anbett sy an der erde vnd sprach. O herre ob ich hab funden gnad in deinen augen nit furgee deinen knecht. Wann ich bring ein lutzels wassers. vnd ewer fues werden gewaschen vnd rwet vnter dem baum. Vnd ich leg ein schnitten brotes. vnd sterck ewer hertz dornoch so get ir. Wann dorumb habt ir euch geneigt zu eurem knecht Si sprachen. thu als du hast gerett. Abraham der eilet in den

tabernackel zu sara. vnd sprach zu ir Eile misch drei mos simeln. vnd mach brote vnder den aschen. Vnd er selb lieff zu der swaig. vnd er nam von dann ein iunges kalp vnd das beste. vnd gab es dem kynde. Er eilte. vnd kocht es. Vnd er nam puttern vnd milch. vnd das kalp das er het gesoten. vnd er satzt es fur sie. Wann er selb stund bei in vnter dem baum. Vnd do sy hetten gegessen sy sprachen zu im. Wo ist sara dein hausfrawe. Er antwurt. Sich sy ist im tabernackel. Er sprach zu im. So ich wider ker ich kum zu dir in dem zeit. ob daz leben wirt zugelegt. vnd sara dein hausfrawe wirt haben einen sun Do das sara gehort. sy lachte hinder der tur des tabernackelz. Wann beide warent sy alt. vnd vergangens alters. vnd die weiplichen ding sare die hetten aufgehort zu werden. sy lachte heimlich sagent. Seit daz ich bin alt vnd mein herre der ist alt. gib ich denn daz werck der wolust. Wann der herre sprach zu abraham. Warumb hat gelachte sara dein hausfrawe sagent. Bin ich denn also alt zu geberen. Ist denn got vnsanft kein dinck. Noch der geheissung die da ist getan ich kere wider zu dir in der selben zeit. ob das leben wirt zugelegt. vnd sara wirt haben einen sune. Vnd sara leugnet. sagent. Ich hab nit gelachte ich bin erschrocken mit vorcht. Wann der herre sprach Es ist nit also. wann du hast gelacht. Dorumb do die man waren aufgestanden dann. sy richten iere augen gegen sodom. vnd abraham gieng entzamt. vnd furt sy. Vnd der herre sprach. Mag ich dan verheln abraham die ding die ich bin zu thun. so er ist kunftig in ein michel volck vnd in ein starckes. vnd alle die geschlecht der erde die sint zugesegent in im. Wann ich weis das er ist zu gebieten seinen sunen vnd seim haus noch im. daz sy behuten den weg des herren. vnd tun daz recht vnd daz vrteil. vnd der herre zufurt vmb abraham alle ding die er het gerett zu im. Vnd der herr sprach zu im. Der ruff der sodomer vnd der gomorer der ist gemanigueltigt. vnd ir sunde ist ser beschwert. Ich steig ab vnd sich. ob sie haben erfult den ruf mit den wercken. der do ist kumen zu mir. das ich wisse ob es ist alzo oder nit. Vnd sie kerten sich von dann. vnd giengen zu sodom. Wann abraham stund noch vor dem herren. er genohet sich vnd sprach. verleust du denn den gerechten mit dem vngengen.?. Ob in der stat werden funden .L. gerechten. verderben sie denn entsamt. vnd vergibst du nit der stat vmb die .L. gerechten man ob sie weren in ir.?. Es sei von dir das du thust ditz ding. vnd erschlegst den gerechten mit dem vngengen. vnd der gerecht werd als der vngeng. Ditz ist nit dein. du da vrteilst alle die erde. In keiner weis thust du ditz vrteil. Vnd der herre sprach zu im. Ob ich vinde in sodom. L gerechtten in mitz der stat. ich vergib aller der stat vmb sie. Abraham antwurt. Vnd sprach. Wann zu eim male begund ich zereden zu meim herren. wie daz ich bin ein gestup vnd ein asche Vnd ov da werden funden funffer mynner denn L. vertilgst du alle die stat vmb die .vL. Vnd er sprach. Ich vertilge ir nit ob ich da funde .vL. Vnd anderweit redt er zu im. Vnd ob da werden funden .xL. was tustu. Er sprach Ich schlach ir nit vmb die .xL. Er sprach. O herre ich bit nichten hab fur vnwirdig ob ich rede. Vnd ob da werden funden .xxx. Er antwurt Ich thu nit. Ob ich da vinde .xxx. Wann er sprach zu eim mal. ving ich an zu reden zu meinem herren. Vnd ob da werden funden. .xx. er sprach. Ich erschlag ir nit vmb .xx. Er sprach o herre ich bite nichten zurne. ob ich noch zu eim male rede. Ob do werden funden .x? Er sprach. Ich vertilg ir nit vmb .x. Dornach do der herre het aufgehort zu reden zu abraham. er ging hien vnd er kert wider an sein stat

21. *Genesis 22:* Darnoch do dise ding waren gethan got der versucht abraham. vnd sprach zu im. Abraham abraham er antwurt. Ich bin engegenwurtig. Er sprach zu im. Nim ysaac deinen eingeborn sun den du lieb hast. vnd gee in das lande der gesichte vnd opfer in zu eim opfer. auf einen berge den ich dir zeige. dorumb abraham stund auf in der nacht. er sattelt sein esel. vnd furte zwen iungeling mit im. vnd ysaac seinen sun. Vnd do er het gehawen die holtzer zu dem opfer. er gieng zu der statt die im got het gebotten. Wann an dem dritten tage. er hub auf sein augen er sach die stat von ver. vnd sprach zu seinen kinden. Bait hie mit dem esel. ich vnd ditz kind wir genahen vns vntz dort. darnoch so wir angepetten wir keren wider zu euch. Dorumb er nam die holtzer dez opfers. vnd legt sy auf ysaac seinen sun. Wann er selb trug daz feur vnd daz waffen in seinen henden. Vnd do die zwen giengen mit einander. ysaac der sprach zu seinem vatter. Mein vatter? Er antwurt. Sun waz wiltu? Er sprach sich das fewr vnd die holtzer. wo ist das opfer des opfers? Abraham sprach. Mein sun got fursicht im ein opfer dez opfers dorumb sy giengen mit einander. vnd komen zu der stat die im got het gezeigt an der paut er ein alter. vnd entzamt legt er dar auff die holtzer. Vnd do er het gepunden ysaac sein sun er legt in auf den alter auf den hauffen der holtzer. vnd strackt die hant vnd begraiff das waffen. daz er opfert seinen sun. vnd secht der engel dez herren rieff vom hymel sagent. Abraham abraham. Er antwurt. Ich bin engegenwurtig. Vnd er sprach

zu im. Nichte strecke dein hant vber daz kint: noch thu im kein ding Nu hab ich erkant daz du furchst got. vnd du hast nit geschont deinez eingeborn suns vmb mich. Abraham hub auf die augen. vnd sahe hinter im ein wider. haften mit den hornern zwischen dornen Den nam er. vnd opfert in zu eim opffer fur sein sun. Vnd er hiesz den namen der stat. der herre sichtz Da von wirt es gesait vntz heut. an disen tag the herre sichtz. Wann der engel des herren rieff abraham zum andern male von dem hymel sagent. Ich swer durch mich selber spricht der herre. das du hast getan dis dinge. vnd hast nit geschont deines eingeboren suns vmb mich. Ich gesegen dir vnd manigueltig deinen samen als die stern des hymels. vnd als den sande der da ist an dem gestat dez merez. Dein same der besitzt die tor seiner feint. vnd alle die leut der erde die werdent gesegent in deim samen. wann du hast gehorsamt meiner stimm. Abraham kert wider zu seinen kinden. vnd sy giengen entzamt in bersabe. vnd er entwelte da.

22. *Exodus 15:* Do sang moysez vnd die sun israhel. disen gesange dem herren: vnd sprachen. Wir singen dem herren. wunsamklich wann er ist gemichelicht: er warf in das mere daz rose vnd den aufsteiger. Der herre ist mein stercke vnd mein lobe: vnd ist mir gemacht in behaltsam. Dir ist mein got vnd ich wunnichlich in. got meins vatters: vnd ich der hoch in. Der herr ist als ein streitper man. sein nam ist als gewaltig: er warff in das mere die wegen pharaons. vnd sein here. Sein derwelten fursten die wurden gesenckt in dem roten mer: die abgrunde bedeckten sy: sy stigen ab in das abgrunde als der stein. O herr dein zesem ist gemichelicht in der sterck: o herr dein zesem hat geslagen dein feint: du hast entsetzt mein widerwertigen in der menige deiner wunniclich. Du hast gesant dein zorn. der sy verwust als die stophfeln: vnd die wasser seint gesament in dem geist deiner tobheit. Das fliessen wasser stund: die abgrunt seint gesament in mitzt dem mer. Der feind sprach Ich iag vnd begreiff: ich teil die rabe: vnd mein sei wirt gesatt. Ich zeuch aus mein waffen: mein hant die erschlecht sy. Dein geist der weet. vnd das mere das bedeckt sy: sy sint versuncken als das pley in dem gechen wasser. O herr wer ist dein geleich in den stercken Wer ist dein geleich du bist gemichelicht in der heilikeit: der schrockenlich vnd lobliche. vnd thust die wunderlichen ding. Du hast gesterckt dein hande: vnd die erde die verwust sy. Du werde ein laiter in deiner derbermde: dem volck das du hast erlost. Vnd hast es getragen in deiner stercke: zu deiner heiligen entwelunge. Die volck stigen auff vnd sint derzurnet: die schmertzen die

behabten die entweler der philistier. Do wurden betrubt die fursten der edom: die kreftigen moab behabt die forcht: alle die entweler chanaan die erschracken. Forcht vnd bidem gacht auff sy in der michelich deins arms. Sy werden gemacht vnbeweglich als der stein. o herr bis daz dein volck vberget: das du hast besessen. O herr fur sy ein. vnd pflantz sy an dem berge deins erbes: in deiner festesten entwelung die du hast gewerckt. O herr dein heilikeit die dein hend habent gefestent. Der herr reichsen ewiklich vnd furbasz. Wann pharaon ist ein gegangen in das mere mit den wegen vnd mit sein reittern: vnd der herre der furt vber sy die wasser des meres. Wann die sune israhel giengen durch die trucken: in mitzt sein. Dorumb maria die weyssagin. die swester aaron. die nam ein paugken in ir hand: vnd alle die weyb giengen aus nach ir mit paugken vnd mit gesengen oder mit dantzen: sy vorsang in sagent Wir singen dem herren wunsamlich. Wann er ist gemichelicht: er warff in das mere das rosz vnd den aufsteiger.

23. *Psalm 23:* Der herr der richt mich vnd mir gebrast nit: vnd an der stat der weyde do satzt er mich. Er furtte mich ob dem wasser der widerbringung: er bekert mein sel. Er furt mich aus auf die steig der gerechtikeit: vmb seinen namen. Wann ob ich ioch gee in mitzt dez schaten dez tods ich vorcht nit die vbeln dinge: wann du bist mit mir. Dein rute: vnd dein stab sy selb habent mich getrost. Du hast bereyt den tisch in meiner bescheude: wider die die mich betrubent. Du hast erveystent mein haubt mit dem oel: vnd mein kelch der macht trunken wie lauter er ist. Vnd dein erbermbd die nachuolgt mir alle die tag meins lebens. Das auch ich entwele in dem haus des herrn in die leng der tag.

24. *Psalm 46:* Unser gott ist ein zuflucht vnd ein kraft: er ist ein helffer in den durechten die vns funden stercklich. Dorumb voercht wir vns nit so die erde wirt beweget: vnd so die wasser werden vbertragen in das hertz des meres. Ir wasser doenten vnd seint betrubet: die berg seint entsampt betrubt mit seiner sterck. Die gech des flosz erfrewet die stat gotz: der hochst hat geheiliget seinen tabernackel. Gott wirt nit beweget in mitzt ir: got der hilfft ir an den fruen morgen. Die leut seint entsampt betrubt vnd die reych seint geneygt: die erde ist bewegt vnd gab ir stymm. Der herre der tugent ist mit vns: got iacobs ist vnser entpfaher. Kummet vnd secht die werck des herrn die wunder die er hat gesetzt auff der erd: er nympt ab die streyt vntz zu dem end der erd. Er zerknischt den bogen vnd zerbricht die geweffen: vnd verbrent die buckler mit fewer. Hoert an vnd secht das ich bin got: ich wird erhoecht vnder den leuten vnd wird erhoechet

auf der erd. Der herr der tugent sey mit vns: vnd got iacobs wirt vnser entpfaher.

25. *Psalm 51:* O Got erbarm dich mein: nach deiner micheln erbermbd. Vnd nach der menig deiner erbermbd: vertilg mein vngangkeyt. Furbaz wasche mich von meiner vngangkeite: vnd gereinig mich von meiner sund. Wann ich erkenn mein vngangkeit: vnd mein sund ist zu allen zeiten wider mich. Dir allein hab ich gesundet vnd tet das vbel vor dir: das du werdest gerechthaftigt in deinen worten vnd vberwindest so du vrteylst. Wann sich ich bin entphangen in den vngangkeyten: vnd in den sunden entphieng mich mein mutter. Wann sich du hast liebgehabt die warheit: du hast mir eroffent die vngewissen vnd die verborgen ding deiner weisheit. O herre bespreng mich mit ysop vnd ich wird rein: wasch mich vnd ich wird geweysset vber den schne Du gib freud vnd freud meiner gehoerd: vnd mein demutigen bein die frewent sich. Abker dein antlutz von meinen sunden: vnd vertilg alle mein vngangkeit. O gott schoepff in mir ein reins hertz: vnd ernewe ein rechtten geyst in meinen inedern. Nichten verwirff mich von deim antlutz: vnd nim nit ab deinen heylgen geyst von mir. Gib mir die freude deiner behaltsam: vnd vesten mich mit eim furstenlichen geyste. Die vngengen ler ich deinen wege: vnd die vnmilten werdent bekert zu dir. O got got meiner behaltsam erloesz mich von den sunden: vnd mein zung erfrewt dein gerechtikeit. O herr tu auff meine lespen: vnd mein munde erkunt dein lob. Wann ob du hettest gewoelt ernstlich ich hette dir gegeben das opffer: du wirst nit gewunniglicht in den gantzen opffern. Der betrubt geyst ist ein opfer zu got: das rewig hertz vnd das demutig o gott das verschmechstu nit. O herr tu wol syon in deim guten willen: daz die mauren jherusalem werden gepaut. Denn entphechstu das opffer des rechtz die opffer vnd die gantzen opffer: denn legent sy die kelber auf dein alter.

26. *Psalm 130:* O Herr ich rieff zu dir von den tieffen: o herre erhoere mein stymm. Dein oren werdent sich vernemen: zu der stymm meiner flehung O herre ob du beheltst die vngangkeit: o herr wer enthabt es? Wann die versununge ist bey dir: vnd o herre ich enthabet dich vmb dein ee. Mein sele die enthabt in deim wort: mein sele die versach sich an den herrn. Israhel versach sich an den herrn: von der fruen hut vntz zu der nacht. Wann die erbermbde ist bey dem herrn: vnd vil erlosung ist bei im. Vnd er selb erloest israhel: von allen seinen vngangkeyten.

27. *Job 19:* Wann iob der antwurt er sprach. Vntz wie lang quelt ir mein sel: vnd zerknischt mich mit den wortten? Secht ir habet mich geschemlichet zum zehenden mal: vnd ir schamt euch nit mich zeuerdrucken. Vnd ernstlich ob ich habe misskannt: mein misskenunge die wirt mit mir. Vnd ir wert erhaben wider mich vnd ir berespt mich mit meinen ytwitzen. Wann nu vernempt iedoch got der quelt mich nit mit gleychem vrteyle: vnd begurt mich mit seinen geyseln. Sich ich ruff so ich erleyd die krafft vnd keiner hort es: ich schrey vnd er ist nit der do vrteylt. Er vmbzeunt mein steyg das ich nit mag furgeen: vnd er satzt die vinstern in meinem weg. Er beraubt mich meiner wunniglich: vnd nam ab die kron von meim haubt. Er derstoert mich allenthalben vnd ich verdirb vnd er nam ab mein zuuersicht als des verworffen baums. Sein tobheit ist erzurnet wider mich: vnd er hett mich also als seinen veind. Sein rauber die kamen entsampt vnd machten in einen weg durch mich: vnd besassen meinen tabernackel in allum. Er macht mein bruder verr von mir: vnd mein erkannten die schieden sich von mir als die fremden. Vnd mein nachwendigen die liessen mich: vnd die mich kanntten die haben mein vergessen. Die heimlichen meines haus vnd meine diernen die hetten mich als einen frembden: vnd ich was in iren augen als ein pilgrim. Ich rief meinem knecht wann er antwurt mir nit: ich bat in mit eigem mund. Mein weip erschrack meiner etnung: vnd ich bat die sun meins bauchs. Vnd die tummen verschmechten mich: vnd do ich mich hett gescheiden von in sy retten hinder mir. Mein ratgeben die verbannten mich etwen: vnd den ich aller meist liebhett der ist mir widerwertig. Mein beyn zuhaft meiner haut so die fleysch seind verzert: vnd die lespen seind allein gelassen vmb mein zend. Ioch ir mein freunde erbarmet euch mein erbarmet euch mein: wann die hand des herren hat mich beruret. Worumb iagt ir mich als got: vnd werdet gesatt von meinem fleysche? Wer gibet mir das meine wort werden geschriben? Wer gibt mir daz sy werden ausgeert mit eim eysrin griffel in dem buch oder mit dem blech des bleys: oder das sy werden ergraben mit eim eysen in den kysling. Wann ich weysz das mein erloser lebet vnd das ich bin aufzesten an dem iungsten tage von der erd. Vnd anderweyd wird ich vmbgeben mit meiner haut: vnd in meim fleisch gesich ich gott meinen behalter. Den ich selb bin zesechen: vnd mein augen seint zeschauwen: vnd nit ein ander. Dise zuuersichte ist gesetzet in meiner schosz. Dorumb worumb sprecht ir nu wir iagen in: vnd finden die wurtzel des wortz wider in.

Dorumb fliecht vor dem antlutz des waffens: wann daz waffen ist ein recher der vngangkeit: vnd wist zu sein das vrteyl.

28. *Isaiah 9:* In dem ersten zeyt ist geringert daz lant zabulon vnd daz land neptalim: und in dem iungsten ist beschwert der weg des meres anderthalb des iordans galilee der heiden das volck gieng in der vinster daz sach ein michel liechte: die do entwelten in der gegent des schaten des dots. ein liecht ist in geboren Du hast gemanigualtigt die leut: vnd hast nit gemichelicht die freude. Sy frewent sich vor dir als die sich frewent im schnit: als sich frewent die vberwinder so sy gefachent die raube so sy teilent die raube. Wann du hast vberwunden das ioch seiner burde. vnd die rute seiner achseln vnd das cepter seins gewaltigen quelers: als an dem tag madian. Wann ein ieglicher gewaltiger raube mit wuffe vnd das gewand gemischet mit blut daz wirt in brinung: vnd ein essen dez feurs Wann ein lutzler ist vns geboren: vnd der sun ist vns gegeben. Vnd daz furstenthum ist gemacht auff sein achseln: vnd sein nam wirt geruffen ein wunderlicher. ratgeb. ein starcker gott. ein vatter der kunftigen werlt: ein furst dez frides. Sein gebot wirt gemanigualtigt vnd seins frids wirt nit ende: er sitzt auff dem gesesse dauids vnd auff seim reich: das ers vesten vnd krefftig in vrteil vnd in rechte von des hin vntz ewiglich. Wann die rach des herren der here thut dise ding.

29. *Isaiah 12:* O herr ich begich dir wann du bist mir derzurnt: dein tobheit ist bekert: vnd du hast mich getroste. Sich gott der ist mein behalter: ich thu trewlich vnd furcht mir nicht. Wann der herre ist mein sterck vnd mein lob: vnd ist mir gemacht in behaltsam. Schepfft die wasser in freude von den brunnen des behalters: vnd sprecht an dem tag begecht dem herren: vnd anrufft sein namen. Macht kunt sein vindungen vnter den leuten: gedenckt daz sein nam ist hoch. Singt dem herren wann er tet die michelich: derkunt ditz in allem land. Entwelung syon frewe dich vnd lob: wann der heilig israhel ist michel in mitzt dein.

30. *Isaiah 40:* Mein volck bisz getrost bis getrost: spricht der herre vnser gott. Redet zu dem hertzen iherusalem vnd zurufft ir. wann ir vbel daz ist erfullt: vnd ir vnganckeit ist gelassen. Sy hat enpfangen zwifaltige ding von der hand des herren vmb alle ir sunde. Ein stymme des ruffenden in der wust. Beraitet den weg des herren: macht recht die steige vnsers gotz in der ainod. Ein ieglich tale wirt erhocht vnd ein ieglich berg vnd

buchel wirt gedemutigt: vnd die bosen ding werdent in ein richtung. vnd die herten in eben wege. Vnd die wunniclich des herren wirt eroffent: vnd alles fleisch sicht enzampt das der mund des herren hat geredt. Ein stymme des sagenden. Ruff. Vnd ich sprach. Was ruff ich? alles fleisch hauwe: vnd all sein wunniclich als die blum des ackers. Daz hew ist dur vnd die blum viel: wann der geist des herren weet in es. Furwar das volck ist daz hew. Vnd daz hew ist durr vnd die blum viel: wann das wort des herren beleibt ewiglich. Steig auf einen hochen berg du do predigest syon: derhoech dein stymme in der stercke du do predigest iherusalem. Erhoech dich: vnd nichten wolst dir furchten. Sprich zu den stetten iude: secht ewer gott. Secht der herre gott kumpt in der stercke: vnd sein arme der wirt herrschen. Vnd secht sein lon mit im: vnd sein werck vor im. Er waidet sy als der hirte seine herde: die lemmer sament er in sein arm. vnd hebt sy auff in seinen schosz: erselb tregt die berhafftigen. Wer hat gemessen die wasser mit der fauste: vnd wug die himel mit der spann? Wer anhieng den samnung der erde mit .iij. fingern: vnd wug die berge in dem gewichte vnd die buchel in der woge. Wer halff dem geist des herren: oder wer was sein ratgeb vnd zaigt im? Mit wem macht er den rate vnd vnderweiset in. vnd lert in den steig der gerechtikeit. vnd lert in mit weysheit: vnd zaigt im den weg der fursechung Secht die leut seint geachtet als ein tropff eins wassers: vnd als die zunge der wage. Secht die inseln seint als ein lutzel gestupp: vnd der liban der begnugent nit abzebrennen: vnd sein tyer die begnugent nit zu dem gantzen opffer. Alle die leut die seint vor im also das sy nit seint: vnd seint im geachtet als zu nichten vnd eytel. Dorumb wem habt ir got gemacht gleich: oder waz bildes setzt ir im? Macht denn nit der schmit das gegossen: oder bildet es nit der goltschmid mit gold. vnd der silberschmid mit silberin blechen. Der weise werckmaister der erwelte ein starcks holtz vnd ein vnfeulichs. vnd er sucht in welcherweys er setzt das bilde das es nit werd bewegt. Wisst irs denn nit? Hort irs denn nit? Ist es euch denn nit erkundet seyt dem anegeng? Vernamt ir denn nit die gruntfesten der erde? Der do sitzt auf dem vmbring der erde: vnd sein entweler seint als die hewschrecken. Der do strackt die himel als nichtz: vnd spien sy auff zu entwelen als ein tabernackel. Der do gibt forscher der heimlichen dinge als sy nicht seint: er macht vpig die vrteiler der erde. Vnd ernstlich so ir stamm nit ist gepflantzt noch geseet noch gewurtzelt in die erde. Er weet gechlich vber sy vnd sy dorrten: vnd die wintspreuer nymt sy ab als die stopffel. Vnd wem habt ir mich gegleicht vnd zugefugt. spricht der heilig? Hebt auf ewre augen in die hoech. vnd secht wer dise ding hab gemacht. Der do ausfurt die ritterschafft in der irzale: vnd rufft all mit dem namen. Vmb die menig der stercke vnd der kraffte vnd seiner tugent: was nit eins vberig. Worumb sprichstu zu iacob vnd redest zu israhel. Mein weg der ist verborgen vom herren: vnd mein vrteil vbergieng von meim got? Waist du denn nit: oder hastu nit gehort? Gott der ist ein ewiger herr: der so beschuff die zil der erde: er gebristet nit noch enarbeit. noch die dersuchunge seiner weysheit. Die en ist nit der do gibt die kraffte dem muden: vnd die sterck den die do nit seint: vnd die krafft die manigualtigt er. Die kind arbeitent vnd gebrestent: vnd iungling vallent vnd gebrestent in irem siechtum. Wann die sich versechent an den herrn die verwandelnt die sterck: sy nement in vettich als der adlar. sy lauffent vnd arbeitent nit: sy geend vnd gebresten nit.

31. *John 1:* Am aneuang was das wort: vnd das wort was bey gott: und gott was das wort. Ditz was sint dem anegeng bei gott Durch in seint alle ding geschaffen: und on in ist nichtz geschaffen. Das do ist geschaffen das was ein leben in im: vnd das leben was ein liecht der leute: vnd das liecht leucht in die vinster: vnd die vinster begriffen sein nit. Ein man was gesant von gott: des namen was iohannes. Der kam in gezeug das er gebe gezeuge von dem liecht: das sy alle glaubten durch in Er was nit daz liecht: wann daz er gebe gezeug vom liecht. Ein gewer liecht was: das entleuchtet einen ieglichen menschen kument in dise werlt. Er was in der werlt: vnd die werlt ist geschaffen durch in: vnd die werlt die derkant in nit. Er kam in die eigen: vnd die sein enphingen sein nit. Wann alle die in enphingen. er gab in gewalt zewerden die sune gottes: den die do gelaubent an seinen namen. Die do nit seint von dem blut noch von dem willen des flaisches: noch von dem willen des manns: wann von got seint sy geborn Vnd daz wort ist gemacht flaisch vnd wont in vns. Vnd wir sachen sein wunniclich. die wunniclich als des eingeborn von dem vatter. vol der gnaden vnd der warheit. Iohannes gab gezeug von im. vnd rieff sagent. Dirr ist den ich sagt: der nach mir ist kunfftig. vor mir ist er gemacht: wann er was ee denn ich. Vnd von seiner derfullung enphingen wir alle genad vmb genad: wann die ee ist gegeben durch moysen: wann gnad vnd warheit ist

gemacht durch ihesum cristum. Keiner sach nye gott. Nur der eingeborn sun der do ist in der schosz des vatters: erselb derkunt es Vnd ditz ist der gezeug iohannes: das die iuden von iherusalem santen zu im pfaffen vnd ambechter das sy in fragten Du wer bistu? Vnd er begach: vnd laugent nit Vnd begach: wann ich bin nit cristus. Vnd sy fragten in. Denn was? Bistu helyas? Vnd er sprach Ich enbin. Bistu ein weyssag? Vnd er antwurt Nein. Dorumb sy sprachen zu im. Wer bistu das wir antwurt geben den die vns habent gesant Waz sagstu von dir selber? Er sprach. Ich bin ein stumm des ruffenden in der wuste richtet den wege des herren Als ysaias der weissag sprach vnd die do warn gesant die warn von den phariseern. Vnd sy fragten in: vnd sprachen zu im. Dorumb was tauffestu ob du nit bist cristus: noch helyas noch ein weissag. Iohannes antwurt in sagent Ich tauf in wasser: wann in mitz stet er dez ir nichten wisst. Erselb ist der nach mir ist kunftig der vor mir ist gemacht: des ich nit bin wirdig daz ich enpinde den riemen seines geschuchdz Dise ding geschachen in bethania anderthalb des iordans: do iohannes was teuffent. An dem andern tag iohannes sach ihesus kumen zu im: vnd sprach Secht das lamp gotz: secht der do abnympt die sund der werlt. Dirr ist von dem ich sagt. Nach mir kumpt ein man der vor mir ist gemacht wann er waz ee denn ich. Vnd ich enwest sein nit. Wann dorumb kam ich zetauffen in wasser: das er wurd deroffent in israhel. Vnd iohannes gab gezeug sagent. Wann ich sach den geist nidersteigent als ein taub vom himel: vnd belaib auff im. Vnd ich west sein nit: wann der mich sant zeteuffen in wasser: der sprach zu mir Auff den du sichst den geist nidersteigen. vnd beleiben auff im: dirr ist der do teufft im heiligen geiste. Vnd ich sach vnd gab gezeug: das dirr ist der sun gotz. An eim andern tag iohannes stund aber: vnd zwen von seinen iungern. Er sach ihesus geen vnd sprach. Secht das lamp gotz. Vnd die .ij. iungern horten in reden: vnd nachuolgten ihesus. Wann ihesus vmbkert sich. Vnd sach sy im nachuolgen: er sprach zu in. Was sucht ir. Sy sprachen zu im. Rabi daz wil sagen meister: wo entwelstu? Er sprach zu in. Kumpt vnd secht. Dorumb sy kamen vnd sachen wo er belibe: vnd beliben bey im an dem tage. Vnd es was als die .x. stund. Wann es was andreas der bruder symon petters. einer von den zweien die do hetten gehort von iohannes: vnd warn im nachgeuolgt. Dirr vant zum ersten symon seinen bruder. vnd sprach zu im. Wir haben funden den messias: das wil sagen cristus. Vnd zufurt in zu ihesus. Wann do in ihesus hett angesechen er sprach Du bist symon der sun iohanna: du wirst geruffen cephas: das wil sagen petter. Wann an dem morgen er wolt ausgen in galilee: vnd vand philip. Vnd ihesus sprach zu im. Nachuolg mir. Wann philip was von bethsaida der stat. andreas vnd petter. Philip vant nathanael: vnd sprach zu im. Wir haben funden ihesum den sun iosephs von nazareth: den moyses schraib in der ee vnd die weyssagen. Vnd nathanael sprach zu im. Von nazareth mag etwas gutes sein. Philip sprach zu im. Kum vnd sich. Ihesus sach nathanael kumen zu im: vnd sprach von im. Secht der gewer israhelit: in dem do nit ist triekeit. Nathanael sprach zu im. Wo von kenst du mich? Ihesus antwurt vnd sprach zu im. E dir philip rieff do du werd vnter dem feigbaum do sach ich dich. Nathanael antwurt vnd sprach zu im. Rabi: du bist der sun gotz: du bist ein kunig israhel. Ihesus antwurt: er sprach zu im. Ich sage dir das ich dich sach vnter dem feigbaum glaubest du das: du gesichst mer denn dise. Vnd er sprach zu im. Gewerlich gewerliche sag ichs euch: ir gesecht den himel offen: vnd die engel gotz aufsteigen vnd absteigen auf den sun der meide.

32. *Romans 1:* Paulus knecht ihesu cristi. geruffen ein bott gesunderet in das ewangelium gotz. das er vor verhiesz durch sein weissagen in den heilgen schriftten von seim sun. der im ist gemacht von dem samen dauids nach dem fleische. der do ist vor geordent der sun gottes in der kraft nach dem geiste der heilikeitt von der aufferstendung der doten vnsers herren ihesu cristi: durch den wir enpfiengen die genad vnd die botheit zugehorsamen den gelauben in allen leuten vmb sein namen: in den auch ir seit geruffen ihesu cristi: mitt allen den geruftten heilgen die da seind zu rome den geliebetten gotes. genad sei mit euch vnd fride von got vnserm vatter vnd dem herren ihesu cristi. Ernstlich ich mach zum ersten genade meim got durch ihesum cristum vmb euch all: das euwer gelaub werd erkunt in aller der wellt. Wann gott der ist mir gezeuge dem ich diene in meinem geiste in dem ewangelium seines suns: daz ich mach euwer gedenckung zu allen zeiten on vntterlasz in meinen gebeten: flehentt ob ich in etlicher weis etwenn hab etlichen gelueckseilgen weg zu kommen zu euch in dem willen gotz. Wann ich beger euch zusehen: das ich euch etwas mit teile der geistlichen genaden euch zu vesten: das ist entzamt zutrosten in euch durch den euweren gelauben vnd durch den meinen der do ist in ein. Wann bruder ich will euch nit miskennen: wann ich fursatztt dick zukommen zu euch vnd ich bin beliben ver-

botten vntz her: das ich hab etlichen wucher in euch als auch in den andern heiden. Vnd ir do seit zu rome. ich bin schuldig euch zubredigen. Den kriechen vnd den fremden den weisen vnd den vnweisen: also daz do ist bereit in mir. Wann ich schemlich nit daz ewangelium. Wann es ist die kraft gotz eim yglichen geleubigen in behaltsam: zum ersten den iuden vnd den kriechen. Wann das recht gotz wirt eroffent in im von dem gelauben in den gelauben: als geschriben ist. Wann der gerecht lebt vom gelauben.

33. *2 Corinthians 5:* Wann wir wissen daz: ob vnser irdisch hauz dirr entwelung wirt verwust: das wir haben ein pauwung von gott ein haus nit gemacht mit der hand wann ewiges in den himeln. Vnd in disem derseuftzen wir wann wir begeren vber zuuassen vnser entwelung die do ist von dem himel: idoch ob wir werden geuasst vnd nit gefunden nackent. Wann wir do ioch sein in disem tabernackel wir seuftzen beschwert: dorumb daz wir nit wellen werden nackent. Wann vberuasst: das das do ist todig werde besoffen von dem leben. Wann der vns volmacht in disem das ist got: der vns gab das pfand des geists. Dorumb wir durren ze allen zeyten vnd wissen: das die weil wir sein in disem leib wir werden gefrembdet vom herren. Wann wir geen durch den gelauben: vnd nit durch das bilde. Wann wir durren vnd haben einen guten willen mer werden gefrembdet vom leib vnd zesein gegenwurtig zu got: vnd dorumb wir fleissen vns im zegeuallen es sey abewesent oder gegenwirtig. Wann all musz wir werden offen vor dem gericht cristi: das ein jeglicher wider bring daz aigen ding des leibs als er hat getan es sey das gut oder daz vbel.

34. *Galatians 3:* O ir vnsinnigen von galath: wer hat euch betrogen nit zeglauben der warheit? Vor der augen ihesus cristus ist verdampt: vnd gekreuziget in euch. Ditz allein wil ich lernen von euch. Entphiengt ir den geist von den wercken der ee: oder von der gehord des gelauben? Alsust seyt ir tump: das ir anfiengt mit dem geist: wann nu volendet ir in dem fleisch. Alsouil habt ir derlitten on sach: idoch ob on sache. Dorumb der euch gab den geist vnd wirckt er die krefft in euch: von den wercken der ee. oder von der gehorde des gelauben? Als gescriben ist: abraham gelaubt gott vnd es ist im gezalt zu dem rechten. Dorumb derkennt: das die do seint von dem gelauben: dise seint die sun abrahams. Wann fursehent die geschrift das gott gerechthaftigt die heiden vom gelauben: er vor derkunt es abraham wann all leut werdent gesegent in dir. Dorumb die do seint vom gelauben: die werdent gesegent mit dem getrewen abraham. Wann

die do seint von den wercken der ee: die seint vnder dem fluch. Wann es ist geschriben. Verflucht ist ein ieglicher der do nit beleibt in allen den dingen die do seint geschriben in dem buch der ee: das er sy thu. Wann keiner wirt gerechthaftigt bey gott in der ee. wann es ist offen: das der gerecht lebt von dem gelauben. Wann die ee ist nit vom gelauben: wann der sy thut der lebt in ir. Cristus hat vns derlost von dem fluch der ee er ist gemacht verflucht vmb vns: wann es ist geschriben verflucht ist ein ieglicher der do hanget am holtze: daz der segen abrahams were vnder den heiden in ihesu cristo. das wir entphachen die gehaissung des geists durch den gelauben. Bruder ich sag nach dem menschen: idoch keiner verschmeche oder vber ordent den geuestenten gezeug des menschen. Abraham dem seint gesagt die gehaissungen: vnd seim samen. Er spricht nit in samen als in manigen wann in eim: vnd den samen der do ist in cristo. Wann disen gezeug den sage ich geuestent von gott: das nach .cccc. vnd .xxx. iaren wart gemacht die ee: er macht ir nit vppig zeueruppigen die gehaissung. Wann ob das erbe ist von der ee: ietzunt ist es nit von der gehaissung. Wann got der gab sy abraham durch die gehaissung. Dorumb was ist gesetzt die ee? Vmb den vbergeer ist sy gesetzt: vntz das der same kem den er gehiesz: geordent durch die engel inn der hande des mitlers. Der mitler ist nit eins: wann gott ist ein. Dorumb ist die ee wider die gehaissung gots? Nichten sey. Wann ob ein ee wer gegeben die do mocht geleblichen. gewerlich daz recht were von der ee. Wann die schrift beschleust alle ding vnder der sunde: das die gehaissung wurde gegeben den geleubigen von dem gelauben ihesu cristi. Wann ee das der gelaub kam wir wurden behut vnder der ee: beschlossen in dem selben gelauben der do was zu eroffen. Dorumb die ee was vnser laiter in cristo: das wir werden gerechthaftigt von dem gelauben. Vnd do der gelaub kam: ietzunt sey wir nit vnder dem laiter. Wann all seyt ir die sun gotz: durch den gelauben der do ist in ihesu cristo. Wann all ir do seyt getaufft in cristo: cristum habt ir geuasst. Nit en ist iude noch kriech: nit ist eigen noch frey: nit ist man now weip. Wann all seyt ir ein ding in ihesu cristo. Wann ob ir seyt krists: dorumb ir seyt der same abrahams vnd erben nach der geheissungen.

35. *Revelation 21:* Und ich sach den neuwen himel: vnd die new erde. Wann der erst himel vnd die erst erde gieng hin: vnd das mere ist ietzund nit. Vnd ich iohannes ich sach die heiligen stat die newen iherusalem nidersteygen vom himel: bereyt von

got: als ein braut geziert irem mann. Vnd ich hort ein michel stymm von dem thron sagent. Secht den tabernackel gotz mit den leuten: vnd er entwelt mit in Vnd sy werdent sein volck: vnd erselb gott: wirt mit in ir gott. Vnd gott streycht ab einen ieglichen treher von iren augen: vnd der tod wirt nit von des hin noch weinen noch ruff noch feer wirt nit von des hin: die ersten ding vbergiengen. Vnd der do sasz auff dem thron der sprach. Sich ich mach alle ding neuwe. Vnd er sprach zu mir. Schreib: wann dise wort seint vil getreuwe vnd gewer. Vnd er sprach zu mir. Es ist getan. Ich bin alpha vnd o ein anuang vnd ein end. Dem durstenden gib ich von dem brunn des wassers des lebens vergeben. Der do vberwindet der besitzt dise ding. Vnd ich wurd im ein got: vnd erselb wirt mir ein sun. Wann den vorchtsamen vnd den vngeleubigen vnd den verbannen vnd den manschlegen vnd den gemeinen vnkuschern vnd den zauberern vnd den dienern der abgotter vnd allen lugnern: ir teyl wirt in dem brinnenden see mit feur vnd mit schwebel: das do ist der ander tode. Vnd einer von den .vij. engeln die do hetten die .vij. schenck uasz vol der iungsten wunden der kam: vnd rett mit mir sagent. Kum: vnd ich zeyg dir die braut die eefrauwe des lamps. Vnd er nam mich im geist auff einem micheln berg vnd hochen: vnd er zeygt mir die heiligen stat iherusalem nidersteygen vom himel von got: habent die klarheit gotz. Vnd ir liecht was geleych dem edeln gestein als des steins iaspidis: als cristall. Habent ein michel maur vnd hoch habent .xij. tor: vnd in den toren .xij. winckel: vnd namen geschriben das seint die namen der .xij. geschlecht der sun israhel. Drey tor von osten: drey tor von westen: drey tor von aquilon: drey tor von mittemtag. Vnd mauren der stat habent .xij. gruntuesten: vnd in in .xij. namen der zwolffbotten vnd des lamps. Vnd der do rett mit mir der het ein guldin masz ein rorins: das er messe die statt vnd ir tore vnd ir mauren. Vnd die stat was gesetzt in .iiij. teyl: vnd ir leng ist alsuil als ir weyt. Vnd er masz die statt von dem guldin rore durch .xij.M. zile: ir leng vnd ir weyt vnd ir hoch sein geleych. Vnd er masz ir mauren .C. vnd .xliiij. elen: das masz des manns das ist des engels. Vnd das gebeut ir mauren was von dem stein iaspis: wann sy selb die stat rein gold: geleich reinem glasz. Die gruntuesten der mauren der stat geziert mit einem ieglichen edelm gestein. Die erst gruntuest iaspis: die ander saphirus. die dritte calcidonius. Die vierd schmaragdus. die funfft sartonix. die .vj. sardius. die sibent crisolitus. die .viij. perillus. die .ix. topasius. die .x. grisopassus. die .xj.

iacinctus. die .xij. ametisstus. Vnd .xij. tor: das seint .xij. mergrieflin durch alle. Vnd ein ieglich tor was von eim ieglichen mergrieflin: vnd die gassen der statt reines goldes: als glasz durchleuchtent. Vnd tempel sach ich nit in ir. Wann der herre got als gewaltig er ist der tempel: vnd daz lamp. Vnd die stat bedarff nit des sunns noch der menin: daz sy leuchtent in ir. Wann die klarheit gotz entleucht sy: vnd ir leychtuasz ist das lamp. Vnd die leut gend in irem liecht: vnd die kunig der erde bringent ir wunniglich vnd ere in sy. Vnd ir tor werden mit beschlossen durch den tag. Wann die nacht wirt do nit vnd sy tragent die wunniglich vnd die ere der leut in sy: kein ding entzeubert get in sy das do tut die verbannenschaft vnd die lug: neur allein die do seind geschriben in dem buch des lebens vnd des lambs.

b. *Selections from the Mentel Bible with Kurrelmeyer's notations of the readings of all other printed Medieval Bibles.**

36. *Isaiah 53:* O herr wer gelaubt vnser gehoerd: vnd wem wirt eroffent der arm des herren? Vnd er staige auff als ein rut vor im: vnd als ein wurtzel von dem durstigen land. Im was nit die gestalt noch die gezierd. Vnd wir sachen in vnd sein angesicht waz nit: vnd wir merckten in verschmecht vnd den iungsten der man: ein man der schmerzen vnd wissent den siechtum. Vnd sein antzlutz waz als verborgen vnd verschmecht: do von acht wir sein nit. Furwar er nam vnser vngesuntheit: vnd trug vnsern schmerzen. Vnd wir massen in als einen misligen: vnd geschlagen von got vnd demutigt. Wann er selb ist verwundet vmb vnser vngangkeit: vnd ist zerknischt vmb vnser sund. Die zucht vnsers fridz ist auff im: vnd in seiner wunden sey wir gesundet All irrten wir als die schaf ein iegklicher der naigt sich an sein weg: vnd der herr satzt in im die vngankeit

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* In the notes M = Mentel Bible 1466; E = Eggensteyn's Bible 1470; P = Pflanzmann's Bible 1473; Z = Zainer Bible 1475; A = the socalled Swiss Bible 1475; S = Anton Sorg Bible 1477; Zc = Zainer Bible 1477; Sa = Sorg Bible 1480; K = Koburger Bible 1483; G = Grueninger Bible 1485; Sb = Schoensperger Bible 1487; Sc = Schoensperger Bible 1490; O = Hans Otmar Bible 1507; Oa = Silvanus Otmar Bible 1518.

Verse 2 stig Z — Oa. noch) auch Oa. sein — nit) waz kein angesicht Z — Oa. angesicht) aug sicht M. 3 mercken MEP, begerten Z — Oa. iungsten) iungsten oder minsten P, letsten Z — Oa. der (the second)) om. ME. acht) schatzt Z — Sa, schetzen KGSc, vnser aller. Er ist geopffert wann er selb wolt es: vnd er tet nit auf sein mund Er wart gefurt alz das schaff zu der er schlachung: vnd derstumpt als das lampe von dem scherenden es: vnd tet nit auf seinen mund. Er ist abgenomen von dem vrtail vnd von der angst. Wer erkuntet sein geschlecht. Wann er ist abgeschniten von dem lande der lebentigen. Ich schlug in vmb die misstat meins volcks. Vnd er gibt die vngengen fur die begrebd vnd die reichen fur sein tod: dorumb daz er nit tet die vngangkeit. noch die triekeit was in seim mund: vnd der herr wolt in zerknischen in dem siechtumb. Ob er setzt sein sele vmb die sunde er sicht den langen samen: vnd der will des herren wirt gerichtet in seiner hant. Dorumb das sein sel hat gearbeit: er sicht vnd wirt gesatt. Erselb mein gerechter knecht der gerechthafftigt manig in seiner wissentheit: vnd erselb tregt ire vngangkeit. Dorumb verzet ich in manig vnd er teilt die raube der starcken: dorumb das er hat geantwurt sein sel in den dott: vnd ist geachtet mitt den vngengen. Vnd er nam die sunde maniger: vnd bettet vmb die vbergeer.

37. *Luke 2:* Wann es wart gethan in den tagen. ein gebot gieng aus von dem keiser august: das aller der vmbring wurd beschriben. Dise erste beschreibung wart gethan von syri dem richter der cyrener. Vnd sy giengen all das sy begechen: ein

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schaczen SbOOa. sein) in Z — Oa. 4 nam) + hyn Z — Oa. gesuntheit EP, siechtagen Z — Oa. vnsern) vnser Z — Oa. schatzten is als eynen aussetzigen Z — Oa. gediemutiget Z — Oa. 5 boszheit P, misztat Z — Oa. seinen wunden POa. gesundt worden Z — Oa. 6) der) om. K — Oa. naig MEP. an) in Z — Oa. seim weg P. herr) + der Z — Sa. im) in A — Oa. boszheit P, missetat Z — Oa. 7 geopffert) + worden Z — Oa. selb) om. Z — Oa. er) om. Z — Oa. als — er schlachung) czu der erschlachung als das schauff Z — Oa. von) vor Z — Oa. dem) den MEP. schereden M. es: vnd) vnd es K — Oa. seinen) seie M. 8 abgenomen) erhobet Z — Oa. Wirt erkuntet MEP, wer wirt verkunden Z — Oa.

Verse 8 kolcks M. 9 vngengen M, bosen P, vngutigen Z — Oa. begrobnusz vnd den reichen vmb seinen Z — Oa. riechen fur ein tod MEP. boszheit P, misztat Z — Oa. trieglichkeit K — Oa. 10 langen) langwirdigen Z — GSc, langwirigen SbOOa. wirt geschicket Z — Oa. 11 sein) eyn Z — Sc. Er selb — vngangheit) in seyner kunst hat gerecht gemachet er selb der gerecht mein vil knecht vnnd hat selb getragen ir boszheyt Z — Oa. er selbs P. boszheit P. 12 verzet — teilt) will ich im (yn S) manig ausztaylen vnd wirt taylen Z — Oa. vngengen) bosen P, vngutigen Z — Oa. er nam) trug oder nam hyn Z — Oa.

ieglicher in sein stat. Wann auch ioseph der staig auf von galilee von der stat nazareth in iude in die stat dauids die do ist geheissen bethleem. dorumb das er was von dem haus vnd von dem ingesinde dauids: daz er veriech mit maria im gemechelt ein weip per hafftig. Wann es wart gethan do sy do waren: die tag wurden derfullt daz sy gebere. Vnd sy gebar iren ersten geborn sun: vnd want in in tuch. vnd legt in in die krippe: wann ir was nit ein stat in dem gasthaus. Vnd hirten warn in der selben gegent die do wachten: vnd behuten die wachen der nacht vber ir herde. Wann secht der engel des herren stund bey in: vnd die klarheit gotz vmbleucht sy: vnd sy vorchten sich mit micheler vorcht. Vnd der engel sprach zu in. Nichten woelt euch furchten. Wann secht ich derkunde euch ein michel freude die do wirt allem volck: wann heut ist vns geborn der behalter der do ist cristus der herr. in der stat dauids. Vnd ditz wirt euch ein zaichen. Ir vind das kint gebunden in thuch: und gelegt in die krupp. Vnd ein gech wart gemacht mit dem engel ein menig der ritterschafft des himelischen heres: lobent gott vnd sagent. Gelobt sey gott in den hochen: vnd fride auff der erden den menschen die do seint gutes willen.

38. *Romans 3:* Dorumb was dings ist von des hin den iuden. oder weliches ist der nutz der beschneidung. Es ist vil durch alle weys. Ernstlich zum ersten: das in seind gelaubt die red gotes. Wann waz ob ir etlich nit glauben? Denn ir vngelaub veruppigt den gelauben gotz. Nichten sey. Wann got der ist gewer: wann ein yglich mensch ist ein lugener als geschriben ist: das du werdest gerechthaftigt in deinen worten vnd vberwindest so du wirst geurteilt. Wann ob vnser vngangheit lobt das recht gotz: was sag wir? Ist den got vngeng: der do eintregt den zorn? Ich sag noch dem menschen. Nit enseye in einer anderen

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Verse 1 Und es geschah Z — Oa. augusto. Das alle welt wurd (ward OOa) beschriben Z — Oa. 2 diser P. von dem richter Cyrino in syria. vnd Z — Oa. 3 begechten P, bekennten Z — Oa. yegklichen in seiner G. 4 Wann) Vnd Z — Oa. der) *fehlt* K — Oa. gieng auff Z — Oa. galilea Z — Oa. iudeam Z — Oa. dauid Z — Oa. 5 maria seiner vermahelten. vnd schwangern hauszfrawen. vnd es Z — Oa. 6 wurden) waren Oa. 7 erst gebornen E — ASKGSbOOa, erst geborn ZcSaSc. dem gasthaus) der schupfen ZS — Oa, dem kouffhusz A. 8 wachen Sb. 9 Wann) vnd Z — Oa. grosser P — Oa. 10 Nicht Z — Oa. Aber Z — Oa. verkunde Z — Oa. grosse P — Oa. 11 vns) euch K — Oa. Dauid Z — Oa. 12 Vnd) om. SbOOa. 13 vnd von stundan was bey dem (den O) engel Z — Oa.

weys wie wirt gott vrteilen dise werlte Wann ob die warheit gotz begnugt in meiner luge in seiner wunnicklich was werd ich auch noch geurteilt als ein sunder vnd nit als wir werden verspot. vnd als etlich sprechen vns zesagen. wir tun die vbeln ding das die guten komen? Der verdampnung ist mit recht. Dorumb Was vbersteig wir sy? In keiner weys. Wann wir zeigten mit redlichkeit die iuden vnd die kriechen alle zesein vnder der sunde: als es ist geschriben Das keiner ist gerecht: noch ist vernemen: noch ist suchen got. All neigtten sy sich entzampt sy seind gemacht vnnutz: er ist nit der do tut das gut er ist nit vntz an ein. Ir kel ist ein offens grab: sy taten triecklich mit ihren zungen: daz eyter aspis ist vnder iren lespen. Der mund ist vol fluchs vnd pitterkeit: ir fusz sein schel zu vergiessen das blut. Zerknischung vnd vnseligkeit ist in iren wegen: vnd sy erkantten nit den weg dez frids: die vorcht gotz was nit vor iren augen. Wann wir wissen. das welche ding die ee redt sy redt zu den die do seind in der ee? Das ein yglich mund werd verhabet vnd alle die werlte werde vndertenig got: vnd alles fleisch wirt nit gerechthaftigt vor im von den wercken der ee. Wann die erkennung der sund die ist durch die ee. Wann nu ist eroffent das recht gotz on die ee: vnd bezeugt von der

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Verse 1 dings) om. Z — Oa. von iuden) mer denn der iud Z — Sa, weiter dem iuden K — Oa. welichen MEP, was Z — Oa. 2 weys) masz Z — Oa. Ernstlich) Gewislich P, Aber K — Oa. zu dem S. gelaubt) beuolhen Z — Oa. 3 Was aber. ob etlich ausz in nit gelaubet haben. hat nicht ir vngelaub den gelauben gotes auszgelaret. Das seye nit. Wann got ist warhafft. Aber ein iegklicher mensch lugenhaftig Z — Oa. 4 seyt EP. als) + es auch Sb. gerechtuertigt K — Oa. 5 ob) + auch Sc. boszheyt P — Oa. die gerechtigkeit Z — Oa. vngeng) bosz P — Oa. dem) den P. 6 Nit enseye) das sei nit Z — Oa. in — weys) anderst Z — Sa, Sust K — Oa. wirt) wir Z — Sa. 7 gotz ist vberfluszig gewesen in sein glori Z — Oa. ich dann als der sunder geurtaylet vnd Z — Oa. 8 verspot) gelosztert Z — Oa. als) + auch Sc. vns zesagen) daz wir sprechen Z — Oa. dnig M. verdamnusz Z — Oa. mit recht) nit recht P, gerecht Z — Oa. 9 Dorumb — redlichkeit) was aber vbertreffen wir sy mit nichte (nichten K — Oa) wir haben (+ auch Sc) gezaiget das Z — Oa. die kirchen P. all seyen Z — Oa. 10 Als geschriben ist Z — Oa. 9 alle) om. A. 10 gerecht M. 12 sich vnd sein miteinander vnnutz worden Z — Oa. vntz) bisz SbSc. 13 sy wurckten falschlich Z — Oa. daz gift der schlangen aspis Z — Oa. lefftzen PSOOa, lebsen Zc — Sc. 14 Der) Ir Z — Oa. 17 sy) om. Sb. 19 aber Z — Oa.

ee vnd von den weyssagen. Wann das recht gotz durch den gelauben ihesu cristi: ist in all vnd vber all die do gelauben an in. Wann die vnderschiedung ist nit des iuden vnd des kriechen. Wann all sunten sy: vnd bedorffen der wunnicklich gotz. Gerechthaftigt vergeben durch sein genad durch die erlosung die do ist in ihesu cristo: den got fursatzt ein versuner durch den gelauben in seim blut zu erzeigunge seins rechtz vmb die vergebung der vergangen vbel in der aufenthaltung gotes zu erzeygen sein gerechtikeit in disem zeit: das erselb sey gerecht vnd zugerechthaftigen den der do ist von dem gelauben ihesi cristi. Dorumb wo ist deine wunnicklich? Sy ist ausgeschlossen? Durch welche ee der werck Nayn Wann durch die ee dez gelauben. Wann wir massen zegerechthaftigen den menchen durch den gelauben: on die werck der ee. Ist denn got allein der iuden? Ist er nit auch der heyden? Ia er ist auch der heyden. Wann ernstlich ein got ist der do gerechthaftigt die beschneidung von dem gelauben. vnd die vberwachsung durch den gelauben. dorumb verwust wir die ee durch den gelauben? Nit ensey. Wann wir bestetigen die ee.

39. *Romans 8:28-39:* Wann wir wissen das den die got lieb habent. entsampt wirckent alle ding in gut: die die nach dem fursatz seint geruffen heilig. Wann die er vor wist die hat er auch vor geordent daz sy wurden entsampt geleich dem bilde seins suns das er selb sey der erst geborn vnder manigen brudern. Wann die er vor ordent dise hat er auch geruffen: vnd den

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Verse 19 ee redt) er tet MEP. redt — ee) zu den die do seind in der ee redet sy Z — Oa, + sy Z — Sa. iegklicher Z — Oa. verhabet) verschoppet Z — Oa. die) om. K — Oa. 20 nit) om. Sb. gerechtuerigt K — Oa. von) ausz Z — Oa. erkantnusz Z — Oa. die (the first)) om. K — Oa. 21 Aber Z — Oa. eroffen ZAS. die gerechtigkait Z — Oa. vnd) om. Z — Oa. 22 Aber die gerechtigkait gottes Z — Oa. ihesu) om. P. die vnderschaid Z — Oa. 23 wann sy haben all gesundet Z — Oa. bedorfften K — Oa. der glori P — Oa. 24 Gerecht gemachet vergebens Z — Oa, 25 zu) + der Z — Oa. seiner gerechtikait vmb der vergebung willen der vergangenden (vergangen ZcSa, vorgeenden K — Oa) missetat Z — Oa. rechtz vergebung vmb die vergangen MEP. 26 aufferhaltung S. disem) diser K — Oa. erselb) er Z — Oa. gerechtmachend Z — Oa. den) dem Sb. von) ausz Z — Oa. 27 glori P, glorirung Z — Oa. Aber Z — Oa. 28 wir maynen das der mensch gerechtmachet werde durch Z — Oa. 29 auch nit SOOa. 30 ernstlich) gewiszlich P, om. K — Oa. gerechtmachet Z — Oa. von) ausz Z — Oa. 31 verwuszten Z — Sa, zerbrechen K — Oa. Das seye nit. Aber Z — Oa.

er hat geruffen dise hat er auch gerechthaftiget. Wann die er hat gerechthaftigt: dise hat er auch gemichelicht Dorumb was sag wir zedisen dingen. Ob gott ist mit vns: wer ist wider vns? Der ioch nit vergab seim eingeborn sun: wann er antwurt in vmb vns alle. In welcherweys gab er vns auch nit alle ding mit ime? Wer besagt wider die derwelten gotz? Gott ist der der da gerechthaftigt. Wer ist der der da verdampt? Ihesus cristus. der da ist tod vmb vns der ioch auch der da aufferstunde: der da ist zu der zeswen gottes: der bittet ioch vmb vns. Dorumb wer schait vns von der lieb cristi? Die anvechten oder angst oder iagung oder hunger oder nackenkeit oder verderbung: oder verfolgung oder waffen? Als es ist geschriben. Wann wir werden getodiget vmb dich den gantzen tag: wir sein gemast als die schaff der erschlahung. Wann in allen disen dingen hab wir vberwunden: vmb den der vns lieb het. Wann ich bin gewysz: daz noch der tod noch daz leben noch die engel noch die furstentum noch die tugent noch die anstenden ding noch die kunftigen dinge noch die krefte noch die gewelt noch die stercke noch die hoch noch die tyef noch ander geschopfde vns mag gescheyden von der lieb gotz: die do ist in ihesu cristo vnserm herrn.

40. *1 Corinthians 13:* Ob ich rede in zungen der engel vnd der leut: wann hab ich der lieb nit: ich bin gemacht als ein ere lautent oder als ein schell klingent Vnd ob ich hab die weys-

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Verse 28. Aber Z — Oa. entsampt) miteinander P, om. Z — Oa. gut den die K — Oa. geheyssen Z — Oa. 29 auch) om. OOa. entsampt) miteinander P, mit Z — Oa. der bildnusz Z — Oa. geborn in vil Z — Oa. 30 hat geordent Z — Oa. auch geuodert. vnd die er hat geuodert Z — Oa. auch) om. P. gerechtgemachet Z — Sa, gerechtuertigt K — Oa. Wann) *fehlt* Z — Oa. er aber hat Z — Oa. gerecht gemachet ZASK — Oa, rechtgemachet ZcSa. gemichelicht) groszmacht P, groszmachtiget Z — Oa. 32 auch nit hat vbersehen Z — Oa. aber er hat in geantwurt (antwurt ZA) vmb Z — Oa. vmb) om. Eb. alle (om. S) wie hat er vns auch dann nit alle ding geben Z — Oa. nit) mit Eb. 33 wer wirt versagen Z — Oa. 34 der der gerechtmachet Z — Oa. ioch) ia Z — Oa. der da (the first)) om. OOa. ist auferstanden Z — Oa. gerechten E — Oa. bittet ioch) auch bittet Z — Oa. 35 wer wirt vns schaiden Z — Oa. anuechtung Z — Oa. oder) + die Z — Sc. iagung) durchachtung Z — Oa. verfolgung — waffen) das schwert Z — Oa. 36 getodtet Z — Oa. geschaczet Z — Oa. 37 aber Z — Oa. dingen uberwunden wir Z — Oa. 38 Wann) Vnd P. noch (the first)) woder Z — Oa. tugent) krefft engel Z — Oa. die anstenden ding noch) om. P. krefte — die (*drittes*)) om. Z — Oa. 39 noch + ein Z — Oa. leib Eb.

sagung. vnd erkennen all tugent vnd all wissentheit vnd ob ich hab allen den glauben also das ich vbertrag die berg. wann hab ich der lieb nit ich bin nichtz. Vnd ob ich tail alles mein gut an die essen der armen. vnd ob ich antwurt meinen leib also das ich brinne: wann hab ich der lieb nit: es verfecht mir nichtz. Die lieb ist gefridsam: sy ist gutig. Die lieb die neit nit. sy thut nit widerwertigs: sy zerbleet sich nit. sy ist nit geitig: sy sucht nit die ding die ir seint. Sy raitzt nit. sy gedenckt nit daz vbel: sy frewet sich nit vber die vngangkeit: wann sy entzamt frewet sich der warheit. Alle ding vber tregt sy. alle ding gelaubt sy. alle ding versicht sy sich. alle ding derleidt sy. Die lieb geuiel nye. Es sey das die weyssagungen werden veruppigt: es sey das die zungen aufhorent: es sey das die wissentheit werde verwust. Wann wir erkennen vom tail: vnd weyssagen vom tail. Wann so das kumpt das do ist durnechtig: so wirt veruppigt das daz do ist vom tail. Do ich was ein lutzler ich rett als ein lutzler: ich wisst als ein lutzler: ich gedacht als ein lutzler. Wann do ich wart gemacht ein man: ich veruppiget die ding die do waren des lutzeln. Wann nu sehen wir durch den spiegel in bedeckung: wann denn von antlutz zu

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Verse 1 in) + der Z — Oa. der menschen. Aber hab Z — Oa. ere) glockspeys ZASKSbO, glockenspeysz ZcSaGScOa. 2 tugent) heymlikait Z — Oa. wissentheit) kunst Z — Oa. den) om. K — Oa. ubertraff S. berg. hab ich aber der (die SZcSa) lieb Z — Oa. 3 ausztail Z — Oa. gut in die speysz Z — Oa. meinem Sc. brinne. hab ich aber Z — Oa. es ist mir nichts nutz. Die lieb ist duldig Z — Oa. 4) die) om. AK — Oa. widerwertigs) vnrecht Z — Oa. 5 geitig) + auf eer Z — Oa. sy wirt nit geraytzet Z — Oa. 6 vber) om. P. vngangkeit) boszheyt P — Oa. aber sy mit freuet Z — Oa. 7 ding hoffet sy. alle ding duldet sy Z — Oa. 8 Die) Dise P. veruppigt) geraumet Z — Sa, auszgeleret K — Oa. es sey (2)) oder Z — Oa. 9 vom (the first)) von P. vom tail (2)) vnuolkumenlich Z — Oa. 10 Wann so das) So aber Z — Oa. ist durnechtig) volkumen ist Z — Oa. veruppigt) auszgeraumet Z — Oa. das — tail) daz do vnuolkumen ist Z — Oa. 11 was ein lutzler) was ein kind P, klein was Z — Oa. lutzler (3)) kind P, kleiner Z — Oa. Wann — ding) so ich aber bin ein man (ein man bin A) worden do (so A) han ich auszgeraumet (auszgereutt OOa) die ding Z — Oa. des lutzeln) der kinder P, dez kleinen Z — Oa. 12 Wann) vnd P. wann) aber Z — Oa. vom E. Wann) om. Z — Oa. ich vnuolkumenlich (— lichen SbOOa) Aber denn (+ so Sb) wird ich erkennen als Z — Oa. auch ich E — Oa. 13 aber Z — Oa. Die hoffnung. die liebe. Aber die grosser ausz den ist Z — Oa. der ding P.

antlutz. Wann nu erkenn ich vom tail: wann denn erkenn ich: als ich auch bin erkannt. Wann nu beleibent dise drey ding der gelaub die zuuersicht die lieb Wann daz merer dirr ding ist die liebe.

c. *Selections from the Zainer Bible of 1475.*

41-43. *Isaiah 12.* O' Herre ich begich dir . wān du bist mir erzürnt . dein grîmiger zoren ist bekert . vnnd du hast mich getroest. Sieh . got d' ist mein behalter . ich thů trewlich . vnd fürcht mir nit. Wān der herre ist mein stŏrck vñd mein lob . vñd ist mir worden czů einem heylle. Schoepffent die wasser in freude von den brunnen des behalters . vnd sprechent an dem tage bekennent den herren vnnd rueffent an seinen namen. Machent kunt sein vindungen vnder den menschen gedenckent das sein nam ist hoch. Singent dem herren . wān er taett grossmaechtigklich Verkúndent das in aller erd. Du wonung syon freúwe dich vnd lobe . wān der heylig ist gross in deiner mitte. — Compare the plates at the end of the book.

d. *Luke 11:1-20 in four parallel columns representing the Mentel Bible (1466), the Zainer Bible (1475), the Koburger Bible (1483), the S. Otmar Bible (1518):*

44. MENTEL BIBLE, 1466

Es wart gethan do er bettet an einer stat: vnd do er hett aufgehort einer von sein iungern sprach zu im. O herr lere vns betten: als auch iohannes lert sein iunger. Vnd er sprach zu in. So ir bet so sprecht. Vatter geheiligt werd dein nam: zukum dein reich: vnd vnser teglich brot gib vns heut: vnd vergibe vns vnser sunde ernstlich als auch wir eim ieglichen der vns ist schuldig vergeben: vn fure vns nit in versuchung. Vnd er sprach zu in. Welcher ewer hat ein freund vnd geet er zu im zu mitternacht vnd spricht zu im freund leich mir. iij. brot: wann mein freund der ist kumen zu mir von dem wege. vnd ich hab nit das ich leg fur in: vnd er antwurt inwending vnd spricht. nichten woest mir sein leidig. mein türe ist ietzunt beschlossen. vnd meine kind seint mir mir in der kamer. ich mag nit aufsteen vnd dir geben Vnd ob er vollent zeklopffen: ich sage euch. ob er nit aufstet vnd im gebe. dorumb dz er ist sein freund idoch vmb sein verdriessunge stet er auff vnd gibt im als vil er hat durft. Vnd ich sag euch. Eischt vnd euch wirt gegeben: sucht vnd ir vindet: klopfft vnd euch wirt aufgethan. Wann ein ieglicher der do eischt der enpfecht: vnd der do sucht der vindet: vnd dem klofenden wirt aufgethan. Wann welcher von euch eischt dem vatter das brot: gibt er im denn ein stein? Oder ein visch: gibt er im denn fur den visch

ZAINER BIBLE, 1475

Es ward gethan do er was an eyner statt. betend vnd het auffgehoert einer vo sein iungern sprach zu im Herr lere vns betten. als auch Iohannes leret sein iungern. vnd er sprach zu in. So ir bet. so sprecht. Vatter. geheiligt werd dein nam. zu kum dein reich. dein will werde. vnd vnser taeglich brot gib vns heut. vnd vergib vns vnser sunde. ernstlich als auch wir eim yegklichenn der vns ist shuldig vergeben. vnd fure vns nit in versuchung Vnd er sprach zu in. woelcher vnder euch hat ein freunde vnd geet er zu im czu miter nacht. vnd spricht zu im. freund. leich mir drew brot. wann mein freund der ist kumen zu mir. von dem weg. vnd ich hab nit daz ich leg fur in. vnd er antwurt inwending vnd spricht. du sollt mir nit hoert sein. mein tür ist yetzunt beschlossen. vnd meine kind seiend bey mir in der kamer. ich mag nitt auff sten vnd dir geben. vnd ob er verharret vn klopfet. Ich sag euch ob er nit auff steet vnd im gebe. Darumb das er ist seyn freund iedoch vmm seyn vngestume stet er auff vnd gibt im als vil er notturfftig ist Vnd ich sag euch. bittend. vnd euch wirt gegeben. sucht vnnd ir werdent vinden. klopfft vnd euch wirt auffgethan. wann ein yegklicher der do bitt der enpfecht. vnd der do sucht der vindet. vnnd den klopffenden wirt auffgethan. Wann woelcher von euch bitt de vatter vmb dz brot gibt er im denn ein stain.

Koburger Bible, 1483

Es ward getan. do er wz an einer stat. betend. vnd het auff gehoert. einer von seinen iungern sprach. zu im. Herr lere vns betten. als auch iohannes leret sein iungern. vnd er sprach zu in. So ir betet so sprecht. Vater. geheyligt werd dein nam zukum dein reych. dein will werde. vnd vnser teglich brot gib vns heut. vnd vergib vns vnser sunde. als auch wir eim ieglichen. der vns ist schuldig. vergeben. vnd fure vns nit in versuchung. Vnd er sprach zu in. welcher vnder euch hat einen freunde vnd geet er zu im zu mitternacht. vnd spricht zu im. freund. leyh mir drew brot. wann mein freund ist kummen zu mir. von dem weg. vnd ich hab nit. das ich leg fur in. vnnd er antwurt inwending vnd spricht. du sollt mir nit hert seyn. mein thür ist ietzund beschlossen. vnd meine kind sind bei mir in der kamer. ich mag nit auff steen. vnd dir geben. vnd ob er verharret vnnd klopffet. Ich sag euch ob er nit auff steet vnnd im gebe. Darumb das er ist sein freund. iedoch vm sein vngestume steet er auff. vnd gibt im. als vil er notturfftig ist. Vnnd ich sag euch bittet. vnd euch wirt gegeben. sucht. vnd ir werdet vinden. klopfft. vnd euch wirt auffgetan. wan ein ieglicher. der do bitt. der empfeht. vnd der do sucht. der vindet. vnd den klopffenden. wirt auffgethan. Wann welcher von euch bitt den vater. vmb das brot. gibt er im denn einen

Silv. Otmar Bible, 1518

Es ward gethon. do er was an ainer stat beetent. vnd hett auff gehoert | ainer von seinen jungern sprach zu jm. Herr leere vns beeten | als auch johannes leret seine junger | vnnd er sprach zu jn. So ir beet so sprecht. Vater | gehayligt werd den nam zukomme dein reich | dein will werd. vnnd vnser teglich brot gib vns heüt. vnd vergib vnsz vnser sund | als auch wir aim yegklichen der vnsz ist schuldig. vergeben | vnnd fure vns nit in versuchung.

Und er sprach zu jn. Woelicher vnder euch hatt ainen freund | vnd geet er zu jm zu mitternacht vnd spricht zu jm | freund leyh mir dreü brot | wan mein freund ist komen zu mir von dem wege | vnd ich habe nicht das ich lege fur jn | vnd er antwurt innwending vnd spricht. Du solt mir nit hert sein. meyn thür ist yetzund beschlossen. vnd meine kind seind bey mir in der kamer | ich mag nicht auff steen vnd dir geben | vnd ob er verharret vnd klopffet Ich sag euch ob er nichtt auff steet vnd jm gebe. Darumb das er ist sein freund yedoch vmb sein vngestume steet er auf vnd gibt jm als vil er notturftig ist. Vnd ich sag euch | bittet | vnd euch wirt gegeben | sucht | vnd ir werdet finden | klopffet | vnnd euch wirtt auffgethon | wann ain yegklicher der da bitt | der empfacht vnnd der da sucht der findet | vnd dem klopffenden wirdet auff gethon. Wan woelicher von euch bitt den vatter vmb das brot | gibt er jm denn

Mentel Bible, 1466

ein schlangen? Oder ob er eischt ein ay: raicht er im denn ein scorpen? Dorumb ob ir so ir seyt vbel ir derkennt gute gab zegeben ewern sunen: wieuil mer ewer vatter gibt dem guten geiste vom himel dem eischenden von im. Vnd ihesus waz auswerffent den teuffel vnd der was stum: vn do er hett ausgeworfen den teuffel der stum der redt: vnd die gesellschafft wunderten sich. Wann etlich von in die sprachen. In beltzebub dem fursten der teuffel wirffte er aus die teuffel. Die andern versuchten in: vnd suchten von im ein zaichen vom himel. Wann do er hett gesechen ir gedancken er sprach zu in. Ein ieglich reich geteilt in im selber wirt verwust: vnd das haus velt auff das haus. Wann ob ioch sathan ist geteilt in im selber: in welcherweys bestet sein reich: wann ir sagt mich auswerffen die teuffel in beltzebub? Wen ob ich auswirff die teuffel in beltzebub: ewer sune in wem werffent sis aus? Dorumb werdent sy ewer vrteiler. Wann ob ich in der krafft gotz auswirff die teuffel: ernstlich daz reich gotz volkumt in euch.

Zainer Bible, 1475

oder ein visch. Gibt er im denn fur den visch ein schlangen. oder ob er bitt ein ay. raicht er im denn ein scorpion Darumb ob ir so ir seyndt bosz erkennen gute gab zegeben ewrn sunen. wieuil mer ewer vatter gibt den gutten geyst vom himel denn die in bittend. Vnd ihesus was auszwerffen den teuffel. vnd der was stumm vnd do er het auszgeworffen de teuffel. der stumm der redt. vnd die scharen wunderten sich. Wann etlich von in die sprachen. in beeltzebub dem fursten der teuffel wirfft er ausz die teuffel. Die andern versuchten in. vnd suchten von im ein zaichen von himel vnd do er het gesehen ir gedancken. do sprach er zu in Ein yegklich reich geteilt in im selber wirt zerstoret. vnd dz haus vellt auff das haus. Wann ob auch sathanas ist geteylt in im selber. in wolcherweys bestett sein reich. wann ir sagt ich werfe ausz die teuffel in beeltzebub. Wen ob ich ausz wirff die teuffel in beeltzebub. euwer sun in wam werffend sis ausz. Darumb werdent sy euwer richter. Ob ich aber in der krafft gotz auszwirff die teuffel. ernstlich das reich gotz kumpt in euch.

KOBURGER BIBLE, 1483

stayn. oder einen visch. Gibt er im denn fur den visch ein schlangen. oder ob er bitt ein ay. raycht er im denn einen scorpion. Darum ob ir, so ir seyt boesz. erkennet gute gabe zegeben ewern sunen. wieuiel mer ewer vater gibt den guten geyst von hymel. den. die in bitten. Vnd Ihesus was ausz werffen den tewfel. vnd der was stum. Vnnd do er het auszgeworffen den tewfel. der stumm redt. vnd die scharen wunderten sich. Wann ettlich von in sprachen. in beelzebub dem fursten der tewfel wurft er ausz die tewfel. Die andern versuchten in. vnd suchten von im ein zeychen von dem hymel vnd do er het gesehen ir gedancken so sprach er zu in. Ein ieglich reych geteylt in im selber wirt zestoeret. vnd das hausz fellt auff dz hausz. Wann ob auch sathanas ist geteylt in im selber. in welcherweysz besteet sein reych. wenn ir sagt. ich werff ausz die tewfel in Beeltzebub. Wenn ob ich ausz wurff dye tewfel in Beeltzebub. in wem werffen ewer sun ausz. Darumb werden sie ewer rychter. Ob ich aber in der krafft gottes auszwurff die tewfel. das reych gots kumpt in euch.

SILV. OTMAR BIBLE, 1518

ain stayn. Oder vmb einen visch | gibet er ym dann fur den visch ain schlangen | oder ob er bitt ain ay | raycht er ym dann ainen scorpion. Darumb ob ir | so ir seyt bosz | erkennet gute gab zu geben euweren sunen | wie vil mer euwer vatter gibet den guten gayst von hymel | den die yn bitten.

Vnd Ihesus was auszwerffen den teufel | vnd der was ain stumm. Vnnd do er hett auszgeworffen den teufel | der stumm redet | vnd die schar verwunderten sich. wann ettlich von yn sprachen | in beelzebub den fürsten der teufel wurffet er ausz die teufel. Die andern versuchten yn | vnd suchten von ym ain zaichen von dem hymmel | vnd do er hett gesehen ir gedancken | do sprach er zu yn. Ain yegklich reych getaylet in jm selber wirdet zerstoeret vnd das hausz fellt auf daz hausz. Wann ob auch sathanas it getaylet in ym selber | in woelicher weisz besteet sein reych | wann ir sagt | ich werff ausz die teuffel in Beelzebub Wann ob ich auszwürffe die teufel in Beelzebub in wem werffen euwere sun ausz. Darumb werden sy euwer richter. Ob ich aber in der krafft gottes auszwürffe die teufel | das reych gottes komet in euch |

e. *Selections from the Low-German Bibles*

45. *From the Cologne Bible, about 1480.*—I John 1: Wy vorkundighen iuw dat ghene, dat dar was van anbeginne, dat wy horden, dat wy segen, unde dat wy schouweden mit unsen oghen, unde unse hande hebben vorhandelt, van dem worde des leuens. Unde dat leuen is apenbare gemaket, dat hebben wy geseen unde betugen dat, unde vorkundigen iw dat ewige leuen, dat dar was by dem vader unde vorscheen uns. Dat wy segen unde horden dat vorkundigen wy iw, dat ghy ok hebben gheselschop myt uns, unde unse gheselschop sij mit dem vader unde myt dem sone, unsen heren ihesu cristo. Unde desse dynghe schriuen wy iuw, dat ghy iuw vrouwet, unde iuwe vroude sij vul. Unde dyt is de vorkundinghe, de wy hebben ghehoret van eme, unde vorkundighe iuw, dat god is dat lijcht, unde neen duysternisse sint in eme. Effte wy segghen, dat wy hebben geselschop myt eme unde wandelen in der duysternisse, wy leghen unde doen nicht de warheit. Gingen wy euer in dem lichte, als he is ock in dem lichte, so hebbe wi de gheselschop under een ander, unde dat bloet sines sones ihesu cristi ghereynighet uns van allen sunden. Effte wy segghen, dat wy nene sunde en hebben, wy vorleyden uns sulue unde de warheit en is nicht in uns. Bekennen wy euer unse sunde, hee is ghetruwe unde gherecht, dat he uns vorgheue unse sunde, unde reynynghe uns van aller boesheit. Effte wy spreken, dat wy nicht hebben ghesundyghet, wy maken en enen loghener, unde sin word en is nicht in uns.

46. *From the Luebeck Bible of 1494.*—Acts 17:15-34 (with omission of the inserted explanations): Unde do paulus erer beidede to athene, sin gest wart beweget in eme, wente he sach de stad, dat se gheghuen was der afgoderie. Darumme he disputerede mit den ioden, unde mit den, de heidene ghewest weren, unde nu loueden mit den yoden yn enen god in her synagogen, unde an deme markede, dorch alle de daghe to den ghennen, de dat ghehoret hadden. Unde etlike naturlike meystere, de dar navolgheden den leren der epicureer unde der stoycorum, de disputerden mit eme, unde etlike spreken, wad wil desse wordseyer seggen? Ouer de anderen spreken: "He werd gheseen een verkundegher der nien duuele," wente he vorkundeghede en ihesum unde sine upstandynghe. Unde se grepen ene, unde voreden ene to aryopagum, segghende: Moghe wy nicht weten, welke desse nye lere is, de dar wert ghesecht van dy, wente du bringhest uns etlike nye dinghe in unse oren, darumme wylle wy weten, wat desse nye dynck

wellen syn, wente de athener unde de *vrommede studenten* weren to nenen anderen dynghen gheouet, wen tho horende undo tho segghende ychtes wat nyes. Ouer paulus stund in deme myddele ariopagi unde sprack: Gy manne von athenen, ick see, dat gy oueral denere der afghode sint, wente ick vorby ghinck, unde sach iuwe afgode, yck vand een altare, in deme gheschreuen was: "Deme unbekanden gade." Den gy unwetende eren, den vorkundeghe ick iuw. God, de dar heft ghemaket desse werlt, unde alle dynck, de dar synt in er, so he is een god des hemmels unde der erden, he wanet nycht in den tempelen myt der hant ghemaket, noch ock wert he nicht gheeret mit minschlyken henden, dat he yeniges dynghes bederue, so he allen leuendighen ghift dat leuend unde de inghestynghe, unde all dink, unde hefft ghemaket uth eneme mynschen alle mynschlyke slechte to wanende up allem anghesichte der erden, unde uthleggende en de ghesettede tyd, unde de ende erer wanynghe, to sokende god, efte se ene vyllychte handelnden efte vynden, wo wol he nycht is verne van enem yewelyken unser, wente wy leuen, unde werden beweghet unde synt in eme, alzo etlike iuwer poeten spreken, wente wy syn ok synes slechtes. Hyrumme so wi synt dat slechte gades, wy scholen nycht achten dat godlyke dynck lyk to syn deme golde unde deme suluer, efte deme stente, edder der kunst der utgrauinghe der byldinghe unde des danken des mynschen. Unde vorwar god de vorsmadet de tyd der unwetenheyt unde vorkundight nu den minschen, dat se alle werken penitencien, darumme dat he heft ghesettet enen dach, an deme he wert ordelende de werlt in lykheyt in deme manne, in welkem he dat heft ghesettet, gheuende den louen allen, unde vorweckede ene van deme dode. Unde do se hadden ghehoret de upstandynghe der doden, vorwar etlyke de spotteden, unde summyghe de spreken: "Wy wyllen dy wedderumme horen van deme dynghe." Unde alzo ghink paulus ut van ereme myddel, unde etlyke manne de loueden, unde helden sick to eme, under den was ok dyonisius ariopagita, und een wyf myt namen damaris, unde andere myten.

IV. SELECTIONS FROM THE GERMAN HISTORY-BIBLES

a. *From the first group* (14th century)

47. *The Creation.* — *Hie hebet sich an die Bibel. die funff bucher her Moyses. das erste buch Genesis das erste capitel. Wie got himel und erde geschuff.* In dem anfang schuff got hymel und erd. Aber die erd wasz ytal und lar, und die vinsternusz warend ob dem antlit des abgrundes, und schwebt der gaist gottes

ob den wassern. Do sprach got: "es werd liecht." do ward es liecht und got sach das daz liecht gut was. Und schied das liecht von der vinsternusz und hiesz das liecht den tag vnd die vinsternusz die nacht und es ist worden aubent und morgen ain tag.— *Von dem firmamente.* Do sprach aber got: "es werd ain firmament enmitten des wassers, und das schied das wasser von den wassern." Und got machet daz firmament und schied die wasser die unter dem firmament warend (von den die ob dem firmament waren). Und es geschach also. Und got hiesz das firmament den hymel und es ist worden abent und morgen (der ander tag).— *Von den wassern.* An dem andren tag do sprach got aber: "es werdent gesamnet die wasser die under dem hymel sind in ain statt und werd ain durre der erde." Und das geschach also. Und hiesz (got die durr die erden und hiesz) die samnung des wassers das mer. Do got sach das es gut was do sprach er: "die erde bring grunes krutt und das mach samen und das holtz der oepffel mache frucht nach sinem geschlacht das ser somme in im selber belib uff der erde." Das geschach also. Und die erde bracht das grun krut herfur und bringend den samen nach siner art. Und das holtz das da frucht machet und ain yegklichs haut samen nach sinem bild. Do sach got das es gut was und es ist aubent and morgen (worden der dritt tag).— *Wie got tag und nacht geschuff.* Do sprach aber got: "es werdint liechter in dem firmament des hymels, das sich tag und nacht taile und das sich zitt und zaiche, tag und jar tailind und das sy in dem firmament des hymels luechtind und das sy die erd erluechtind." Und das geschach also. Do machet got zway groszi liechter. das groszer liecht dem tag das im vor war. das minder liecht der nacht das es ir vor war und die sternen. Und got satzt sy in das firmament des hymels das sy uff der erd luechtind und daz sy dem tag und der nacht vorwarind und das sy das liecht und die vinsternusz schiedint. Do sach got das es gut was und es ist aubent und morgen (worden der vierd tag).— *Von vogeln und von wurmen.* Do sprach aber got: "es bringind herfur die wasser die lebenden selen der tier die da krisind und och gefugel uff die erde under dem firmament des himels." Und beschuff got die groszen fisch vnd all lebend selen. Do das beweglich wasser die gebilder herfurbracht und alles gefugel nach irem geschlacht do sahe got das es gut wasz und segnet sy und sprach: "wachszent und werdent gemeret und erfullent die wasser des meres und die vogel werdint uff der erd gemeret," und es ist aubent und morgen worden (der funfft tag).— *Von den tieren zamen und wilde.* Do sprach aber got: "die erd bring herfur ain lebendig sel vich krisendes und tier der erd nach irem bild." (Das geschach und also macht got die tier der erden nach irem bilde und alles das kriechent der erden und in sinem geslechte). Und sach got das es gut wasz,

Wie got Adam und Eva geschuff. Und sprach: "wir sollend ainen mentschen machen nach unserm bild nach unser gestalt das der vor sy den vischen des meres und den gefugel des hymels und den tieren und allen creaturen und allem krisendem das sich uff der erd bewegt." Und got der beschuff den mentschen nach sinem bild. Nach dem bild gottes beschuff got man und wib und gesegnet sy und sprach: "wachsend und werdent gemeret und erfullent die erde und werffend sy unter uch und herrschend den fishen des meres und dem gefugel des himels und allen den die selen habend und die sich uff der erd bewegend." Do sprach got: "sechend ich han uch alles krut geben das da uff erd samen bringh und alle holtzer die in im selber samen habend irs geschlachts das sy uch ain spis syent und allen selen der erde und allem (gefugel und allem) dem daz sich bewegt in der erden und in welchem lebende sel ist das sy es ze spis habind und essind." Daz geschach also. Do sach got alle ding die er geschaffen hett das sy gut warend und es ist worden abent und morgen (der sechszt tag).

Wie got ruwe hat an dem subendem tage. An dem sechsten tag da sind volkomen worden alle ding hymel und erd und alle ir gezierd und got erfult alle sine werk die er gemachet hett. An dem sybenden tag do ruwat got denselben tag von allen wercken und gesegnet denselben tag und hailgot inn.

Wie alle ding volkomen worent. Das sind die geburt himel und erden die got beschuff und all grun gerten der acker ee das uff gieng und alles krut der erden ee es grunet. Wann got hett dennocht nit uff die erd geregnet und was dennocht kain mentsch der die erd arbaiti. Sunder es gieg ain brunn uff von der erd der begousz und wassert all die umbkraisz der erd. Darum so formiert got der herr den mentschen von dem laym der erd und machet Adam von dem laym und gab im vil hocher sinn und blusz im in sin antlit ain lebendige sel usz siner gotthait ainen gaist des lebens und wiszhait mit vernunfft. Do hett die gotlich wishait die wollust des paradisz mit wunschlichem wunsch von angang gepflantzet und gemachet und vollbracht. Darin satzt er den mentschen den er nach sinem bild geformiert hett. Nun bracht got der herr von der frucht herfur alles holtzes schoni an der gesicht susse (ze) essen. Und das holtz des lebens was enmitten in dem paradisz und das holtz der kunst boses und gutes. Und gieng ain wasser von der statt der wolnust das machet das paradisz fruchtbar. Das wasser tailt sich hernach in vier wasser. Das ain heisset Phison. Das flust umb alle erd in ain land darinn das gold geboren wirt und das gold (ist das allerbest gold) der erden. Daselbs vindt man den allerbesten bom der haisset Bedelium und edlen stain Onichius. Das ander wasser haisset Geon das vmbgaut alle die erde Ethiopie. Das dritt wasser haiszet Tygris das gaut gegen Asyrios. Das vierde wasser haisset Eufrates. Von dem paradisz spricht Josephus und Dionysius und Strabus es lieg in dem land orient da die sunn uff gaut und haist ain land der wolnust und der froden und ist wunschlich gut und haut als wunschlich pluegde die als mentschlich oug ye gesach. Und sin schoeni und adelkait und richhait gehort nie kains mentschen ore und mag kain mentsch darin gesterben und sin ops haut als sussen schmack das es die siechen nert und haut kain kelti und ist nit zeuil wermi da und ist allezit grun nach sussem wunsch und lit als hoch das es die suntflut nit erraichen mocht die alle die welt und alle mentschen verdarbt. Und lit nach by der statt da des mons schib uff stat. Und sin tor ist wol bewart wan Cherubin verspert es mit ainem furin schwert. So ist noch ain hoechers paradisz da sind die engel in die lobend und minnent got ewigklichen. Daz paradisz haisset celum empireum, der furin hymel und ist furin an dem gesicht und brint doch nit. Darob ist der drit himel. Darin wonet got in der gottheit mit allen sinen engeln und hailigen ewigklich mit aller frod und wunn an alles laid.

Wie Adam in das paradise kam und darinne wonet. Nun satzt got den mentschen in das paradisz der wolnust daz er arbait und sin huette und verbout im und sprach: "ysz usz allem holtz des paradises, an allain von dem holtz der kunst des bosen und des guten solt du nit essen. wenn du das yssest so stirbest du." Darnach sprach aber unser herr: "es ist nit gut dem mentschen allain ze sind, wir sollend im ain gehilffen machen im gelich." Und got bracht alles gefugel und tier fur Adam das er sy sech wie ers wolt haissen. Und got sprach zu Adam: "du solt aller geschoepfft maister und gebieter sin und solt inen namen geben." Do nampt Adam alle tier und gefugel und als er sy desselben mals nampt also ist noch ir nam. Do hett Adam dennocht kainen gehilffen sin gelich. Do sant got ain schlauf in Adam. Und do er nun entschlieff do nam got Adams ripp ains und erfult das flaisch und das ripp und pflantzet das wib usz dem ripp das er von Adam nam und bracht sy Adamen. Do wissaget Adam und sprach; "das bain ist von minem bain und das flaisch von minem flaisch und disi wirt ain menni (gehaissen) wann sy ist von dem man genomen." Darumb so laut der mentsch vatter und muter und hebt sich zu siner frowen und werdent die zway in ainem flaisch. Darnach gab got Adamen aber ain schlauff und in dem schlauff was Adam in himelscher wonung under den engeln in der gothait und do Adam erwachet do wissaget er aber und sprach zu Eva: "es wirt Cristus und die cristenhait zu ain andren gemachelt und es kumpt die sundtflut und ertrenckt alles das da lept und wirt gott an dem jungsten gericht alle welt mit fur vertilgen." Und in dem paradisz bringend die bom und ander ding zwirend frucht und sind zwen sumer und zwen wintter in ain jar. Und in dem paradisz ist kain ungewitter noch kain trubsali noch kain ding daz den mentschen bekumbren mag. Und warind Adam und Eva an schuld beliben so hettind sy kind ane liplich begird und lust an sund geboren und warind allwegen jung und starck gewesen und hett got und sin engel allweg mit inen gewonet und warind nit tod und nach vierthalben und dreissig jaren warind sy ge hymel gefaren.

b. *From the third group being a German extract of Comestor's Historia Scholastica* (15th century)

48. *Man's fall and punishment.*—*Von des feinds betriegnus, die er tet frawn Eva.* Die slang was listiger dann die andern tier des erdreichs, wann sie was erfult mit dem feind. Do Lucifer verstossen ward von dem himlischen paradis, do neidt er den menschen, der gesetzt was in das leipleich paradis, und west wol: precht er den menschen zu der ungehorsam, so wurd er auch vertossen. Er forcht auch, das Adam besichtiger and klueger wer dann Eva und sein posheit verstuend, und greif das weib an, die er pald umb ir unbesichticheit uberkom, und greif sie an in der slangen gestalt. Wann die slang was do aufgereckt, und also was sie beschaffen, aufgereckt als ein mensch; aber nach dem fluech ward sie geslagen und kreucht auf dem erdreich. Beda der spricht: Do der feind den menschen wolt betriegen, so erwelt er ein slangen aus, die het einer jungfraun gestalt, das geleich mit geleich dester pass betrogen wuerd; und der feind erweckt der slangen zungen, die von ir selber nicht west, was sie redt, und sprach: Warumb hat euch got verpoten, das ir nicht all frucht des paradis esst? Eva antwurtt in einem zweifel und sprach: Villeicht, das wir nicht sterben. Und darumb das Eva zweifleich redet, fuert sie der feind dester leichter auf seinen weg und sprach: Furchtt euch nicht, wann ir sterbt mit nichte nicht;

got wolt nicht, das ir im geleich wurdt an der kunst, darumb hat er euch die frucht des paums verpoten in einem neid, wann er west wol, wann ir der frucht esst, das ir im dann geleich wuerdt an der kunst, und werdt als die goter. Und durch des weibes hohfart, das sie got geleich wuerd, hengt sie dem feind und ubergieng sie das gotleich gepot.

Von dem wesen des menschen nach dem fal. Do frau Eva gesehen het den paum und die frucht, das die schon was nach dem gesicht, und gedacht auch von dem gesmach, das es lustig und suess wer ze essen, do ass sie des aphels und gab dem man auch; der was ir daran gehorsam. Hie sprechent etleich, das Eva alle die red, die man ir vor gesagt het, do dem man sagt, und damit zoch sie den man, das er ir folgt. Etleich sprechent, das er ir darumb so pald nachfolgt, wann Adam want nach gotes wort, das Eva mit der fart, wann sie nur den aphel ess, zuhand sturb; und do sie nicht gestorben was, do gedacht er, das es got nur zu einer forcht verpoten het und nicht in einer waren meinung, und ass auch. Und also wurden sie beide betrogen. Do erkanten die die unzimbleicheit irer ploess und irs nacktums, das sie vor nicht erkant heten, und die ungeordnet leipleich begir offnet sich do in in, die in vor verporgen was, und sahen die uebung irer gelider und schambten sich, und recht als sie irem schepher ungehorsam waren gewesen, also ward auch ir leipleicheit den obern kreften ungehorsam, und davon kom die ungeordnet leiplich begir, die erkanten sie und schambten sich, und heisst darumb ein ungeordnete begir, wann die andern gelider sind dem menschen gehorsam unz an die.

Das got der slangen verfluecht und Adam und Eva. Do sich Adam und Eva erkanten und das sie ploss und nacket waren, do machten sie in wedel von den feigenplettern, wann man spricht, das sie von derselben frucht geessen heten. Do horten sie gotes stim in dem paradis. Mit der stim sie got straft, das sie sein gepot ubergangen heten; die stim was einer creatur stim, in der got mit in redt. Do heten sie sich verporgen mitten under den paumen; do rueft got Adam, dem er das gepot geben het, und sprach zornigleich: Adam, wo pistu, recht als er sprech: Lueg, in was jamer pistu gefallen. Adam antwurtt und sprach: Ich hab mich verporgen, wann ich was nacket. Do sprach got: Wer hat dir kund getan dein nacktum? Nur darumb, das du der frucht geessen hast, erkennestu, das du nacket pist. Do verjach Adam seiner sund nicht in einer diemueticheit und legt die schuld auf das weib und halt auf got und sprach: Das weib, das du mir geben hast zu einer gesellin, die gab mir der frucht; die ass ich. Do sprach got zu dem weib: Warumb hastu das getan? Die frau beredt sich auch nicht, die legt die schuld auf die slangen. Got fragt die slangen nicht, wann sie von ir selber nichts het getan noch geredt, wann der feind het aus ir geredt. Do hueb got den fluech an an der slangen, und seit die drifeltigleich gesuendt het: mit neid, mit lug und mit triegen, do ward ir auch drifeltigleich verfluecht, von erst: seit sie neidt des menschen wirdlicheit, ward ir gesagt, sie scholt furbas auf irm herzen und auf irer prust kreuchen: und seit sie missagt het, ward sie gepuesset an dem mund, wann ir ward gesagt: Du scholt das erdreich essen, dieweil du lebest, darzu ward ir die red genomen, und die gift ward ir in den mund gesetzt; und seit sie betrogen het, ward ir gesagt: Ich setz feindschaft zwishen dir und dem weib, das weib wird dein haup zemueschen, und du wirst irm fuesspar nachsetzen. — Das weib suendet zwifeltigleich: mit der hohfart und das sie das gepot ubergieng, das sie die verpoten frucht ass. Durch der hohfart nidert sie got und sprach: Du wirst leben under deines mannes gewalt. Sie was beschaffen undertenig dem man in lieb, aber nu ist sie in forcht undertenig. Und seit sie an der verpoten frucht sundt, do ward sie gepuesst an irer frucht, und ir ward gesagt: Du wirst perund in smerzen. Adam het nur gesuendt an dem essen, darumb ward in nur verfluecht an seiner speis, und got sprach: Das erdreich ist verfluecht in deinem werk, recht als er sprech: Durch deines werks willen, das du gesuendt hast, ist das erdreich verfluecht; das vor guet und nutz frucht het pracht und an grosse arbeit, das pringt nu selten und mit grosser arbeit, und oft pringt es dorn und disteln fuer die frucht. Und darnach sprach got: Du wirst des krauts des erdreichs essen, und an dem wirstu dem vich geleich. Und das der mensch das gepot ubergangen het mit der frucht des erdreichs, ward auch das erdreich verfluecht und nicht das wasser; und darumb list man, das got visch geessen hat, und nicht fleisch dann das osterlamb, durch des gepots willen, das er die ee behielt. Darnach sprach got zu Adam: In dem sweiss deines antlutz wirstu dein prot essen, unz das du wider in das erdreich kumbst, dovon du komen pist, recht als er sprech: unz das du stirbst; wann du werst von dem leben zu einem pessern gangen, werstu bestanden; nu muesstu von einem jamer hinz dem andern gen. Und do beklagt Adam den kuenftigen jamer aller der, die nach im kunftig waren, und nant sein weib nach dem fluech Evam, ein mueter aller der, die nach ir geporen wurden zu dem jamer.

Das der mensch von dem paradis gestossen ward. Do macht got Adam un Eve roeck von fellen der tier, das sie mit in truegen das zeichen irer todleicheit, und sprach: Seht, Adam ist worden als einer aus uns. Das sprach er als in einem spot, recht als er sprech: Er wolt sein als got; nu seht, wer er sei. Die stim ist zu unsrer pesserung, die uns zeuch von der hohfart, und mag sein ein stim der drifalticheit oder ein stim gotes hinz den engeln oder ein stim einer klag gotes, recht als er sprech: Adam was gemacht untodleich als unser einer, wer er bestanden; nu seht, das er icht villeicht der frucht des lebens nem und ess und lebt ewigleich; recht als got sprech: seht und huett und stosst in aus, das er icht leb. Etleich sprechent hie, das gotes zorn und urteil gross was, das er zu dem vodern fluech den menschen dannoch puessen wolt und von dem paradis stossen, das er icht ewig wer. Das verstossen legent etleich anders aus und verstent daran gotes parmherzicheit, wann die puess, die er vor geben het, die tempert er; wann seit der mench durch der suenden willen gefallen was in jamer und muesst auch sterben in dem jamer, so er dann allerlengst gelebt het, so wer sein jamer dester lenger gewesen. Des wolt in got uberheben und hiess in aus dem paradis stossen, das er der frucht des lebens nicht ess.

49. *God's visit with Abraham and Sodom's destruction* (Gen. 18-19). *Von den drein engeln, die Abraham erschinen.* Got erschein Abrahe in dem tal Mambre, und do Abraham sein augen aufhueb, do sach er drei man; den leuf er engegen und pat einen aus in an. Josephus spricht, das drei engel gesandt waren in menschen gestalt, das im einer kund tet von seinem sun, und die andern zwen scholten Sodomam versenken. Eusebius spricht: Gotes sun, der Abrahe vor allen andern propheten erschinen ist in menschen pild, der kundt im, das die heiden auch zu dem glauben geladen wurden; und in der weis erschein im gotes sun, und den pat er an; die andern zwen erschinen in einem kunden der zweier vorlaufer, die got kunden, einer die erst kunft gotes, der ander wird die andre kunden. Die drei pat Abraham, das sie mit im giengen und das sie gekreftigt wurden mit der speis; die hengten dem Abraham. Do eilt Abraham und schuef mit Sara, das sie von drein messlein semelmel macht bederbes prot; do pracht er ein gar guet kelbel und legt in das fur. Es ist mugleich, das Abraham von erst want, sie weren menschen; darumb bereitt er in das essen. Darnach erkant er, das es gotes engel waren. Man mag gesprechen von der speis, das sie verswand mit dem keun, recht als das wasser verswindt von dem feur.

Abraham stuend vor den engeln, Sara was hinder der tur des mueshaus. Do sprach der engel: Ich wird wider komen zu dir an der zeit, das ist uber ein jar. An dem tag so gewinnet Sara ein sun. Do lacht Sara, wann sie waren beide alt, und der weibleich lauf het sich vergangen zu der tracht, Sara was auch unperhaft; und durch des willen zweifelt sie und lacht und sprach: Nu ich veraltert pin und mein her auch alt ist, so schol ich mich leipleicher wollust geben, das ich swanger werd? Do sprach der her zu Abraham: Warumb hat Sara gelacht; ist got icht unmugleich ze tuen? Do erschrak Sara und laugent, das sie gelacht het.

Das die zwen engel gegen Sodomam giengen. Do sich die engel aufhuben, do kerten die ir augen gegen Sodomam, und Abraham gieng mit. Do sprach got: Ich mag nicht verpergen, was ich tuen wird, und sprach zu Abraham: Der ruef des volkes Sodomorum ist komen fur mich. Des volkes sund was also gross und offen und mit semleicher frevel, das es wol ein ruefen hiess; die sund was an der hohfart des lebens und uberflussicheit der speis, do wollust von kumbt, die unwirdig ist ze nennen, in die sie gefallen waren. Do sprach got: Ich wil komen und sehen, ob sie das werk volpringen. Got, der alle ding erkennet, der hat uns die ler lassen; darumb sprach er: ich wil komen, recht als er sprech: ir schult das ubel nicht glauben, e das ir es versucht. Und davon kumbt auch das recht, das ein richter kein missetat gepuessen mag, die er allein weiss. — Do gedacht Abraham an Lot, seinen prueder, und nehent sich zu dem hern und sprach: Her, du verderbst doch den gueten nicht mit dem posen, wann das gehort dich nicht an, wann du pist ein gemeiner richter der welt. Fund man funfzig gueter menschen, vertruegstu dem volk nicht durch der willen? Do sprach got: Ich vergib allem volk durch irn willen. Do liess Abraham gemeleich herab und sprach: Wie und fund man funfundvierzig; wie, fund man vierzig; wie, fund man dreissig; wie, fund man zweinzig; wie, fund man zehen? Do sprach got: Ich vergib durch zehen willen. Do erschein got nicht mer, und Abraham gieng in sein stat sicher, wann er zweifelt nicht, ob man fund zehen guet.

Do komen die zwen engel, die mit dem hern gewesen waren, zu der stat Sodoma zu vesperzeit, do Lot bei dem tor der stat sass und wartet, ob kein gast kem. Do er sie sach, do leuf er in engengen und pat sie, das sie in sein haus kerten, und do sie sich werten, do betwang er sie, das sie in das haus kemen. Do macht er in ein wirtschaft, und do assen sie. Do komen die man der stat gemein von den jungen unz an die alten und umbgaben das haus und forderten die gest und sprachen zu Lot: Fuer die man heraus zu unserm willen. Do sprach Lot. Ich hab zwo tochter, nemt sie nach eurem willen; tuet allein den gesten kein ubel, die in mein haus und sicherheit komen sind. Und das Lot sein tochter erpot, das tet er aus betruebtem muet. Die wolten des nicht, das sie die tochter nemen, und kriegten mit gewalt mit dem Lot umb die gest. Do namen die engel den Lot und fuerten in in das haus, und die posen erplendten sie, das sie mit gesehunden augen nicht gesahen, und redten mit Lot: Fuer aus der stat all die deinen, wann wir werden die stat vertilgen. Do gie Lot zu seinen eidem und sprach zu in: Flieht und get aus, wann got wird die stat vertilgen. Und das Lot zu seinen eidem gieng, das meint man: die kunftigen eidem; wann Lot het nicht andre tochter dann die zwo jungfraun, die er den posen erpoten het. Die eidem wolten mit im nicht gen und sprachen: Er redt von gewonheit also.

Das die stat versenkt ward. Des morgens verliess Lot, das er aus der stat nicht gieng. Do namen in die engel und sein hausfraun und sein tochter und fuerten in fur die stat und sprachen zu im: Lueg nicht umb und behalt dich auf dem perg. Lot het dann noch nicht vollkomenen glauben, und dovon sprach er zu dem engel: Ich mag mich nicht behalten auf dem perg, wann ich furcht, mir gescheh etwas ubels, das ich hie sturb. Der Lot forcht die kelten des pergs, darumb das er alt was, das er verdurb, und forcht auch den sweren weg und sprach: Es ist hie ein kleine stat, do mag ich wol hinkomen, das ich mich behalt. Do sprach got: Ich verderb die stat nicht, von der du gesagt hast. Und darumb das Lot gesprochen het, es wer ein kleine stat, do ward sie genant Segor; das ist so vil gesprochen als klein; und dieweil Lot darin was, do beleib sie auch, aber do Lot daraus gie, do verdarb sie von der erdpidem. Und des forcht auch der Lot und fuer auf den perg. Und do Lot von dem volk kom, do liess got regnen auf die stet swebel und feur, das das erdreich ewigleich dorret an aller zuversicht, das es nimmerme gruent, und alles, das in den steten was, das verdarb, jungs and alts; die jungen verdurben durch der alten sund willen und darumb: heten sie lang gelebt, so heten sie villeicht irn vetern nachgefolgt; wann es ist gar mueleich, der nicht wol geporen ist und bei den posen gezogen wird, das der sein gemuet zu gueten dingen leit. — Do luegt Lots weib umb, darumb ward sie verkert in einen seul von salz, und die gegend ward verkert in einen see von salz, der was unnutz und heisst das tot mer, wann es mag nichts darin beleiben mit dem leben, weder fisch noch vogel; kein schef mag do gen, es leidt auch kein materi, sie sei dann mit leim durchleimet, und was totes darin kumbt, das felt ze poden; ein prinnunde latern swimbt ob, ein erloschne get under, und an vilen steten wirft es aus swarze knollen von leim. Man saget auch, das die ephel, die an den paument wachsent, die dorumb stent, e das sie zeitig sein, so sind sie gruen, und wann sie zeitig sind, wann man die dann aufsneidt, so findt man usel darinne.

50. *Abraham offers his son Isaac: Das Abraham sein sun ophern wolt nach gotes gepot.* Do Abraham wonet in Bersabe und Isaac was funfundzweinzig jar alt, do sprach got zu im: Nim dein eingeporen sun Isaac, den du lieb hast, und opher in mir in dem land der anschau auf dem perg, den ich dir werd zeigen. Das teil des landes Jude, das in dem pirg was, das hiess got ein land der anschau, wann man sach es ferre und mocht auch ferre davon sehen. Und auf dem perg was ein kleins pergel zu aller obrist und hiess Moria; das pergel zeigt got dem Abraham, das er sein sun da ophert. Do stuend Abraham des nachts auf und sagt niemand, was er tuen wolt, und bereitt sein esel und nam mit im zwen jung diener und sein sun und gieng zwo tagweid; am dritten tag hueb er sein augen auf und sach von ferren die stat. Do nam er holz und feur, und die diener liess er hie niden und gieng mit dem sun auf den perg. Do sprach der sun: Nim war, vater: hie ist feur und holz; wo ist aber das opher? Do sprach der vater: Got versicht das opher. Do macht Abraham ein altar und legt holz darauf und feur darunder. He schreibt Josephus die wort, die Abraham mit seinem sun redt: Sich, sun, recht als die welt von gotes willen ist ausgegangen wunderleich von nichte, also ist es auch ein notdurft, wen got wil nemen von der welt an siechtum, an streit, an alles leiden, das den menschen anget, das der also nach gotes willen verscheid und sich selber got erpiet zu einem opher. Also gieng Isaac willigleich zu dem tod. Do nam Abraham das swert und wolt den sun ophern, wann er het ganzen glauben zu der urstend. Do rueft der engel dem Abraham: Lass die hand nicht an deinen sun, wann ich erkenn nu die gotes forcht an dir. Wann got meint Isaacs tod nicht; er wolt allein erzeigen, das man west, wie hart Abraham got forcht. Do sach Abraham umb und sach ein wider bei den hornen in den stauden hangen; den ophert er fur sein sun und nant die stat Got hat gesehen. Davon habent die Juden, wann sie in deheiner truebsal sind, noch ein sprich-

wort Got wird sehen auf den pergen, recht als sie sprechen: als got erkant hat Isaac auf dem perg, also erkenn er auch uns in dem truebsal und erledig uns. Die Juden sprechent, das Isaac an dem ersten tag des sibenten moneids erlost sei; darumb begent sie noch die hohzeit an dem tag und blasent mit hornen. Do swuer got bei im selber, das er Isaacs samen wolt meren und das er im die land wolt geben. An dem andern tag fuer Abraham wider heim hinz Bersabe.

c. *From a New Testament History Bible* (15th century)

51. *Annunciation of Christ's birth.* An dem dritten tag darnach was Maria allein in ir kamer und phlag ires werks und was auch an irem gepet, das sie sprach: do waren die andern megd ausserhalb der tur. Maria die las in dem psalter, wie ein magd ein kind solt geperen an allen man, und in der weil do kom der engel Gabriel und sprach: Ave, gratia plena, Maria, du pist vol aller genaden, du pist gesegent uber alle weib, der her ist mit dir. Maria erkom hart und betrachtt in irem herzen, von weu der gruess wer. Der engel sprach aber zu Maria: Du solt an alle forcht sein, wann got von himel der wil bei dir wonen; du solt eines kindes swanger werden, das wird kunig und her aller welt; er wird geheissen Jesus und wird gewaltig aller ding und her in hern Davids kunigreich und gewaltig in himel und auf erd. Maria die antwurtt und sprach: Wie mag das gesein, das ein magd kind sol geperen und nie muet noch willen gewan zu keinem man? Der engel antwurtt und sprach: Der heilig geist kumbt uber dich und in dich, und der allerhochst wird dich umbgeben; und dein kind wird heilig in himel und auf erd. Und das dus dester pass glaubst: Elisabeth, dein muem, die wurd enphangen ein kind in irem leib und ist in irem alter mer dann funfzig jar; also ist got muglich ze tuen alle ding.

Damit ergab sich Maria dem engel und sprach: Sich an, ich pin gotes diern, und gescheh mir nach deinen worten.

In der begicht kom gotes sun von himelreich auss seins vater schoss und versleuss sich in die menscheit und macht uns ze pruedern. Also enphie Maria Jesum in irem reinen, keuschen leib und beleib doch ewige magd vor der purt, in der purt und nach der purt. Also ward gotes sun enphangen von dem heiligen geist und geporen nach menschlicher natur. Von des engels und gotes ordnung ist worden das wort menschlich fleisch und pluet, leib und sel, warer got und warer mensch. Gotes sun kom durch die ordnung, und in der magd nam er an sich unser kranke menscheit und unser natur plodicheit; des sul wir iemer dank sagen, das er uns durch solich lieb erlosen wolt.

52. *The birth of Christ:* Do nu das geschah, als ich vernomen han, Joseph beleib bei Maria sein zeit mit freuden, unz das ein end nam der neunt moned und die zeit kom, das Maria ir kind peren solt; das was zu den zeiten, da Augustus keiser was. Der was gewaltig und phlag grosser herschaft, wann man sein worten mit dienst undertan was und forcht in, das man tet, was er hiess; das torst niemand widersten, wann er phlag gewaltigleich aller reich.

Augustus, der gross keiser, wolt samen ein schatz durch seinen gewalt, einem ieglichem menschen iesch er ein phenning; doch tet ers durch den schatz nicht als gar; er wolt wissen, wie vil leut in der welt weren, da man in her uber hiess. Er schreib besunder ieglich purg und ieglich stat und darnach die leut umb in mit geschrift und ordent da ir aller zal; darnach sandt er sein poten in alle land. Das volk was uberein in der welt kreis nach des keisers heissen: ein ieglicher leit ein phenning auf sein haubt und jach mit offen worten, das er dem roemischen gewalt willigleich undertan wer; der ward zehand ledig. Die weil man die leut anschreib, do treib man die leut an, das sie zu der stat komen, davon sie purtig waren; darnach gaben sie den zins. Do schreib man auch umb Jerusalem in Judea beide, land und leut; zehand kom das volk, als man in poten het, ieglicher zu seiner stat, davon er von alter was. Joseph, der rein gotes degen, sass zu Nazareth; er vergass seiner purt nicht, wann er was auss kunig Davids land und geslacht geporen zu Bethlahem, als ich euch vor gesagt han, e im Maria ward. Des roemischen vogts pot wolt er gehorsam sein und gie gen Bethlahem und nam mit im Mariam die jungfraun von sorg wegen, das er nicht west, ob sie des kinds genes, wer ir phlegen wolt, und darumb, das er der widerkunft nicht west. Nu sach Maria bei Jerusalem zwo schar leut, eine lacht, die ander weint. Der engel, gotes pot, kom zu Marien und verkundt ir, was das wer; er sprach: Die lachend schar, das sind alles heiden, die werdent besitzen den segen, der Abraham geheissen ward; die weinend schar sind die Juden, die hat got verworfen von den ewigen freuden; Maria, das gelaub mir in warheit.

Do Maria und Joseph gen Bethlahem komen, do was das land und die stat vol volks, das sie nicht westen, wo sie herperg solten finden; wann Joseph was arm an dem guet, das man in zu den reichen nicht herpergen wolt. Nu sach Joseph zwischen zweier heuser ein obdach sten, das was offen und an wend, darunder giengen die armen und die gepauren mit irem vich, das sie darunder rastten vor der sunnen, wann die hol het nicht sunn. Do Joseph die stat ledige sach, zoch er darein mit Marien, der kunigin. Da stuend auch ein krip in der hol, daran pand er den esel, den Maria reit, und ein ochsel het er mit im dar pracht, das er verkaufen wolt von des zins wegen und von leibs notdurft; das pand er auch an die krip; also schuef er der frauen gemach mit ganzen treuen.

Als nu das geschah, do vernam Joseph von Marien, das sie geperen solt Jesum; do gie er von ir in die stat zu seinen freunden und gewan zwo fraun, die ir warten solten zu ir gepurt, und wolt auch speis kaufen, die Marien zue gehort. Und als Joseph aus dem hol gie, do sach er Mariam umbgeben ein gross liecht, als der sunnen schein, und sach komen ein grosse schar der engel, die dienten Marien in ir gepurt. Nu was der tag vergangen, und was finster, und also umb mitte nacht, als der sunntag solt werden, do ward Jesus Christ geporen, der uns abgetilgt hat die ewige verdambnus. In gepar die jungfrau an allen wetagen und mit unverscharter keuscheit, als Isaias schreibt; wann sie was alles wetagens an und genas irs kindes an alles verseren in magdlichem wesen. Recht als die sunn durch ein glas scheint unzeprochen, also gepar sie Jesum Christum, magd in der purt, vor der purt und nach der purt; also gewan das sloss nie meil. Die engel giengen zu Maria und enphiengen das kind, und sungen do die himelisch stim: Nu ist komen das heil und der trost und der erloser aller welt — und lobten got in himel. Joseph erkom und erschrak gar hart, wann er sach die prehen der liecht; und Maria rueft nu und sprach: Ge her, lieber Joseph, und sich das schon kind, des ich genesen pin. Joseph ward fro und sprach: Wol mich, das meine augen ansehen got, meinen hern! und gie do zu dem kind froleich und nam das in sein hend und sprach: Gotwilkomen, liebes kind, in dein eigens kunigreich! ich lob dich, warer got und mensch, wann du hast mich darzue erkoren, das ich deiner purt phleger pin; ich lob dich, das du mich der reinen magd Marien zu einem hueter gegeben hast, die genesen ist magdweis und iemer wesen muess. Du hast die gotheit in der menscheit und die menscheit in der gotheit mir gezeigt: des sag ich dir lob. Maria die wand das kind in tuechel und legt es in die krip fur die zwei vich; die erkanten iren schepher und fielen auf ire knie und enputen im er und stuenden do wider auf und stuenden uber das kind, assen nicht und sahen das an.

Nu komen die zwo frauen, die Joseph het gepeten, und funden das kind und Mariam; Sie funden aber nicht die zeichen, des daucht sie gross wunder, wann sie sahen, das Marien ir magdtuem ganz verslossen was; sie sahen auch, das sie mit mannen leib nie gemein het gehabt. Von dem wunder lief eine dar und wolt Mariam unzimleichen begriffen haben; die erlamt an arm und an hand. Die schrei mit lauter stim: O we, das ich die torheit ie getet, das ich die rein magd wesen angreif, die von got an mannes gemein ein kend het tragen. Sie rueft auch Mariam an und sprach: Maria, reine meid, kum mir ze hilf! Maria sprach: Pit mein kind, das es dir durch sein kindheit dein sund vergeb und dich gesund mach. Zehand gie das weib zu dem kind mit weinenden augen und pat das kind, das es an ir ert sein gepurt und sie gesund macht an ir hand. Und als pald enphand sie, das sie gesund ward. Und dasselb weib hiess Salome, und die ander Rache; die liefen do in die stat zu den leuten und rueften und sprachen: Wir haben gesehen ein gross wunder: es hat ein magd ein kind gewunnen an menschlich und naturlich hilf, wann wir haben kein zeichen an ir gesehen, das frauen geleich sei, die kindes genesen ist, ir prust sind magdlich, und sie hat kein unzimlich weiblich ding; solich wunder muess von got komen.

Die hirten, die auf dem feld giengen bei irem vich, die sahen einen engel, und ein schones liecht umbfieng sie. Der engel der sprach zu in: Furchtt euch nicht, ich tuen euch grosse freud kund, die heut geschehen sind an diser stund: es ist geporen der welt her, den im got zu sun hat ausserkoren; get hin gen Bethlahem, da findet ir ein kind in einem tuechlein gewunden und in ein krip geleit, das wird erlosen alles menschlichs geslacht. Die hirten die sahen ein grosse schar der engel, die fueren in den luften und sungen: Gloria in excelsis deo — lob sei got in dem hohen himel und frid den leuten auf der erd, die guetes willen sein. Die hirten liefen do drat und funden das kind, als in die engel heten geseit. Das sagten sie da Joseph, wie sie die engel heten gesehen. — Do es nu tag ward, do gie Joseph in die stat und gewan ein haus, da fuert er Mariam ein und ir liebes kind und phlag der mit treuen und nach dem pesten, als er mocht.

53. *Christ's feet anointed* (Luke 7): Maria Magdalena, die in der geschrift fur die pesten erkant ist, die ist purtig von einer purg, heisst Magdalum. Es sind der geswistergeit drei gewesen: Maria Magdalena, Martha und Lazarus. Sie waren edel nach der gepurt und des guetes reich, ir erb lag zu Jerusalem, zu Bethania

und zu Magdalum. Lazarus was ein weltlicher riter und zerlich an dem guet; darumb nam er das erb zu Jerusalem, das er den freuden da mocht ausswarten. Martha hielt ir guet zesamen und phlichtt sich nicht zu hochfart: sie wolt ir guet behalten der sel ze nutz, den armen zu geben und den tempel damit ze zieren, ir opher ze geben nach gepot der alten ee; der ward zu irem teil Bethania, das bei Jerusalem leit. Maria Magdalena was jung und lebt nach lust der welt; die nam zu ir die purg Magdalum, darumb gefie sie den namen, das sie hiess Maria Magdalena. Also het jedes geswistergeit sein erbteil. Lazarus lebt nach der welt lust und vertet sein guet; Maria Magdalena was auch in freulein leben, das sie auch ir guet vertet; aber die rein Martha was weis und bewart irs prueder und ir swester teil und pracht das in ir gewalt mit ordenlichem leben.

Nu hort von der zweier geswistergeit leben, wie die ir guet verteten. Maria macht ir senftes leben, das sie sich mit sunden umbefie. Uns sagent sumelich, das sie sant Johannes dem ewangelisten zu der ee ward bescheiden, und umb das ir den Jesus nam— wann ir was we nach im — gefiel sie von zorn in die sund; aber sumelich sprechent, ir wurd sant Johannes nie gelobt, und nuer von uberiger hochfart und von schoen irs anpliks gefiel die in die siben tobsund. Aber Martha, die erperig frau, betruebt sich vil umb die uner, darin ir swester lag; sie straft sie freundleich und pat sie, das sie von irem sundigen leben kert und ab ir wurf das swer joch, das auf sie gepunden wer. Martha half ir straf nicht; wann Maria was umbgeben mit siben posen teufeln, ich mein die siben todsund, durch die sie iren namen verlos: man hiess sie niemer Maria, nuer die offen sunderin.

Dis stuend unz auf die zeit, das Christ der her mit seiner parmherzicheit kom. Es fuegt sich eins tages, das Jesus gen Bethania kom, in Simonis haus, wann da was er vil mit herperg, umb das er ein treuer man was. Maria die sunderin was die weil bei Martha. Do Jesus gen Bethania kom, do ward Maria umbfangen mit rechter, volkomner reu und gedacht an ir pos leben; die nam fur sich den gotlichen prunn der parmherzicheit und betrachtt darin, wen der beguss, der wurd weiss als der snee; ir ward we an irem herzen umb die grossen sund, die sie het begangen. Sie stuend auf und gie zu der wirtschaft mit volliger reu, da sie Jesum fand. Sie was traurig und gie an alle scham, wann die inner forcht der sunden bedackt die ausser scham, das sie ir nicht achtt. Sie gie hin, da sie Jesum fand an der wirtschaft, und fiel nider auf die erd for Christi fuess und nam die in ir weiss hend und kusst sie dik und dik mit weinenden zehern und inniger reu irs herzen, also das sie im sein fuess begoss mit irn zehern. Do sie das sach, do nam sie ir schons har auss irem gepend und truckent im sein fuess damit, das dik mit hochfart was umbgeben. Nu was sit in dem land, das man fur der sunnen hitz und von des luftes wegen die haut salbt; des het sie manigen tag gephlegen, und von der selben gewonheit wegen het sie der salben vil bei ir. Die nam sie her und salbt Jesus damit sein fuess und auch sein leib allenthalben. Des benuegt Jesum von ir, wann es zam im wol nach menschlicher natur. Do nu Maria vor Jesu fuessen lag an verdriessen mit grossem seuften und weinen, do gedacht Simon, unsers herren wirt: Und wer der mensch ein rechter prophet, so lies er die frauen den seinen leib nicht berueren, wann sie ist ein offene sunderin. Do erkant Jesus sein gedank und sprach: Simon, ich wil dir etwas sagen: es waren zwen man einem schuldig, einer solt im funfhundert phenning, der ander funfzig; die waren arm, das sie es nicht wider heten ze geben. Do lie er ins beiden; welcher was dem herren mit der lieb mer gepunden? Simon antwurtt: Her, der, dem da mer ward gelassen. Jesus sprach: Du hast recht erteilt, Simon; ich pin komen in dein haus, und ich sach dich niendert wasser tragen zu meinen fuessen, aber das weib hat mir mein fuess twagen mit iren zehern; du geb mir nicht ein kuss, als sie mir kusst mein fuess; du salbtest mir mein haubt nicht mit edler salben, als sie getan hat. Darumb sag ich dir: ir werdent vil sund vergeben. Jesus kert sich umb gen der frauen und sprach: Dein gelaub hat dich geheilet, dir sind dein sund vergeben, nu ge mit guetem frid.

O Maria, was du lit an grosser scham, das ist dir alles zu freuden komen; wann der frid des ewigen lebens hat dich genomen von der teuflischen herschaft. Also betrachtt die rein Magdalena in irem herzen, wie sie den allmachtigen got mocht geloben und geeren, der sie von irem sundigen leben bekert het. — Also helf uns der allmachtig got als der wirdigen Maria Magdalena auss unserm sundigen leben.

54. *The Risen One appears to His disciples on their way to Emmaus* (Luke 24): Darnach erschein Jesus sein zwein jungern auf dem weg, do sie gen Jerusalem giengen, und sprach: Ir weid traurig, was redt ir mit einander? das sagt mir. Sie sprachen: Du pist ein einiger pilgreim, weisst nicht der grossen geschicht, die zu Jerusalem ist geschehen? Jesus sprach: Sagt an. Lucas und Cleophas sprachen: Wir sagen dir von Christo Jesu, der was ein hoher weissag und gar gewaltig, den die Juden an das kreuz

hiengen. Des ist nu der dritt tag, das es geschehen ist. Wir haben heut vernomen, das drei frauen zu dem grab giengen, da Jesus in gelegen was, die sprachen fur war, sie heten in lebentig gesehen; die hueter erschreckten uns ser, die sprachen, er wer nicht erstanden, man het in heimleich auss dem grab verstolen. Jesus sprach: Ir seid tumb und treg an dem gelauben, als euch die weissagen habent geseit, das Jesus die marter leiden muest und wider an sein er kem, als ir vor vernomen habt. Mit solcher ler erloest er in die geschrift und hueb an von Moysi und sagt in nach irs herzen gir. Der weg trueg sie zu einem kastel, das hiess Emaus, da selb wolt Jesus von in sein. Die junger sprachen: Her, beleib hie bei uns, sich hat die sunn geneiget, es wird schier nacht. Sie habten und betwungen in und zugen in mit in das kastel Emaus. Jesus beleib bei in, do sie mit einander assen. Jesus gesegent in das prot und gab in das guetleich. Und do er das prot prach, do erkanten sie in allererst, wann es was nach dem pruch als eben, als es mit einem messer gesniten wer. Damit verswand Jesus von in. Sie sprachen: Wie ist uns geschehen? wir jehen uns pilleich unheil, das wir in nicht erkanten; unser herz pran in uns, do er uns die geschrift der Alten ee erlegt und uns von Moysi sagt, do solt wir uns pilleich verstanden haben. Damit giengen sie gen Jerusalem, da si die junger funden, und sagten in, wie in Christus erschinen wer, und sagten, wie sie in allererst an dem protprechen erkant heten. Die junger sprachen: Jesus ist erstanden, er ist Petro auch erschinen und dem gueten Jacob und den frauen, die sein grab schauten.

V. SELECTIONS FROM THE GERMAN PLENARIES OR BOOKS OF PERICOPES

a. *Selections from the Gospel and Epistle Lessons.*

55. *First Sunday in Advent. Rom. 13:11-14:* Bruedere wissend das yeczund die stund ist von dem schlouff auff tzu stonnde, wann nun ist nach vnser heyl, Wann wir geloubtent. die nacht ist verganngen, aber der tag nahnet, Darumb sullen wir von vns werffen die werck der finsternus, vnd sullen antun die waffen des liechts, also dz wir in dem tag erlich wandlen Nicht in den wirtschafften noch inn trunckenheyt. Nicht inn der leger betten, noch in schoemede, nicht in krieg noch in hassz, Sunder tund wir an vnsern herren iesum cristum.

56. *Matt. 21:1-9:* In der czeit gieng iesus, vnd was zu nahende der stat Ierusalem, vnd kam in das dorff bethphage, das

an dem berg ligt, der genant ist der oeleberg da sandt iesus zwen seiner iunger, vnd sprach zu inen Gand hin in das Castel das wider euch ist, vnd zehand findent ir ein eselinne gebunden vnd ir iunges bey ir, die enbindent vnd fuerent sy mir her, vnd redet yemand darumb zu euch, dem sagent der herr doerffe ir, zehant lat man sy euch Das geschach, darumb das erfullet wurd dz das der prophet Zacharias an dem .ix. capitel het vor gesagt Sagent der tochter von sion Sich dein kung kummet gedultigclichen siczen auf eyner Esellynne vnd auff irem iungen das ir vndertanig ist. da giengen die Iunger hyn vnd tatten als in Iesus gebot, vnd brachtent im die eslinne mit irem iungen, vnd legten ir Kleyder auf sye, vnd taten in dar auff seczen Da kament vil leut vnd braiteten ire cleyder in den weg, andern brachen oeste von den boemen, vnd wurffen sye im entgegen in den weg, vnd die Schar des volckes dies im vor gieng vnd nach die rufftent Lob vnd ere sey gesagt dauidis sun, der gebenediget ist kummen in dem namen des herren.

57. *Wednesday after the First Sunday in Advent. James 5:7-10:* Aller liebsten seit gedultig bisz zu der zukunfft vnsers herren Secht der ackerman der beittet der Schonheyt der frucht der erden gedulticliche dragunge, bis er enpfahet der lantsamen czeittiglicheit, Darumb so seitt ir ouch gedultig vnd krefftigt euwere herczen, wann die tzukunfft vnsers herren nahnet. Nicht greynent vnder einander brueder das ir nicht geurteylet werdt, Sehent der richter stet vor der tur, Bruder nement dz bild der arbeyt vnd der gedult der propheten, die gesprochen hand In dem namen des herren iesu Christi.

58. *Friday after the First Sunday in Advent. Tit. 2:1-10:* Allerliebste Du sprich das da czymet eyn gesunde lere Die alten das sy nuechtern seind, keusch, weis, gerecht, gesundt in dem gelouben vnd in der lieb, in der gedult gocz Die alten gleicherweisz in einem heyligen kleyde, nit schendtlich, nit dienende vil den wein, wol lerende, das sy die weisheit lernen, Die iungen weyb das sy ire mann lieb habent Ir sun lieb haben, Weisz keusch, nuechter sorg haben irs hauszs, gutwillig iren mannen vndertanig, das nicht werd gescholten gottes wort Die Iungen gleicherweis vermane das sye nuechtern seynd, uber alle ding gib dich selber zu einem bild gutter werck, In ganczikeit der lere In schwaerikeit In lauterkeit predig ein gesunt wort vnstraflich das der, der wider dich ist sich scham nicht haben tzu reden von vns. Die knecht manne, dz sye vndertanig seyen iren herren in allen dingen wolgefallen Nicht widersprechend nicht betriegend. Besunder in allen dingen

beweysende eynen gutten gelouben, das sye die lere gocz vnsers heylandes czieren in allen dingen.

59. *Wednesday after the second Sunday in Advent. Mal. 3:1-4:* Das sprach gott der herr Sehent ich sennd meynen Engel und der bereytet dir deynen weg vor meynem antlucz, Vnd ze hand kummet er zu seynem tempel Der gewaltig herr den ir suchent vnd den Engel des geseczes den ir wollent, Sehent er kummet spricht got der herr, vnd wer mag gedencken den tag seyner tzukunfft, vnd wer stet tzu sehende in, Er ist als eyn tzusammedes blosendes feur vnd als ein wurcz, vnd als eyn Ercz das tzu sammen geschmelczet ist, vnd reyniget das sich selber verget vnd die Sune leui, vnd er schmelczet sy zusamen als das gold vnd das silber, vnd sy werden opferen die opfer der gerechtikeit Vnd es gefallet wol dem herren das opfer iude vnd ierusalem Also die tag der zeit vnd also die alten iar sprach der allgewaltige herr.

60. *Friday after the third Sunday in Advent. Isa. 11:1-5:* Das sprach got der herr, Es wirt auszgen ein rutt von yesse der wurczeln, vnd eyn blume wirt auszgan von seyner wurczeln vnd auff ir wirt ruwende der geyst des herren, vnd der geist der weiszheit vnd der verstentnusz Der geist des rates vnd der stercke, der geist der kunst vnd der miltikeyt, vnd in erfullet der geist der forcht des herren, Vnd er wirt nicht vrteylen nach gesicht der ougen, vnd nach gehorde der oren enstrauffet er nicht, Sunder er wirt vrteylen nach der gerechtikeyt die armen, vnd straffet in gerechtikeyt fur die senftmutigen des ertreich, vnd er wirt schlahen die erden mit eyner rutten seynes mundes, Vnd mit dem geyst seiner lebs, vnd den vnmilten toten mit dem geist seiner lebsen, vnd die gerechtikeit wirt werden eyn gurttel seiner lenden, vnd der gloub ein schurczung seiner nieren.

61. *On Christmas Eve. Matt. 1:18-21:* In der zeit da maria die muter iesu, ioseph gemaehelt ward Ee dann sy zu sammen kamen, da ist gefunden das sy in irem leib het empfangen von dem heyligen geyst, Aber Ioseph ir man So er was gerecht vnd goczfaerchtig was vnd sye nicht wolt namen Da wolt er sy heymlichen lassen, vnd da er das gedacht Da erschein im der engel gottes in dem schlouff vnd sprach zu im Ioseph dauidis sun, nicht furcht dich zu naemende marien dein vertruwete, wann das in ir geboren ist, das ist von dem heyligen geist Sy wirt geberen einen sun, vnd wirt sein nam geheissen iesus wann er wirt seyn volck heylsam machen von iren sunden.

62. *Matutin on Christmas. Isa. 9:2. 6-7:* Dis sprach der herr. Das volck der maenige, das da wandelte in der vinsternusse

hat gesehen eyn grosses liecht, die da waren in dem lannd schatten des todes den ist eyn liecht auffgegangen, Ein cleyner ist vns geboren, vnd der sun ist vns gegeben, vnd furstenthum ist auff seiner achseln, vnd sein name heysset wunderlich, vnd ein ratgeber eyn starcker gott Eyn fater kunfftiger welt, eyn furst des frids, Sein reych wirt gemeret, vnd seins frids wirt nit endes Er soll siczen auff den tron dauidis vnd auff seym reich, das er bestaetige in dem gerichte vnd rechtikeyt, nun vnd ewigclichen.

63. *High Mass on Christmas. Luke 2:1-20:* In der czeyt da gyeng aus ein gebot von dem Keyser augusto, das beschriben wurde alle die welt, Die erst beschreibung beschach von dem richter cirino in siria vnd gieng alles volck inn seynen stat zu veryehende yegclicher Vnd gieng ioseph auff von Galilea aussz einer stat heisset nazareth, vnd gieng in Iudeam auff in Dauidis stat die da heysset Bethlehem, wann er was ouch von dauidis hausz vnd seins geschlechts das er ouch veryaehe mit Marien die im gemaehelt was zu einem gemahel, vnd die ouch schwanger wz Aber es geschach vnd da sye da waren, da wurdent marie tag erfullet das sy geberet vnd sye gebare iren ersten sun vnd wand in inn tuechleyn vnd legt in inn die krippen vnd ir was nicht ander stat dann in dem gemayn hausz vnd in dem land waren hirtten wachende vnd warent huttende die wachung der nacht uber ir vich vnd stund der Engel gocz bey in, vnd die clarheit gottes vmbgab die hirtten, vnd die hirtten waren in eyner grossen forcht, vnd der Engel gottes sprach zu in Furchtent euch nit, wann ich verkunde euch grosse frewd die da wirt allem volck, wann es ist vns heut geboren eyn heylsamer, der da ist cristus der herr, in der stat dauidis vnd des sag ich ein zeichen Ir vindent ein kind gewunden in eyn tuecheleyn vnd gelegt in ein krippen, vnd geschach des Zehand ward ein grosse maenige der Ritterschaft lobende gott, vnd sprachent Ere sey gott in dem aller hoechsten vnd auf erdtreich sey frid allen den menschen die eyns gutten willen seynd. In der czeyt sprachent die hirtten tzu einander Wir woellen gan zu bethlehem vnd sehen das wort das geschehen ist das vns der herr erczeyget hatt Vnd sye kamend eylende vnd funden maria vnd ioseph vnd das kindeleyn gelegt inn eyn krippen, vnd da sye es sahent, da erkanten sye es von dem wort das tzu inen gesprochen was von dem selben kind, vnd alle die dz hortend die wunderten sich der ding, die die hirtten tzu in sprachent, vnd maria behielt alle dise wort vnd trug sy in irem herczen vnd die hirtten kament wider vmb lobende vnd glorificzierende den herren in allen dingen die sye gesehen vnd gehoert hetten, als tzu in gesprochen was.

64. *In Natale Innocentum. Rev. 14:1-5:* In den tagen sach ich eyn Lamb stan auff dem berg syon vnd mit im hundert vierczig vnd viertausent, die hetten seynen namen vnd seines vatters namen geschriben an ir stirnen, vnd ich hort eyn stymm von dem hymel also ein stimm eins grossen donerschlags vnd also eyn gros gedoene, vnd die stimm die ich hort was als die Harpfen, vnd also die singenden in iren harpfen, vnd die singend alle neuwen gesang, vor dem stul gottes, vnd vor den vier thieren vnd vor den altvattern, vnd nyemand mocht den gesanng sprechen, denn die hundert vierczig viertausent die da gekauft seind von dem ertreich, das seind die die da von den weiben nicht seind befleckt, wann sy seint iunckfrow vnd nachfolgen dem lamb wa es hin get Dise seind auff gekaufft von den leuten von allen ersten fruchten Gott vnd dem lamb, vnd in irem mund ist nit lugen funden worden Sy seint one mail vor dem tron gotes.

65. *New Year's Day. Gal. 3:23-4:2:* Brueder, ee dann der gloub kam, da warent wir behuet vnder den geboten, beschlossen in dem selben glouben der da was zu offenbarende Also was das gesecze vnser czuchtmeyster inn Cristo das wir gerecht wurdend aussz dem gelouben, vnd da nun der geloub kam, da waren wir vntter dem czuchtmeister, aber wir seynd alle gotes kinder durch den glouben, der da ist in cristo iesu, wann ein yegclicher der da ist in cristo Ihesu getauffet, der hat cristum an gethan Es enist nicht iud noch kriech, noch knecht noch freier, noch man, noch weib, Wann ir seind alle eins in cristo Iesu, vnd ist es aber das ir seynd eyns in cristo iesu, So seynd ir von dem samen abrahe nach der gelubtnusz, Aber ich sprich, die weil der erb clein ist, so hat er nit vnderscheides von eynem knechte, wann ir aller herr ist, Mer er ist vnder den beschirmern, vnd vnder den formund vncz an die vor geseczten czeit von dem vatter.

66. *Friday after the sixth Sunday of Epiphany. Matt. 19:16-21 and Mark 10:17-21:* In der zeyt da gieng iesus an dem weg, da kam einer vnd knyet nider fur in, vnd sprach gut meister, wz sol ich tun das ich hab das ewig leben, da sprach iesus, Was fragest du mich von gut es ist nyemand gutt wann gott allein Mer wilt du zu dem ewigen leben kummen, so halt die gebott, Da sprach er tzu Ihesu, welche, Da sprach iesus, Du solt nicht manschlacht werden Du solt nit vnkeusch sein, Du solt nit stelen, Du solt nit valscher geczeug sein Ere fater vnd muter Vnd lieb deinen nachsten als dich selber Da sprach der iungeling, alle dise hab ich behalten von meiner iugent, wz gebrist mir noch, vnd Iesus sach in an vnd liebte in, vnd sprach, eins gebristet dir noch, wilt du

volkummen werden So gang vnd verkauff was du hast vnd gib es den armen So soltu schacz haben in dem hymelreich, vnd kumm vnd folg mir nach.

67. *Estomihi. I Cor. 13:1-13:* Bruedere ist das ich mit engelischer czungen rede, hab ich aber liebe nit So bin ich geleych eynem ere das da toenet, oder eyner schellen die da klinget, vnd hab alle prophetencie, vnd bekenn alle verborgenheyt, vnd alle kunst, vnd han ich allen gelouben, also das ich eynen berg secze auff den andern, vnd hab ich der liebe nit, vnd ob ich alles meyn gut, teyl in speise der armen, vnd ob ich meynen leib gebe, also das er brunnen, habe ich der liebe nit so ist es nit nuecz. Die liebe ist gedultig, gutwillig, Die lieb enhasset nit, Sy entut nit fraeuels Sye enist nicht hochfertig, Sye enist nicht geittig, Sye ensuchet nit das ir, Sye enwirt nicht gereisset Sye gedencket nicht ubels Sye enfroeuwet sich aber der warheit Sy vertregt alle ding Sy geloubet alle ding Sy hoffet alle ding Die lieb gefellet nimmer ab, Die prophecien vergend, oder alle zungen hoerend auff, oder die kunst werden czerstoert, wann von einem teil bekennen wir, von einem teil prophecien wir, So aber kumpt das volkummen ist, So vergat das czerteilt ist, Da ich eyn kind was, da redte ich also eyn kind, da verstund ich kintlich, da gedacht ich kintlich, Aber nun wann ich ein mensch worden bin So hab ich mich verczigen kindtlicher weise Wir sehent nun in einen spiegel als in ein dunckelnussz, aber den schouwent wir von antlucz ze antlucz Nun bekenne ich von eynem teyl, aber den bekenne ich also ich bekant bin, Nun beleibent vns dise dru Geloub, zuversicht vnd liebe.

68. *First Sunday in Lent. II Cor. 6:1-11:* Brueder wir manen euch das ir nit vergebens empfacht die gnad gocz Wann er sprach in der gefelligen zeit han ich dich erhoert, vnd in dem tag des heils was ich dir beholfen, Sehend nun ist eyn genaeme czeyt Sehent nun seind die tag des heyls, niemant gebent keyn erczurnung das nicht bestrauffet werde euwer dienst Sunder in allen dingen arbeyttend euch also dyener gottes, in vil gedultigkeyt, in vil noetten, in notdurfften, in Anxietatibus, in angsten, in Plagen, in Kerckern, in verlierung, in arbeyten, in wachen, in fastende, in kestigung, in langmuettikeyt, in kunste, in senfftmuetikeyt, in dem heiligen geist, in goeticher leb vngeglichet in dem wort der warheyt, in der tugend gottes, durch die wauffen der gerechtikeyt, von der rechten hand vnd von der lincken, durch ere oder durch vnere vnd adel, durch bosen leumbden, durch guten leumbden, also verleiter vnd warhafftige also vnkuntliche vnd doch bekant, also die sterbenden, vnd sehen die lebenden also die gekestigeten, vnd

nit die getoetteten also die trawrigen, Vnd aber alle wegen erfroewet die dustrigen, aber vil machent sy reich, vnd also sy nit habende, vnd doch alle ding besiczende.

69. *Saturday after the second Sunday in Lent. Luke 15:11-32:* In der czeit sprach ihesus tzu seynen iungern dise geleichnusse Es was eyn mensch der hett czwen Sune vnd es sprach der iunger Sun tzu dem vatter, Vater gib mir den teil gucz der mir tzu gehoert, vnd der vatter tat also vnd teilte in das gut, vnd nit nach vil tagen da samelte zu sammen der iunger Sun, vnd fur hin weg in eyn ferres frembdes land, vnd da verczerete er seyn gutt vnkunstlichen tzu lebende, vnd darnach da er alles sampt verczeret hett, da ward eyn grosser hunger in dem land da er wz, vnd er hub an gebresten zu habende, vnd er gieng vnd versprach sich zu einem burger des landes, vnd er sandte in, in sein dorff, vnd da weidete er die Schwein, vnd da begerte er seinen bauch zu erfullende von den cleyen die die Schwein assent, vnd nyemant gab sye im, vnd er ward in sich selber gekert, vnd sprach, O wie gar uberflussig brottes hand die lone knecht in meynes vatters hausze, vnd ich verdurb hie von hunger, ich stand auff vnd gang tzu meynen vatter, vnd will sprechen, vatter ich han gesundet in den himel vnd vor dir, vnd yeczunt byn ich nit wirdig das ich heisse dein Sun, mach mich nun einen deiner von deinen lon knechten, vnd kam tzu seynem vatter, vnd da er noch dann ferr was, da ersach in seyn vatter vnd ward mit barmherczikeyt bewegt, vnd lieff dar im engegen vnd viel im vmb seyn hals vnd kuste in, Da sprach der Sun tzu im, Vatter ich han gesundet in den hymel, vnd wor dir, yeczund bin ich nit wirdig ze heissen dein Sun, sunder mach mich eynen von deinen lon knechten, Aber der vatter sprach zu seynen knechten, bald bringend mir die erste gewand vnd becleident disen, vnd gebent im eyn vingerlein an sein hand vnd schuch an sein fuessz, vnd fuerend her ein ein feistes kalb vnd ertoettend es, vnd so essend wir vnd hand wirtschafft, wann diser mein Sun was todt vnd ist wider lebentig worden, Er was verloren vnd ist funden, vnd sy hubent an zu wirtschaften Aber der elter Sun was auff dem acker vnd da er kam vnd dem hausz nachnete, da hortte er Simphonien, vnd seitenspil, vnd er rufte der knecht einem, vnd fragete was dissz ding waere, vnd er sagte im, dein bruder ist kummen, vnd hat dein vater ertoett ein feistes kalb vnd hat in begnadet, vnd hat in froelichen empfangen, vnd was dem alten bruder vnwerd, vnd wolt nit hyn ein gan, da gieng her aussz der vater, vnd hub an in zu bittende, vnd er antwort seynem vatter vnd sprach, Nym war so vil iar dyene ich dir vnd hab deine gebott

nye uber gangen, vnd du hast mir noch nye gegeben eyn kiczlein das ich mit frewnden wirttschafft hette, Aber seyder nun diser deyn Sun kummen ist, der sein gut von seiner Substancie alles verczeret hat mit vnkewschen weiben, So hastu im getoettet eyn feystes kalb, Vnd der vatter sprach tzu im, Sun du bist allweg bey mir, vnd alle meine ding seind dein, wir mussend aber wirtschafft vnd frewde haben, wann diser dein bruder wz tod vnd ist erkucket Er was verloren vnd ist fundrn.

70. *Easter Eve. Gen. 1:1-2:2:* In dem anbegynne schuff gott hymel vnd erde, Aber die erd was eyttel vnd laer vnd die finsternussz waren auff dem gesicht der tieffe, vnd der geist des herren ward getragen auff den wassern, da sprach gott Es werde das liecht, da ward das liecht, vnd got sach dz liecht dz es gutt wz vnd teylte das liecht von der finsternus vnd nante das liecht den tag vnd die vinsternussz die nacht, vnd es ward der abent vnd die fru eyn tag, vnd sprach gott, es werde das firmament in mitten der wasser, vnd czerteyle die wasser von den wassern, vnd got machte dz firmament vnd teylte die wasser die da seynd vnder dem firmament, von denen die da warent ob dem firmament, vnd es geschach also, vnd gott nante das firmament den hymel, vnd es ward tzu vesper, vnd tzu morgen der ander tag, vnd sprach gott, die wasser die da seynd vnder dem firmament, die werdent gesammelt an ein stat, vnd erscheyn ein turre, vnd es ward also, vnd got nante die turre die erde, vnd nantte die samlung der wasser dz mere, vnd got sach das es gut was, vnd sprach Die erd gebere eyn grunent kraut das den samen bring vnd baemyn holcz dz frucht bringe nach seinem geschlecht welhes in im selber seye auff der erden, vnd ist geschehen also, Vnd da bracht das erdtreich eyn grunend krawtt vnd der Samen bracht nach seynem geschlecht, vnd das holcz bracht eyn frucht vnd het einen yegclichen Samen nach seiner gestalt, vnd da sach gott das es gutt was, vnd da ward es zu vesper und zu morgen, der dritt tag, vnd gott der sprach, Es werden liechter in dem firmament des hymels, vnd teyltent den tag vnd die nacht, vnd seyent tzu zeichen, vnd zeyt, und tag, vnd iare, vnd leuchtend an dem firmament des hymels vnd erlewchtent die erd, vnd es ward also, Vnd gott der machte zwey grosse liechter, dz grosser liecht das es dem tag vor ware, das minder liecht dz es der nacht vor ware, Vnd machte Sternen, vnd saczte sye an das firmament des hymels, das sye da leuchtent uber die erden vnd vor waeren dem tag vnd der nacht, vnd das sye teyltend das liecht vnd die vinsternussz, vnd gott sach das es gutt was, vnd ward tzu vesper vnd tzu morgen der vierd tag, Vnd gott sprach, die wasser

sullent bryngen her fur kriechende tiere der lebenden Selen, vnd gefluge werd auff der erden vnder dem firmament des hymels vnd gott beschuff die grossen Walfisch, vnd all lebende vnd beweglich Selen, die da die wasser bracht hand in iren gestalten, vnd als gefugele nach seynem geschlechte vnd gott sach das es gutt was, Da Segnete er sye sprechend Wachsend vnd manigfaltigent euch, vnd erfullent die wasser des meres, vnd die vogel werden gemanigfeltiget auf der erden vnd es ward tzu vesper vnd tzu morgen der funfft tag, Vnd da sprach gott, die erde bryng lebende Selen nach irem geschlecht, grosse vich, vnd kriechende Tier, vnd vngeczambte nach seynem geschlecht, vnd es ward also, vnd gott machte die tier der erden nach irer gestalt, die rindere vnd alles wilde der erden in seynem geschlecht, vnd gott sach das es gutt was, vnd sprach, Wir woellen machen eynen menschen nach vnnser bildung vnd gleichnussz, vnd das er vor seye den vische des meres, vnd den vogeln des hymels vnd den tieren vnd aller erde, vnd allem wilde das auff erde sich beweget, vnd got beschuff den menschen nach seinem bilde vnd nach seyner geleichnussz, tzu der bildung gottes beschuff in gott, eyn man vnd eyn fraw beschuff er sy, vnd gott segnete sye, vnd sprach Wachsent vnd merent euch, erfullent dz ertreich, vnd machent sy euch vndertanig vnd herschent uber die Visch des meres, den Vogeln des hymels, vnd allem lebentigen das auff erde sich beweget, vnd gott sprach Sehent ich hab euch geben alles kraut das Samen tregt auff erden vnd alle baem die da seind, vnd habent Samen in in selber nach irem gschlecht dz sy auch seynt euch eine speise vnd allem dem dz lebet auff erden, vnd allem gefugel des hymels, vnd allem dem das beweget wirtt auff erden, vnd in dem eyn lebende Sel ist das sy zu essen haben, vnd es ward also, vnd gott sach alle ding die er gemacht het vnd waren gar gut, vnd es ward zu vesper vnd zu morgen der Sechst tag, darumb so seynd volbracht die himel vnd das erdtreych vnd alle ire geczierde, Vnd gott folbracht an dem Sibenden tag seyn werck das er gemachet hett, vnd ruwete an dem Sibenden tag von allem dem werck das er hett gewurcket.

b. *Selections from the Glosses on the Pericopes.*

71. *Gloss on the Christmas Gospel, Luke 2:1-20:* Wir begand heut den heyligen tag, an dem got mensch ward, vnd lesen heut in dem heyligen ewangelio, dz Da vnser herr geboren ward, da hort man die engel singen vnd lobten vnsern herren mit grossen eren vnd frewden vnd sungen czweyerley lob: das ein sungen sy, das der teufel was uberwunden, vnd das lob wz 'Gloria in excelsis deo'.

Luce .ij. Das it also vil gesprochen 'Vnserm herren sey lob gesagt in der houhe des hymelreichs' vnd den gesang hett nye kein mensch vor gehoert. Das ander lob sungen sy, das der mensch versuenet was worden mit vnserm herren gott. Das lob heisset also 'Et in terra pax hominibus'. luce ibidem, 'Frid sey auff erden den menschen die eynes gutten willen sint'. Vnser herr hat och zwen veind, den menschen vnd den tewfel, ee er menschliche natur an sich nam: Den einen uberwand er mit weisheit, den andern verschmaehet er mit seiner barmherczikeit. Nu sullend wir mercken, in wellicher weis der mensch mit vnserm herren versuenet ist worden in diser welt. Ee dz vnser herr wurd geboren in diser welt, da clagten die Patriarchen vnd die propheten vnd ander heylig leut funff clag von vnserm herren gotte. Zu dem ersten mal, das vnser herr verholen waere, das in nyemant kunde vinden. Das beweist vns wol eyn prophet Isaias vnd spricht 'Waerlichen du bist eyn verholen got', wann er ward gesuchet mit vil opfern in maenig, tausent iaren vnd enward nit funden. 'Et ergo peperit primogenitum et reclinauit eum in presepio, quia non erat ei locus in diuersorio'. Luce secundo capitulo. Vnd darumb ward geboren in eyner gassen, Also solt er sprechent 'Sehent ir enfullend euch nicht furchten, wie wol ich verholen bin. Sehent ich lig hie in einer gassen, furbas vindent ir mich die mich suchend'. Dz beweyst vns der prophet Isaias vnd da er spricht 'Querite dominum nostrum, dum eum inuenire potestis', 'Suchent vnnsern herren, die weil ir in vindent'. An dem andern mal clagten sy, das er also grimmig war vnd also czornig, vnd das beweyset vns der prophet in dem psalter vnd spricht 'Herr wir bekennen deynen gewalt deines zorns'; vnd des was ein grosse grymmikeyt, das ettliche lewt vmb ir sund wurdent verbrant von dem feur, das da von dem hymel kam, vnd etliche leut verschland das ertreich lebendig. Vnd dz waren leut von funf steten, Als geschriben stat genesis an dem Sibenden capitel 'vnd der wurdent ettlich versteinet'. Als man list iosue an dem achten capitel von achan 'Lapidauitque eum omnis israhel', 'In steynet alles volck von israhel'; das list man alles in der alten ee. Darumb ward vnser herr ein kunig geboren, Als ob er solte sprechen 'sehent ir sullent mich nit furchten, wann ich bin nicht mer grimmig, ich vergis meines czorns zehand recht als ein kind'. Zu dem dritten mal clageten sy, das er also starck waere, das in nyemant moechte enthalten. Da von spricht der prophet in dem psalter 'Herr ich vermag nichcz gegen deinem gewalt'. Dz mochte ouch wol clagen herr iacob, der patriarch, der kriegete mit einem engel, der uberwand in an der sterck vnd krafft gottes. Als die

Historien sagt des buchs der erschoepfung, Genesis an dem .xxxij. capitel. Darumb lies sich vnser herr legen inn ein kripp vnd lies sich wickeln in windlen. Luce secundo capitulo. Als ob er ouch solt sprechen 'Ir ensullent uber mich nicht klagen von meyner sterck wegen, Sehent eyn iunckfrow hat mich gewunden, wer da will der mag mich sehen'. Zu dem vierden mal da klageten sye, das er also edel waere, das er armer leut dienst nit enachte. Da von spricht der prophet 'Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis', 'Vnser herr ist gros vnd ser loblich'. Dar vmb ward er geboren in eynem stall, Also er solte sprechen 'Ir sullent nit mich achten oder clagen, das ich edel sei, Sehent ich bin hie in dem stall'. Als ob er solte sprechen 'Ich han nit volle tuecher, dz man mich dar eyn gewynden mag, darumb bedarff des menschen Sun wol dyenstes'. Zu dem funfften mal clageten sy, das er also vnbekant waere, das sy nicht enwistent wer er was. Darumb spricht der prophet in dem psalter 'Generationem eius quis enarrabit', 'Wer kan sein geburdt auszsprechen'. Darumb ward vnser herr geboren, als ob er solt sprechen 'Ir sullend euch nit mer ab mir klagen, das ich nit euwer gott sey, Ich bin es Ihesus des menschen sun marien'. Dar vmb hett vnser herr gebessert allen vnsern gebrechen. Vnd darumb sullent wir gedencken aller seyner genaden, die er vns hat gethan vnd alle tag taeglichen tut, vnd das er vns gegen seinem fater versuenet, das wir ewigclichen bey im mugent beleiben: des helf vns gott der vater vnd der sun vnd der heylig geyst.

72. *Gloss on the Gospel of the first Sunday in Lent, Matt. 4:1-11:* Das ist das heylig Ewangelium, die innen wir dru ding sullent mercken. Zu dem ersten mal war vmb vnser herr iesus cristus wolte fasten die vierczig tag, wann es im doch nit nott entat, seitt er nye sund het getan; das hat er darumb getan, das eyn yegclichs mensch erkante, daa er schuldig ware dise Vierczig tag zu vasten, das von alter oder von iugent oder von kranckheyt mag gefasten: vnd nicht allein von der speis, Sunder ouch von den sunden. Da von spricht Leo papa 'Was hilfet den menschen, das er fleisch meydet vnd die sund tut'? Wir sullent die sund lassen vnd die wir zu andern zeyten hand getan, die sullen wir nun buessen vnd sullend zeitlich beichten, vmb dz das vns das fasten werd geseczet fur die sund; wann kein gutt werck mag dem menschen helfen zu der Sel, die weil er in sunden ist, das todtsund seind. Nun ist das fasten also heilig, das der mensch in vil gnad da von kumpt. Als vns Sanctus gregorius schreybt 'Das fasten trucket nyder die sund vnd erhebt den gedanncken; Vasten gibt tugent vnd brynget

grossen lon'. Darumb vastete Moyses die vierczig tag vnd Daniel vnd Helias. Auch hat sy iesus gefastet vnd mit im selber geheyliget vnd zu einem beyczeichen, dz wir sye ouch fasten sullent; wann was er in seynem leben hatt gethan, das ist vns geben, das wir es im nach sullent tun. Als uns Sanctus iohannes schreybet 'Exemplum dedi vobis' etc. "Ich hab euch ein beiczeichen hie vor gegeben, also das ir ouch also tun sullen'; vnd darumb, als ein mensch schuldig ist seynen zehenden von allem seynem gut, also ist er ouch schuldig seinen czehenden von seynem leyb. Nun seind drewhundert vnd funfczig tag in dem iar, wann du nun den zehenden tag ab genymest, so hast du vierczig tag, das ist der czehend, den du schuldig bist von dem iar deiner tag zu fasten; vnd wa du einen tag brichest, das du nicht enfastest, so hast du nicht eynen tag gebrochen, sunder alle die fierczig tag. Wer einem vierczig pfunt schulig war vnd gibt er im on eins vierczig, er enhat in nit beczalt. Zu dem andern mal sullen wir mercken, dz vnser herr ward gefuert in die wueschte von dem boesen geist. Hie zweifelent vil leutt an, von was geistes er gefurt wurd. Da von spricht Sanctus Gregorius 'On allen zweifel ward er da gefurt von seinem geist, da in der teufel vand tzu versuchende'. Warumb liessz er sich versuchen? auff das er den uberwinde, der den ersten menschen versucht vnd in uberwand. Darumb sullend wir vnser leben bessern. Seitt der tewfel den menschen tzu diser zeit mer versuchet vnd tzu sunden reysset dann tzu eyner andern zeyt, darumb tut vns noetter in diser zeit vns zu huettende vnd im zu widerstande. Als vns Salomon leret, da er spricht 'Sun, wann du trittest in den dienst gottes, So stand inn vorchten vnd bereitt dein hercz zu versuchung'. Zu dem dritten mal sullen wir mercken, da vnser herr den teufel uberwand, da kamen die engel vnd dienten im. Also geschicht vns ouch, wann wir dem teufel widerstand vnd im nicht enfolgend seyns rates, So kumment die heyligen Engel gottes tzu vns mit frewden. Da von spricht Sanctus lucas 'Die engel gottes frouwent sich, wann sich eyn sunder bekeret mit reuwen von seynen sunden.' Nun sullen wir in diser heyligen czeit tzu reuwen vnd tzu beichten kummen, auff das wir die sunt buessent mit fasten, gebet vnd almusen geben. Vil vasten ist eyn vogel, der czwen flugel hat, also ist das gebet vnd almusen geben, dz fleught in den himel vnd wirbet was er will. Aber wellicher Vogel one federn will fliegen houch, der fellet gern tzu der erden. Also wenig mag ouch fasten one gebet vnd almusen gott genaem seyn, ausgenommen die gerne gebent vnd nit enhand. Da von sanctus Gregorius spricht 'Der gebenden hand gebrast nye, wa gutt will was; Gott sicht nicht an, wie vil der mensch gebe: dann wie gros des menschen will ist, also gros ist er gegen gott'. Das wir nun in diser heyligen zeit mit genaden fasten vnd gute werck erfullent, Das helff vns der vater vnd der Sun vnd der heilig geist, amen.

73. *Gloss on the Gospel of the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, Matt. 22:34-46:* Das ist das heylig ewangelium, hie inen lesen wir, das die iuden felschlichen frageten vnsern herren, ob sy dem keyser zyns solten geben oder nit. Hett vnser herr da geantwurtet, sy soltent dem keyser nit czyns geben, so hetten sy in versaget vor dem keyser; Hett aber vnser herr gesprochen, sy solten dem keyser den zyns geben, so hetten sy in aber verklaget gegen dem fursten der priester in der iudischeit. Da wist vnser herr ir bosheit wol vnd sprach 'zeygen mir den zyns pfennig', da zeygten sy vnserm herren einen pfennig, da was vmb geschriben des keysers antlutz. Da dz vnser herr sach, da sprach er 'gebent dem keyser das ir im schuldig seind vnd geben got das ir im gelten suellen.' In disen worten werden wir geleret dru ding. Zu dem ersten sullen wir eren vnsern prelaten, das seind alle die herren, die uber vns seind, den sullent wir recht ere bieten, wann bey dem keyser ist vns bezeychnet ein yegklicher herr, Er sey bapst, bischoff, bropst oder pfarrer, den sullen wir dreyerley ere oder ding erbieten. Zum ersten rechte gehorsame das wir iren geboten eynfeltiglich gehorsam sullen sein. Vnd dar zu manet vns sanctus petrus. prima petri secundo capitulo. 'Serui subditi estote in omni timore dominis.' Vnd spricht 'Kinder ir sullen gehorsam seyn euweren oebersten vnd euweren leypriestern an allen goettlichen dingen'; vnd das ist war, wann vnser herr hat sy geseczet an seine stat in der welt; ad romanos xiii. capitulo. 'Non est potestas nisi a deo'. Als dann spricht sant pauls tzu den roemern: 'Ist keyn gewalt dann alleyn von got'. Also mit der bescheydenheyt, wer in gehorsam ist, der ist got gehorsam vnd wer sye verschmecht, der verschmeche got. Vnd das das war sey, das beweyset vns vnnser herr selber, da er spricht. luce am .x. capitel. 'Qui vos spernit, me spernit.' 'Wer ewch verschmehet, der verschmehet mich'. Dar auff redt ouch der heylig sant pauls tzu den roemern am .xiij. capitel. 'Qui resistit potestati, dei ordinacioni resistit'. 'Wer widerstrebet dem gewalt, der widerstrebet der ordnung gottes, die selben suchen in die verdampnus'. Zu dem andern mal sullend wir vnsern leypriestern vnd pfarrern gelten das wir in von rechte geben sullen, das ist ir opffer vnd die zehenden vnd ander ding die man in von recht pfliget zu gebende, Als sant pauls spricht zu

den roemern am .xiij. capitel. ‘Reddite omnibus debita: cui tributum, tributum; cui timorem, timorem; cui honorem, honorem’. ‘Gebend einem yeglichen das ir im schuldig seyen: wem zyns, dem gebend den zyns vnd woelchem die forcht, dem gebend die forcht vnd woelchem die ere, dem gebent die ere’; vnd wer das nit entut, der mus ewiglichen verdampnet sein vnd wirt gepeiniget mit der ewigen peyn. Zu dem dritten mal sullent wir in erbyeten rechte ere vnd erberkeit in allen dingen, die wir vermugen. Nun werden wir ouch hie geleret in disem ewangelio, das wir vnserm herren sullen gelten das wir im schuldig seind, das ist, das wir im von allen vnsern wercken ere sullen erbieten; vnd dar zu ist ein yegklich mensch verbunden, das er vnsern herren ere, wann er hatt in geschaffen vnd hatt in erloset mit seinem rosenfarben blut vnd hat im das himelreich auff getan mit seynem tode. Als sant Peter spricht in seiner ersten canonica am ersten capitel: ‘Non auro vel argento redempti estis de vana vestra conuersacione, sed precioso sanguine agni incontaminati’. ‘Ir seyend nit erlediget worden von euwerem eytlen wandel, sunder mit dem kosperen blut des vnuermeyligten lamm cristi ihesu’. Wir seind ouch schuldig an dem iungsten tag vnserem herren antwurte tzu geben von allen vnsern wercken, sy seind boes oder gut, als vnser herre selber spricht luce .xvi. capitulo ‘Redde rationem villicationis tuae’. ‘Gebend antwurt von allem dem das ir besessen hand vnd emphangen von meynen wegen’. Darumb mussent die armen wucherer dort gelten mit der ewigen peyn das gelt, das sye mit vnrecht gewunnen hand, wann sy seind vil erger dann iudas was, der vnsern herren verkoufft. Das mag man wol mercken in maniger sach: wann sy hand vnsern herren vil mynder lieb dann in iudas hette: wenn iudas verkoufft vnsern herren vmb dreyssig pfennig vnd das daet er zu einem mal, aber der wucherer verkoufft vnsern herren alle tag: mugend sy nit vmb vil guttes, sy verkouffent in aber vmb wenig. Wir lesen, das iudas die pfennig von im warff, darumb er vnnsern herren hett verkouffet, vnd wolt ir keynen an seinen nucz legen. mathei xxvij. ‘Et proiectis argenteis in templo recessit’. Wann er bekant wol, das er ubel hett getan. Aber die wucherer vnd dye iuden, die andern leuten ir gut mit vnrecht abgewunnen hand, die lebent des wuchers vnd essendt vnd trinckent da von vnd hand keynen gedanck oder willen, das sye es wider wollend geben oder gelten denen, dem sy es mit vnrecht hand abgenomen: darumb muessen sy von disem allem antwurt geben vnd muessen ewiglichen verdampnet sein mit dem teufel in der ewigen hellischen peyn; vnd daraus so werden sy nymmer erloeset.

Als der herr spricht. mathei am v. capitel: 'Amen dico tibi, non exies inde, donec reddas nouissimum quadrantem'. Darumb sullen wir vnsern herren bitten, das er vns seyn gnad verleych, das wir also lebent mit rechtem glouben vnd das wir allen den ere bieten mugen, dem wir sy schuldig seind tzu bieten, vnd das wir vnserm herren gelten mugen dz wir im tzu recht sullent, vnd das wir da mit verdienen das ewig leben. Das helff vns der vatter vnd der sun vnd der heylig geyst.

VI. Selections from German Psalters

a. *The Sixth Psalm.*

74. *Translation and Gloss by Heinrich von Muegeln* (14th century): Herre, in deinem zorn refse oder straffe mich nicht vnd in deinem vnmut puzze mich nicht. Erparm dich, herre, uber mich, wand ich sich pin; hail mich, herre, wand mein gepain ist betruebt. Und mein sel ist gar vastt betruebt, vnd du, herre, wie lange? Herre, cher wider vnd erledig mein sel, hail mich durich dein parmhertzichait. Wand an dem tode ist nyemd, der dein gedenche, vnd wer vergicht dir in der hell? Ich han gearibait in meinem seuften, ich wird alle nacht mein pett waschent, mit meinen zaehern wird ich mein pett feuchtend. Mein auge ist betruebt von zorn, ich pin eraltent zwischen meinen veinten. Vart hin von mir alle, die di vnrechtichait wuerchent, wand vnser herr hat erhoert die stymm meins wainen. Vnser herre hat mein pet erhoert, vnser herre hat mein andacht enphangen. Nu fuerichtent sich vnd werdend betruebt alle mein veint, werdend bechert vnd erfuerichten sich gar snellichleich.

Glosa. Er sprichet zdem ersten: *Herre, refse mich nicht in deinem zorn,* das ist: Herre, puezz mich nicht nach der strenchait deiner rechtichait, sunder nach der suezze deiner parmhertzichait. *Herre, erparm dich uber mich, wand ich pin sich; gesuntich mich, herre, wand betruebt sein all mein gepain.* Wand do chunich Dauid sach, das gotes engel sein volk nider slug vmb die sunde, das erz volch het haizzen zeln, do erschrakch er also vastt, das er tot siech wart vnd sich halt nicht erwermen mochte mit seinem gewande. Er sprichet: *Vnde mein sel ist gar vastt betruebt.* Wand do Dauid sach, das der engel das volch vmb sein schulde slug, do ward er so vastt betruebt, daz er zu vnserm herren sprach: Ich pin der, der gesundet hat vnd vnrecht getan hat; dis leut, die schaf sint, was habent die getan? Ich pitte dich, herre, wende deinen zorn auf mich selb vnd auf meins vater hauzz. *Vnd du,* *herre, wie lange?* — sam ob er wolde sprechen: Herre, wie lange lestu den engel das vnschulding volch slahen? Secht, also muzzen sieche vnd betrubt leut ir red, die si reden wolden, ofte abprechen vor chranchait. Er sprichet: *Herre, becher* — das ist: von der strenchait der rechtichait ze der suezze deiner parmhertzichait. Er sprichet: *Erledig mein sel* von diesen noeten vnd von diser voricht. Er sprichet: *Hail mich durich dein parmhertzichait,* nicht durich mein rechtichait, wand ich vnrecht getan han. Darnach bedeutet Dauid, warvmb er also pete, vnd sprach: *Wand an dem tode ist nieman, der dein gedenchte,* das ist: nach dem tode ist nyemd, der gute werch gewuerchen muge ze der sel hail. *Vnd in der hell, wer vergicht dir?* — das ist, das in der hell got niemd lobt, wand do ist chain erloesung. Davon was Dauids chlag aller maist vmb das volch, das der engel sluch, das es an der sel verlorn wuerde. Er spricht: *Ich han gearbaitt in meinem seuften,* wand vor angsten seins hertzen mocht er sich seuftens nicht wider gehaben, daz doch ainem chunich vor den leuten nicht wol anstet. Er sprichet: *Ich wird alle nacht mein pette waschend, mit meinen zaehern wird ich mein pett feuchtend.* Das tet Dauid; er waint pey der nacht vil mer vmb sein sunde dann pey dem tage. Er sprichet: *Mein aug ist vor zorn betruebt,* wand er wainte vmb unsers herren zorn so vil, das im die augen vergangen warn. Er sprichet: *Ich pin eraltend vnder allen meinen veinden,* das ist: ich pin genahent zder verderbnuzz der sel vnd des leibes, wand swas alt wirt, das nahent dem tode. Er sprichet: *Schaidet hin von mir alle, die di vnrechtichait wuerchent,* das ist: du Sathanas vnd dein volger, die mich geschundet habent, das ichs volch hies zeln. *Wand unser herre hett erhoert die stymm meins wainens.* Also phliechtent sich die tieufel zdem menschen, das si in schundent aus ainer sund in die ander, so fliehent si auch von dem menschen, swenne si enpfindent, das in got erhoert hat vnd von sunden erledigt hat. Er sprichet: *Vnser herre hat mein pet erhoert, vnser herr hat mein andacht enpfangen.* Das spricht Dauid zwir nach einander, das er damit beczaig vnd auch erchenne die guet und die genad, di vnser herr an im tet. Er sprichet: *Mein veint alle di schamen sich vnd werden betruebt gar snellichleich vnd werden bechert.* Er maint nicht, das sich die tieufel in puezz bechern, wand die genad ist in von got versait, er maint; das si von im hindan chern. Wand zehant, als sich der Mensch von suenden bechert, so geuzzet got sein parmung in den menschen, vnd als palde muez des tiefels anweigung fuerder varn. Diser salm fueegt einem menschen wol ze sprechen, den sein suend rewent, daz er die gotleich gut anrueffe, vnd swenne er staet darnach in puez vnd an rechten werchen, so wirt er wol enpfinden des himelischen trostes.

75. *Gloss to Psalm six by Petrus von Herenthals* (14th century): Here yn *dyner vorbolgenheyt en straffe my nicht Hugo* In dynen vthersten gerichte. dar du den bosen ser greszelick vnd vorbolgen schynen salst. *Noch yn dynemm thorne en beryspe my nicht Augustinus* De apostel Paulus secht Ad romanos. Du vorschattes vnd vorgadderst dyn thorn tho dem dage des rechtferdygen gerychtes goddes. Dar en wyll he nicht gestraffet weszen de nu yn dem leuende penitencie doet, dat he moge van synen sunden gereyniget vnd gesunt werden. *Gregorius* De sunder de bogheert dat he vor demm ordele, vnd nicht yn demm gerichte gestraffet werde. de wert gestraffet yn sachtmoidycheit vnd barmehertycheyt. vnd nicht yn thorne. Mer dat straffen yn dem strengen gerichte ys yn thorne vnd vorbolgenheit. Darumme eyn berouwich boetferdich mensche, fruchtende de scharpheyt des gerichtes byddet hyr barmeherticheit vnd spreckt. *Here vorbarme dy myner wante yck kranck byn. Cassiodorus.* De bekennynge der krancheyt beweget de barmehertycheit des hemelschen arsten. Lichtlicken kryget men by emme hulpe vnd remedia. so men de wonden claerlicke vor emme entdecket. O wo groet ys de myldicheit vnses scheppers. van vnsem rychtere werde wy geleeret barmehertycheit to byddene. vpp dat vns de rechtferdycheit yn thorne nicht vorslynde. *Make my gesunt Ieronimus* dorch penitencie, wante du byst eyn mylde arste. Vnd yck byn eyn ellende krancke. *Wante alle myne gebeente,* alle de craffte myner zele *synt vorsturet. Augustinus.* Vpp dat men nicht solde vorstaen van den beenen des vleyssches. so bedudet dat de propheta vort spreckende. *Vnd myn zele ys alto sere vorstuyret. Meer du here wo lange.* We en vorsteit hyr nicht, dat hyr wert betekent de zele. de dar vechtet myt eren krancheyden. De wert lange vorlaten van dem arsten. vpp dat eer claerlick bekant werde, yn wo groet quaet se geuallen were dorch de sunde. Wante dat lychtelicken vnd gerade geheelet wert. dat wert ock weynich geschuwet. Vnd van swaerheyt der gesuntmakynge wert flytiger bewarynge der wedder gekregen gesuntheit. Hyrumme en sall men nicht meynen. dat godt sy wreet vnd vnbarmehertych. dar men tho roipet. Wo lange. Dan he ys eyn ghudt vorsorger der zeylen. vnd vorthuyt syne barmehertycheit. up dat se bekenne. wo grote pyne den bosen ys boreydt. de sick nicht to godde

wyllen bekeeren. Nha dem male, dat se so grote swaerheydt lyden, de sick bekeeren. Alse geschreuen ys. Sall de rechtferdyge nouwe zalich werden. waer sollen dan de bosen sunders blyuen. *Cassiodorus.* Merke vnd su an. Want de rouwyge yn penitencien hefft thoflucht tho der gudertyrenheit des heren. vnd fluyth van der rechtferdycheit spreckende. *kere dy vmme here.* van dem dwange dyner rechtferdycheit tho der soitycheit dyner barmeherticheit. *Vnd verlosze myne zeyle* van der thokomender pyne. de den sunders wachtet. *Augustinus.* Keere dy vmme here. Dat ys gyff my gracien. dat ys my bekeren mach. Vnd verlosze myne zeyle. de ynhenget yn den genoichten dusser werlt. vnd lydet grote smerte vnd schoren. wan se syck dar vth keeren wyll. gelyck alse se vthryten solde vth dem myddel der dorne. *Want he en ys nicht yn dem dode. de dyner gedechtich sy. Nicolaus.* nha den dode. mit nutter vnd fruchtbarlyker gedechtnisse. den. de hyr henne scheyden yn doetlicken sunden. *Augustinus.* Nu ys de tydt der bekerynge vnd der genade. Wanner auer dyt leuen ys vorgangen. so en ys nicht meer dan weddergheuen nha vordenste. Darumme volget dar nha *Vnd yn der helle, we sal dy bekennen. Cassiodorus.* Hyr vnder vorsteyt men. genade to erweruen. Recht off he sprecken wolde. Nemant. want yn der helle ys nene vorloysynge. Anders bekante yo de ryke man. de lazarun saech. vnd welcke anderen. dar van geschreuen ys. Sapien. 5. Se seggen vnder sick. penitencien doende. vnd suchten van anxte des geystes. Wy vnsynnigen. wy achteden ere leuent vor geckheit. wo syn se nu getellet manck de kynder goddes. Vnd dat bekennen ys all vnnutte. vnfruchtbar to genaden. dan vormeerynge der vordomenisse. *Hugo.* Hyr na vortellet de rouwyge syn ellende vnd yamer syner penitencien spreckende *Ick hebbe gearbeydet yn mynen suchten. Cassiodorus.* Suchten ys nha dem latino twefaldyge droeffnyssze. de doch alle christgelouyge menschen byllicke bogheren sollen. Wante Suchten troestet de trurygen. et reyniget de berouwygen. et voryaget den duuell. Et maket vredde mit xpo. Vnde ys doch eyne soite bytterheyt. Zalige tranen Heylsam truren. *Ick sall wasschen alle nacht* .i. dorch alle sunde. Went by der nacht werden de sunden verstaen. *Myn bedde.* Wolde men dat nha der litter verstaen. so yst vnmogelick. dat eyn mensche so vele tranen schrye. dat he alle nacht syn angesichte wasschen moghe. ick swyge dan syn bedde. Daruemme moet men so beduden vnd vorstaen by dem bedde de genochte des lychnames. de wollust des vleessches. dar de sunder ynne geleegen vnd geslapen hefft. gelyck als dromende yn dem bedde. *Augustinus.* Dat bedde der wollust vnd der genoichten wesschet he myt tranen. de myt berouwe syne begangen sunde beschryet. vnd ys flytich dar van sick to entholdene. *Cassiodorus. Mit tranen sall yck netten myn gespredde bedde.* .i. den hoep myner sunde. vpp dat ick werden moge van eynen sunder rechferdich. van eynen bedroueden vrolick. van eynen krancken gesunt. *Myn oghe ys van vorbolgenheit seere vorstuyret. Nicolaus.* Wante van veller ouerflodycheit der tranen vorduystert de oghen. Duth ys eyn bedudynge na der lytter *Augustinus. Cassiodorus.* Hyr mach men better vorstaen dat oghe des herten. dat dat vorstuyrt sy van vorbolgenheit, vmme vruchten des thornes gods. also dat yd na eysschunge der sunde vorlaten werde. to vallende yn eynen vorkarden syn. vnd yn blyntheit des herten. vnd des redelicken gedancken. vnd werde vthgeslotten vth der genade goddes. yn ynwendyge duysternisse. dar dorch men komet tho den vthersten duysternissen. yn der tydt der vorbolgenheit des gerichtes xppi *Hugo.* Recht secht de propheta dat syn oge vorstuyrt sy. als van rechten vruchten vnd berouwe. vnd nicht gantz vthgedaen, dorch myshoppen. Wante we hyr nicht en wert vorstuyret. de wert hyr nhamaels vthgedaen. wan he kompt yn de vtherste duysternisse *Glosa.* Vnd et en ys neyn wonder, dat myn oghe vorstuyret ys. *Want ick byn veroldet.* Ick byn geworden als eyn lethmate des olden menschen. dorch de sunde. *Vnder alle mynen vyanden. Augustinus.* dat ys vnder den menschen de sick nicht wyllt bekeeren tho godde. de synt alle tydt twydrachtich tegen de yenne de sick bekeeren. We en suyth doch nicht dat dusse vyande synt. Want de vorkeerden hebben de werlt leyff. De bekeerden haten de werlt vnd bogheeren dar van vorlost to werden *Glosa* Hyrumme nu de here mynen tranen hefft angeseen, vnd hefft verhordt myn ropen. nu *ghaet van my.* ghy myne vyande. *alle de boesheyt wercket.* Ick wyll my deylen vnd affscheyden van quader geselschap. de my tho sunden wyl theyn. vnd leyden my tho der vordoemenisse. *Wante de here hefft vorhort de stemme mynes schryens.* de conpunctio mynes herten. vor myne ouelldaet. *Hugo. De here hefft vorhort myne beede.* dat ick my behoyden vnd bewaren sall van quade. *He hefft myn gebet entfangen* dat yck genade vnd dogede mach erweruenn. welcke twe eynen itlicken van noiden synt. Wante de vthganck vth den sunden wercket den ynganck der dogeden. *Cassiodorus.* Seyt doch wo dusse berouwyge besluth syn gebedt. vnd sick hoge vorfrouwet. dat syn gebet vorhort sy. Wante duth ys eyne forme aller berouwygen. dat se anheuen yn

tranen vnd endygen yn vrouden. Als geschreuen ys. De dar seyen yn tranen, sollen yn vroude meyen. Hyr nha als nu de Consciencia des boetferdygen ys vry geworden van sunden. vnd vnderdanich den geboden der hilligen kercken. so byddet se vort vor ere vyande. dat se ock bekeert werden. vp dat. so als he gracien gekregen hefft, sick to entholden van vleeschlycken bogherten. dat enne ock so geschee. Vnd secht *Alle myne vyande moiten syck schamen* van eren boszen wercken. vnd moten seen vnde vorstaen. dat en ere wercke syn vordomelyck. de se meynen. de en orbarlick vnd nutte syn. *Vnd se moiten werden vorstuyret.* van vrochten des strengen gerichtes vnd der vordoemenysse dorch predyken der hilligen schryfft. *Se moiten weddergekeert werden.* Dat se nicht mogen vortghaen tho sunden, als se vpsetten. Vnd vpp dat se nicht en beyden bys an de stunde eres dodes. so moten se *syck schamen seer snellicken* van eren boesheyden. *Conclusio Cassiodori.* Wo woll wy to allen psalmen sollen flyth doen to vorstaende. want wy vnser zelen nottrufft dar vth krygenn. nochtan sal men vele ynnyger de seuen penitencien psalmen sonderlinges meer vndersoyken. de dar synt crefftige medicyne der sundygen menschen. dar vth werden vnse zele gewasschen dar vth werde wy leuendych yn genade. Wan wy gestoruen synd dorch de sunde. dar vth schryende kome wy tho den ewygen vrouden. Wante duth ys eyn deel des gerychtes. dar de schuldyge vor dem angesychte des richters affwesschet syn sunde mit tranen. he bethalet syne oueldaet mit bekennynge. vnd beschermet syck dar mede, dat he syck seluen verordelt, verrychtet vnd verdomet. Dar en komet emme neyn frommet beclager. mer de sunder ladet syck suluen. He vordeynt genade, wan he syck nicht entschuldyget, vnd men kan doch anders nicht handelen vnder sollicken rychter. dem nemant kan syn schult vorsaken. *Collector.* Hyrumme gyff vns here yn bethalynge vnser sunde, mit gantzem berouwe yn leyffte to bernen. des du vns heuest gegheuen eyn heylsame regule to byddende. De du yn vullenkomener dreuoldycheit eyn godt leuest vnd regneerst. Amen.

b. *The remaining Penitential Psalms translated by Heinrich von Muegeln.*

76. *Psalm 32:* Saelich sint die, den ir vnrechtichait verlazzen sint. Vnd sint saelich, der sunde bedakt sint. Der mensch ist saelich, den vnser herre sein sunde nicht verweizzet, vnd an des gaist nicht gevaerd ist. Ich hab geswigen. Nu mein gepain eraltent, do ich durich den tach rief. Wand tag vnd nacht ist,

herre, dein hant auf mich beswert. Ich pin becheret in meiner arbait, swenn der dorn eingesteket wirt. Mein missetat hab ich dir chunt getant und mein rechtichait hab ich nicht verporgen. Ich sprach, Ich wil wider mich mein vnrechtichait vnserm herren peichten. Vnd du, herre, hast die vnguet meiner sunde verlazzen. Darvmb pittet hintz dir ein isleich heilig, ze rechter zeit. Idoch in der sintfluet vil wazzer werdent sich zu im nicht nachent. Herre, du pist mein zueflucht vor der not, die mich vmbgeben hat. Mein frewd, rette mich vor den, die mich vmbegebent. Ich gib dir verstentichait, Vnd lere dich, Vnd auf dem weg, da du gest, vesten ich mein augen auf dich. Ir schullt nicht werden als ros vnd maul, die nicht verstentichait habent. Mit gepizz vnd mit prietel twinge iren wangen, di zu dir nicht nahend. Der sunder gaysel sint vil. Der aber an vnsern herren dinget, den wirt parmhertzichait vmbgebend. Frewet euch in vnsern herren, ir gerechten, vnd seit wol gemuet.

77. *Psalm 38:* Herre, in deinem zorn refse mich nicht. Vnd in deinem vnmuet straffe mich nicht. Wann deinen geschozz sint in mich gestochen. Herre, du hast gevestent dein hant vber mich. Nv ist nicht gesunthait an meinem fleisch von dem antlutzze deins czorns. Meinem gepain ist nicht frid von dem antlutzze meiner sunde. Wand mein vngerechtichait habent mein haubt vbergangen. Vnd als ein swaer purde sint mein sunde auf mich gesweret. Mein masen sint erfaulet vnd sint enwicht worden von dem antlutzze meiner vnweishait. Ich pin arm worden, Vnde pin erschrumpet vntz anz ende. Allen tach pin ich traurich eingegangen. Mein lende sint erfuellet mit betruegnuezz. Es ist nicht gesunthait an meinem fleisch. Ich pin genoetigt vnd pin ze vil gedemuetiget. Ich hab gerueffet von dem seuften meins hertzen. Herre, vor dir ist alle mein girde, vnd mein seuften ist vor dir nicht verporgen. Mein herczz ist betruebt, Mein chraft hat mich verlazzen. Vnd das liecht meiner augen, das ist pei mir nicht. Mein freunde vnd mein naesten wider mich genahent vnd stuenden. Vnd die pey mir waren, die stuenden von verren. Vnd si taeten mir gewalt, die mein sel suechten. Vnd die mir vbel suechten, die habent vppichleich geredt vnd gevaerde trachten si allen tag. Aber ich hoere sein nicht als ein vngehoernder vnd als ein stumbe, der seinen munt nicht auftuet. Vnd ich pin worden als ein vngehoernder mensch, vnd der in seinem munde nicht widerred hat. Herre, ich han an dich gedinget, nu erhor mich, herre, mein got. Wann ich han ge-

sprochen in gepet, daz sich mein veinde nymmer werdend freund. Vnd swenn mein fueezz betruebt werdent, do redten si grozz sache auf mich. Wann ich pin in gaisel beraitet, Vnd mein smertzze ist ze aller zeit vor meinem anplichk. Wan ich wirde mein vnrechtichait chunt tuen. Ich wirde gedenchend fuer mein suende. Aber mein veinde lebent vnd sint gechreftigt vber mich, Wann si sint gemeret vber mich. Si sint gemeret vber mich, di mich vnrechtichleich habent gehazzet. Die da vebel fur guet geldent, die habent mir enczogen. Ich hab aber der gutichait nachgeuolget. Verlazze mich nicht, herre. Mein got, schaid von mir nicht. Sihe an mein hilfe.

78. *Psalm 51:* Got erparm dich vber mich nach deiner grozzen parmhertzichait. Vnd nach der menig deiner parmung vertilig mein vnrechtichait. Furbas wasch mich von meiner vnrechtichait vnd rainig mich von meinen suenden. Wand ich erchenne mein vnrechtichait, wann mein suende ist ze aller czeit wider mich. Herre, ich han dir alain gesuendet, vnd ich han vbel vor dir getan; das du gerechtet werdest an deiner red, vnd das du gesigest, swenn du gerichtet werdest. Nim war, ich pin in vnrechtichait enphangen, Vnd mein muter hat mich in suenden enphangen. Sihe, herre, du hast warhait liep gehabt. Vngewissen vnd verporgen sache deiner weishait hastu mir geoffent. Herre, besprenge mich mit ysop, so wird ich rain. Herre, wasch mich, so wird ich weiz vber den sne. Herre, gib meinem gehoern fraeud vnde wunne, So werdent sich frewend die gediemuetigten gepain. Herre, wende dein antlutzz von meinen suenden, Vnd vertilig alle mein vnrechtichait. Got, beschaffe ein rain hertzz in mir, Vnd ernewe in meinem leichnamen den rechten gaist. Herre, verwirffe mich nicht von deinem antlutzz, vnd deinen heiligen gaist, den benim von mir nicht. Gib mir wider die freud deins hails. Beuesten mich mit dem erern gaist, Si wird ich die vngerechten dein weg lerend, Vnd die vnguten werdend zu dir cherend. Got, erledig mich von den plueten, got, got meins hails, so wirt mein zung sich frewend deiner rechtichait. Herre, tu mein lebs auf, so wirt mein munt dein lob chuendend. Herre, wann ob du hetest gewolt, ich hett dir endeleich opfer gegeben. Nu gelustet dich der opfer nicht. Gots opfer ist der rewesal gaist, der versmaehe nicht daz rewich vnd daz diemuetich hertzz. Herre, tu guetlich Syon in deinem gueten willen, Daz die mower Ierusalem gepowen werden. So wirdestu, herre, daz opfer der rech-

tichait genaemend. Vnd danne, so werdent si chelber auf deinen altar legent.

79. *Psalm 102:* Herre, erhoere mein gepet, vnd mein ruef chum hintz dir. Wende dein antluetzze nicht von mir. An swelchem tage ich genoetigt wird, so naige dein or ze mir. An swelchem tage ich dich anruefe, so erhore mich snellichleich. Wann mein tage habent abgenomen als der rauch. Mein gepain sint erdorret als die grieben. Ich pin geslagen als daz heu, vnd mein hertzze ist erdorret. Wann ich han vergezzen, mein prot te ezzen. Von der stimme meins saeuftens ist mein haut an meinem gepain behaftet. Ich pin geleich worden pellicano der wueste. Ich pin worden als der nachtrab in dem vogelhauzz. Ich han gewachet vnd pin worden als die veraint sperche in dem dache. Allen tag itwitzten mir mein veinde. Vnd die mich lobten, die swuren wider mich. Wann ich azz aschen als daz prot. Vnd mein trinken mischte ich mit wainnen. Herre, von dem antlutzze deiner vnwirden, wann auferhaben hastu mich lazzen vallen. Mein tage habent sich genaiget als der schatte, Vnd ich pin erdorret als ein hew. Aber du, herre, du beleibest in die ewichait, Vnd dein gedaechnuzze beleibet in geslechte vnd in geslechte. Herre, aufstende wirdestu dich erparmen vber Syon. Wann die czeit ist chomen, vber Syon ze erparmen, wann die czeit ist chomen. Wann deinen knechten geuielen ir stain. Vnd die knechte werdend sich vber ir lant erparmend, Vnd die diet werdent, herre, deinen namen fuerichtend. Vnd alle chuenige der werlt werdent, herre, dein ere erchennent. Wan vnser herre wirt Syon erpawent, Vnd vnser herre wirt in seiner ere gesehen. Er sah an die pet der diemuetigen vnd versmaecht nicht ir gepet. Dis sache schol geschriben werden in dem andern geslaechte. Vnd das volch, daz hernach geporn wirt, daz wirt vnsern herren lobend. Wann vnser herre hat von seiner heiligen hoech gesehen, vnser herre hat von himel aufs erdreich gesehen, Das er hoerte daz seuften der geuangen, das er erloeste di suen der ertoetten; daz si chunt tuen in Syon vnsers herren namen vnd sein lob in Ierusalem, Swenne die volch zesampne chomet vnd die chuenig, daz si vnserm herren dienent. So atnwurtent im, an dem weg irr chrefte. Die lutzelchait meiner tage tue mir chunt. Herre, rueffe mich nicht hin wider in der mitte meiner tage. Deinen iar sint in geslaechte vnd in geslechte. Herre, du hast daz erdreich in der czeit gegruntuestet, vnd die himel sint deiner hende werch. Si verderbend, aber du beleibest. Vnd si werdend alle alt als ein gewant, Vnd

wirdestu seu verwandelnd als ein veberdeke vnd werdend verwandelt. Aber, herre, du pist der selbe an der ewichait vnverbandeleich vnd deinen iar nement nicht ab. Deiner knechte suen, die werdent wonend, Vnd ir sam wirt ewichleich gelaitet.

80. *Psalm 130:* Herre, aus der tieff hab ich hintz dir gerueeft. Herre, erhore mein pet. Deineu orn, herre, werdent zuhoerent zder stymme meins gepetes. Herre, ist, das du vnser vnrechtichait behaltest, herre, wer erleidet daz? Nv ist genaedichait pei dir, Wand durich dein ee hab ich dein gewartet. Mein sel hat gepiten in seinem worte. Mein sel hat gedinget an vnsern herren von der huet ze metten zeit vntz hintz nacht. Also schol Israhel ir gedinge hintz vnserm herren gaentzleich lazzen. Wand pei vnserm herren ist parmhertzichait, vnd genuchtsam erloesung ist pei im. Vnd er wirt Israhel erledigen von aller irer vnrechtichait.

81. *Psalm 143:* Herre, erhoer mein gepet. Vernim mit den orn mein andacht in deiner warhait; erledig mich in deiner rechtichait. Herre, ginch nicht inz gerichte mit deinem chnechte. Herre, wann vor deinem amplich wirt niemd lebentiger gerechtet. Wand mein veint varent meiner sel. Er hat gediemuetigt auf dem erdreich mein leben. Er hat mich gestalt in die vinster als die toten der werlt, Vnd mein gaist ist angstet veber mich von vebrigen noeten. Mein hertz ist in mir betruebt. Ich gedacht der alten tage. Ich hab gedacht in allen deinen werchen, vnd an der getat deiner hende hab ich getrachtet. Ich hab mein hende, herre, hintz dir auzeinander gestrechet, vnd mein sel hab ich hintz dir gepraittet als das erdreich an wazzer. Herre, erhoere mich gahes; mein geist hat abgenomen. Herre, wende dein antluetzze von mir nicht, oder ich wird geleich den, die ze tal vallent in den see. Herre, mach mich fruee dein parmhertzichait hoerend, Wand ich an dich gedinget hab. Tue mir, herre, den wech chunt, an dem ich gen schol. Wand ich mein sel hintz dir auferhaben hab. Erledig mich von meinen veinden, herre; ich hab zu dir geflohen. Ler mich deinen willen ze tuen, wand du pist mein got. Dein guet geist wirt mich laittend in das rechte lant. Herre, durich deinen namen wirdest du mich erchukchend in deiner rechtichait. Du wirdest mein sel auzfuerend auz noeten, vnd in deiner parmhertzichait wirdest du mein veint zestrewend. Herre, du wirdest alle die verliessen, die mein sel noetigent, wand ich pin dein chnecht.

VII. THE SOCALLED BIBLE PROHIBITIONS

82. *Letter "Cum ex coniuncto" to all Christians of the diocese of Metz* (July 12, 1199): Significavit nobis venerabilis frater Metensis episcopus per litteras suas quod *tam in dioecesi quam urbe Metensi laicorum et mulierum multitudo* non modica tracta quodammodo desiderio scripturarum, *evangelia, epistolas Pauli, psalterium, moralia Iob, et plures alios libros sibi fecit in Gallico sermone transferri,* translationi huiusmodi adeo libenter, utinam autem et prudenter, intendens, ut secretis conventionibus talia inter se laici et mulieres eructare praesumant, et sibi invicem praedicare: qui etiam aspernantur eorum consortium qui se similibus non immiscent, et a se reputant alienos qui aures et animos talibus non apponunt: quos cum aliqui parochialium sacerdotum super his corripere voluissent, ipsi eis in faciem restiterunt, conantes rationes inducere de scripturis quod ab his non deberent aliquatenus prohiberi. Quidam etiam ex eis simplicitatem sacerdotum suorum fastidiunt; et cum ipsis per eos verbum salutis proponitur, se melius habere in libellis suis, et prudentius se posse id eloqui submurmurant in occulto. Licet autem *desiderium intelligendi divinas scripturas, et secundum* eas studium adhortandi *reprehendendum non sit sed potius commendandum,* in eo tamen apparent merito *arguendi, quod tales occulta conventicula sua celebrant,* officium sibi praedicationis usurpant, sacerdotum simplicitatem eludunt, et eorum consortium aspernantur qui talibus non inhaerent. . Arcana vero fidei sacramenta non sunt passim omnibus exponenda, cum non passim ab omnibus possint intelligi, sed eis tantum qui ea fideli possunt concipere intellectu . . . Tanta est enim divinae scripturae profunditas, ut non solum simplices et illiterati, sed etiam prudentes et docti non plene sufficiant ad ipsius intelligentiam indagandam. Propter quod dicit scriptura: *Quia multi defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio.* Unde recte fuit olim in lege divina statutum, ut bestia quae montem tetigerit, lapidetur; *ne vidilicet simplex aliquis et indoctus praesumat ad sublimitatem scripturae sacrae pertingere, vel eam aliis praedicare.*

83. *Letter "Sicut ecclesiarum"* (July 12, 1199) *to the Bishop and Chapter of Metz:* Sicut ecclesiarum praelatis incumbit ad capiendas vulpes parvulas, quae demoliri vineam domini moliuntur, prudenter et diligenter intendere, sic est eis summopere praecavendum ne ante messem zizania colligantur, ne forsan, quod absit, cum eis etiam triticum evellatur. Sane *sicut non debet haeretica*

pravitas tolerari, sic enervari non debet religiosa simplicitas; ne vel patientia nostra haereticis audaciam subministret, vel *simplices impatientia multa* confundat, ut nobis diruptis convertantur in arcum perversum, et *in haereticos* de simplicibus commutentur. . In dubiis non est de facili sententia proferenda. . Praecipimus, quatenus eos commonere diligentius studeatis, rationibus et exhortationibus innitentes, ut ab his in quibus apparent reprehensione notabiles, omnino desistant, nec officium sibi vindicent alienum. *Inquiratis etiam sollicite veritatem* quis fuerit auctor translationis illius, quae intentio transferentis, quae fides utentium, quae causa docendi, si sedem apostolicam et catholicam ecclesiam venerentur; ut super his et aliis quae necessaria sunt ad indagandam plenius veritatem per litteras vestras sufficienter instructi, quid statui debeat melius intelligere valeamus.

84. *Letter "Ea est in fovendis"* (Dec. 9, 1199) *to the abbots of Cistercium, Morimond and de Crista:* Nuper . . episcopus (sc. Metensis) per suas nobis litteris intimavit quod quidam eorum, quos notabiles prioribus litteris denotarat, *mandatis recusant apostolicis obedire*; quibusdam eorum clanculo, quibusdam vero iam publice obediendum esse dicentibus soli Deo; ab occultis etiam conventiculis non cessantes, officium praedicationis occulte, licet a nullo mittantur, prohibiti etiam, sibi non metuunt usurpare; aspernantes sibi dissimiles, et translationi eidem usque adeo insistentes, ut se nec episcopo nec metropolitano suo nec nobis ipsis asserant parituros, si eam decreverimus abolendam. Licet autem tales *in eo reprehendi merito videantur* quod occulta conventicula celebrant, officium praedicationis usurpant, simplicitatem despiciunt sacerdotum, et eorum consortia qui dictam translationem non recipiunt aspernantur; ne quid tamen subito facere videamur, discretioni vestrae, de qua plene confidimus, per apostolica scripta mandamus atque *praecipimus quatenus* ad civitatem Meten. pariter accedentes, cum eodem episcopo *convocetis coram vobis talia sapientes, et adhaerentes translationi praedictae,* et si fieri poterit, quae in eis reprehensibilia fuerint, auctoritate freti apostolica, sublato appellationis obstaculo corrigatis . . . (Otherwise they should examine them about those points mentioned in letter "Sicut ecclesiarum"). Ut per vos certiores effecti, prout procedendum fuerit procedamus.

85. *Synod of Toulouse* (1229): Prohibemus etiam, ne libros veteris testamenti aut novi laici permittantur habere, nisi forte psalterium vel breviarum pro divinis officiis aut horas beatae

Mariae aliquis ex devotione habere velit. Sed ne praemissos libros habeant in vulgari translatos arctissime inhibemus.

86. *Synod of Tarragona* (1234): Item statuitur, ne aliquis libros veteris vel novi testamenti in romanico habeat. Et si aliquis habeat, infra octo dies post publicationem huiusmodi constitutionis a tempore sententiae, tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos, quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit sive laicus, tamquam suspectus de haeresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur.

87. *Emperor Charles IV.: Edict against German books concerning the holy Scriptures (1369):* Attendentes, sicut fide digna relatione percepimus, quod in partibus Alemanniae propter sermones, tractatus et alios libros in vulgari scriptos, inter personas laicas vel pene laicas dispersos, quos libros ut plurimum vel vitiosos, erroneos ac lepra haeresis infectos laici legentes, non sanum et bonum intellectum percipientes, per se *plus quam oportet volentes sapere, et non ad sobrietatem, nec secundum mensuram fidei* sed a veritate auditum avertunt . . Quapropter districte praecipiendo mandamus (here follows an enumeration of the various estates, religious and civil): Quatenus in recipiendis, exigendis huiusmodi libris vulgariter scriptis, tractatibus sermonibus, quaternis, cedulis, codicibus, et quibuslibet hominibus, cuiuscunque status existant, et quoslibet alios libros quocunque modo scriptos suspectos de erroribus in continentia haeresium, de quibus libris occasio praedicandi, docendi errores accipitur, per nonnullos animarum seductores, per inquisitorem, inquisitores seu eorum vicarios tam a personis saecularibus et regularibus, et maxime a laicis, praesertim cum laicis utriusque sexus secundum canonicas sanctiones etiam libris vulgaribus quibuscunque de sacra scriptura uti non liceat, examinandos, ne per male intellecta deducantur in haeresin vel errorem, quemadmodum multi Beghardi et Beghinae his temporibus proh dolor! in errores et haereses sunt perductae, assistatis eisdem inquisitoribus. —

Vobis omnibus et singulis imponimus sub poenis infra scriptis, ut inquisitori ac inquisitoribus procedentibus secundum stylum inquisitionis, contra habentes tales libros, in quibus blasphematur nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi, et virginis gloriosae matris eius, Mariae, et fides catholica Christianorum vilipenditur, maledicitur seu blasphematur, realiter et efficaciter assistatis consilio, auxilio et favore, ut praedicti libri praesententur et praestentur inquisitoribus ad comburendum per quoscumque habeantur, possideantur et detineantur, quocunque nomine censeantur, sive per Iudaeos, sive per malos Christianos aut gentiles, seu alios incredulos quoscunque, ut his omnibus destructis et deletis, nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi longe lateque glorificetur.

88. *Council of Oxford* (1408): *Prohibition of translations of the holy Scriptures:* Statuimus et ordinamus, *ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum sacrae scripturae,* auctoritate sua, *in linguam Anglicanam vel aliam transferat,* per viam libri, libelli aut tractatus *nec legatur aliquis huiusmodi liber,* libellus aut tractatus, iam noviter tempore dicti Ioannis Wyclif, sive citra compositus aut in posterum componendus, in parte vel in toto, publice vel occulte, sub maioris excommunicationis poena, quousque per loci dioecesanum, seu, si res exegerit, per concilium provinciale, ipsa translatio fuerit approbata. Qui contra fecerit, ut fautor haeresis et erroris similiter puniatur.

89. *Edict of Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz* (March 22, 1485) *concerning translations from the Greek, Latin or any other language:* Etsi ad mortalium eruditionem divina quadam imprimendi arte ad singularum scientiarum codices abunde facileque perveniri possit, compertum tamen habemus, quosdam homines inanis gloriae aut percuniae cupiditate ductos hac arte abuti, et quod ad vitae hominum institutionem datum est ad perniciem et calumniam deduci. Vidimus enim Christi *libros* missarum officia continentes et praeterea *de divinis rebus et apicibus nostrae religionis scriptos, e latina in germanicam linguam traductos nec sine religionis dedecore versari per manus vulgi* . . . Dicant translatores tales, si verum colunt, bono etiam sive malo id faciant animo, an ne lingua germanica capax sit eorum, quae tum graeci tum et latini egregii scriptores de summis speculationibus religionis christianae et rerum scientia accuratissime argutissimeque scripserunt? *Fateri oportet idiomatis nostri inopiam minime sufficere* necesseque fore, eos ex suis cervicibus nomina fingere incognita, aut, si veteribus quibusdam utantur, veritatis sensum corrumpere, quod propter magnitudinem periculi in literis sacris magis veremus. *Quis enim dabit idiotis atque indoctis hominibus et femineo sexui, in quorum manus codices sacrarum literarum inciderint, veros excerpere intellectus?* Videatur sacri evangelii aut epistolarum Pauli textus, nemo sane prudens negabit, multa suppletione et subauditione aliarum scripturarum opus esse. Occurrerunt haec, quia vulgatissima sunt. Quid putabimus de his, quae inter scriptores in ecclesia catholica sub acerrima pendent disputatione? Multa afferre possemus de quibus tamen ad propositum paucula ostendisse sufficiat. Verum cum initium officinae huius

artis imprimendi codices in hac aurea nostra Maguntia, ut vera eius appellatione utamur, divinitus emerserit, hodieque in ea politissima atque emendatissima perseveret, iustissime eius artis decus a nobis defensabitur. Nostra etiam intersit divinarum literarum puritatem immaculatam servari, unde . . . *mandamus, ne aliqua opera, cuiuscunque scientiae, artis vel notitiae, e graeco, latino vel alio sermone, in vulgare germanicum traducant, aut traducta,* quovis commutationis genere vel titulo *distrahant, vel comparent,* publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, nisi opera deinceps imprimenda ante impressionem et impressa ante distractionem per . . . doctores et magistros universitatis studii in civitate nostra Maguntina, aut doctores et magistros universitatis studii in oppido nostro Erdfordiae ad hoc deputatos fuerint visa et patenti testimonio ad imprimendum vel distrahendum admissa. (Punishment for the transgression of the edict: Excommunicatio ipso facto, confiscation of the books, 100 fl. gold.)

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR CHAPTER TWO

I. SELECTIONS FROM LUTHER'S LECTURES ON THE PSALMS 1513-1515

1. *Glosses on Psalm L* (51)*. *An excellent instruction and example for penitents and those wishing to confess. Psalm L. Title: A psalm of David for victory,* revealed to him *when,* on the occasion of that act recorded in II Sam. 11 and 12, *the prophet Nathan came to him after he had gone in to Bathsheba*; which is interpreted as the daughter of an oath.

Have mercy upon me, O God, because I am wretched and miserable: *according to Thy great loving kindness,* not according to any merit or work of mine, but according to Thy mercy alone, freely given. *And according to the multitude,* because my sins are not only great, but also many, *of Thy mercies,* not according to the multitude of merits: *blot out mine iniquity,* i. e., iniquities. *Further,* i. e., much or copiously, in many ways (Augustine: "more and more"), do Thou *wash me from mine iniquity,* for the law and its baptism cannot wash me, but only Thou. "For it is impossible that sins should be taken away by the blood, etc." (Heb. 10:4). *And cleanse me from my sin. For I know my iniquity,* confessing it in a pure and true confession; which is to say that I have nothing by which I might merit washing, except that I know and confess my sin. Yet this alone is enough in the presence of God: *and my sin is ever before me* in my dissatisfaction and contrition. From such knowledge I confess that *against Thee only have I sinned;* i. e., I acknowledge and confess, because it is truly so, that I have sinned before Thy face, not in literal sins against Moses and the law. Ps. 18 (19:13): "From my hidden sins cleanse me." For even an infant of a day old sins before God's face, i. e., is a sinner; *and I have done evil in Thy sight,* and therefore I confess this *so that Thou mayest be justified,* that Thou alone mayest be proved to be truthful and just and a free justifier — not I; but I, rather, am confounded, and every man with me — *in Thy speaking,* by which Thou hast promised Thy righteousness and hast decreed that all are in sin. *And that Thou mayest overcome,* prevail in righteousness, *when Thou art judged* by those who excuse and justify themselves. *For behold,* in so far am I a sinner before Thy face, that, even if there were no sin of adultery, nevertheless no man would be justified before Thy face, for *I was brought forth in iniquities*; *and in sins,* i. e., in original sin, which is many sins (as above in Psalm 31), *did my mother conceive me,* just as mothers conceive all their other children. *For behold, Thou hast desired truth,* not the shadows of the law in Thy righteousness, but the truth of Thy righteousness, which is humility and the confession of sin, accusation of oneself. *The unseen and hidden things of Thy wisdom,* i. e., the mysteries and spirit hidden in the letter (in Hebrew: "the concealed and secret part of Thy wisdom"), *Thou hast made known to me* through the Holy Spirit. "But now it hath been made manifest" to all the world, Rom. 3 (3:21). Now to me also, since I have confessed that Thou alone art just and that all of us are in sins. *Sprinkle me, O Lord,* of Thyself, not Aaron or a Levite, *with* "hidden," or mystical, *hyssop,* which "Thou hast made manifest to me," *and I shall be cleansed* in truth and spirit. Do Thou *wash me* with the water of grace, or baptism, *and more than the snow,* i. e., I shall be white in more than body, namely spiritually; *I shall be washed white* in my thinking. *To me as I hear* within, i. e., to my conscience disquieted by sin and remorse, *Thou shalt give,* through the inspiration of Thy grace, *joy and gladness; and* then *bones brought low,* the strength of the soul dejected and saddened by sin, *shall rejoice. Turn Thy face from my sins,* i. e., do not direct Thy attention to them and keep them always in Thy sight, to avenge them: *and blot out all mine iniquities,* namely, by forgetting them, that Thou dost not count them. *A pure heart,* because it has been aged by sin, *create* anew *in me, O God;* not a pure body, as the law does. *And a right spirit,* i. e., spiritual rectitude, not the letter or literal rectitude such as the law gives, *renew in my inmost being,* in the interior parts of my soul, not in the outward parts, in my clothes and limbs, as the law does. *Cast me not forth* with the reprobates, like Saul and the synagogue, *from Thy face,* from the light of Thy countenance. *And Thy Holy Spirit,* through whom Thou givest spiritual holiness, while the law gives only secular — or this spiritual holiness *take not from me. Restore to me,* because by sin I have lost, *the joy of Thy salvation,* of Thy deliverance, of Thy Christ. *And*

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* Trans. from Erich Vogelsang, *Der junge Luther* (Bd. V, "Luthers Werke in Auswahl").

with a fresh spirit (a liberal spirit, not a servile spirit, as the law does) *establish me. I shall teach*, by means of this Psalm and others, and by my example, *the wicked Thy ways*, namely, of truth and spirit. And *the wicked*, the unbelieving, *will be converted unto Thee* through true faith, the shadow and the letter being given up. But in this office they resist me. Therefore, *deliver me from bloodguiltiness* (carnal and literal, of the Jews), *O God, Thou God of my salvation*, who dost save me. *And my tongue shall shout*, shall exultantly proclaim, *Thy righteousness*, by which Thou justifiest and by which they are justified before Thy face — not my righteousness, or the righteousness of the law, or human righteousness. *Lord, open Thou my lips*, I pray, that Thou mightest open them to vouchsafe trust and speak wisdom, as it is written in Luke (21:15): "I will give you a mouth and wisdom." *And* then *my mouth shall show forth*, shall everywhere proclaim, *Thy praise*, confessing Thy good works and my wicked works. *Since if Thou hadst desired sacrifice*, namely, of cattle, and carnal sacrifice, *I would have given it* freely, just as they give it, *certainly;* but *in burnt-offerings* (as above, in the preceding Psalm, and Ps. 39) *Thou wilt have no pleasure. The sacrifice* pleasing, and acceptable *to God*, i. e., to Thee, O God, *is a broken spirit*, pricked on account of sins, not afflictions of the flesh, as in the case of the Jews; Is. 58 (58:4): "ye fast for contentions." *A contrite and humbled heart*, not only outwardly in hypocrisy and dress, as the Pharisees, Matt. 5 (6:16?), *Thou wilt not despise, O God;* nay, rather, Thou wilt look to it with especial consideration. Is. 66 (66:2): "But to whom shall I look, if not to him that is quiet and humble and that trembleth at my words." *Do good*, do good through Christ who is to be sent, *O Lord, in Thy good pleasure*, not our merits, *unto Zion*, the church. *That the walls*, the orders, of the church, *of Jerusalem*, the future church, *may be built. Then wilt Thou receive*, Thou wilt have pleasure in, *the sacrifice of righteousness* which the just offer, namely, of praise and confession, not of cattle or animals, but of righteousness, that is, of faith; their *oblations and burnt-offerings*, by ascribing their vows and works to Thee. *Then will they offer upon Thine altar*, upon Christ, or faith, His *bullocks*, sacrificing themselves according to the flesh.

2. *Scholia on Psalm XXXI* (32) — "Blessed are those (whose iniquities) are forgiven" (32:1). This is directed against hypocrites who do not suffer the want of forgiveness, just as healthy

men have no need of a physician. For they do not consider themselves as having iniquities, but trust in themselves, as if they were righteous; nor do they eat with publicans and sinners, because they are not as other men are. And so the Pharisees rejected Christ, "who taketh away the sins of the world" (John 1:29), because they had none. And they said, "Are we also blind?" And He said to them (John 8 [9:40f]), "If ye were blind, ye would have no sin; but because ye say, 'We see,' your sin remaineth."

Let us hear, then, what is inferred from this. *No one is blessed unless his iniquities are forgiven. Therefore, the corollary is: No one is without iniquity;* there is no one who is not a son of wrath and consequently needs to be forgiven. This, moreover, is not accomplished except through Christ. Therefore, no one will be saved of himself, but only through Christ. And this is the conclusion of the whole Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; almost every single word points to this, as is evident when one examines the Epistle. For he says, "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven, etc." (Rom. 1:18). Again, "The righteousness of God is revealed therein, etc." (Rom. 1:17). The meaning is: No man has known that the wrath of God is over all men, and that all men, in His sight, are in sin; but He has revealed it in His Gospel, as also how we might be saved from that wrath, and by what righteousness we might be delivered, namely, through Christ.

Moreover, heretics are the same as those Pharisees. For they may believe that sins are removed by Christ alone, and they may believe in Him. Yet, since they do not have a true conception of Him in that they "hold back from His counsel" (Ps. 106:13), they remain in sins. For they reject Him in a way different from that of the Jews, namely, by apostasy and disobedience to His church (i. e., the mystical Christ), while the Jews rejected Christ in person, literally. Similarly, also, the superstitious or schismatics degrade Him by means of their separateness and their prelate, in whom Christ is placed in authority over them. Theirs is the larger number today.

This statement, moreover, which sets forth beautifully that this forgiveness is apart from any merits, is in the Hebrew, which reads: "Blessed is he who has been relieved of his fault, who has been shut off from his sin." Notice that it is put in the passive, for "without repentance are the gifts and the calling of God."

The "iniquities forgiven" and the "sins covered" can be said to differ in this way: Iniquity is that by which man is turned toward the creature by preferring his own love to the love of God, i. e., by preferring the wicked. But sin is that by which man is turned away from God, i. e., transgresses the precept and law of God. According to Cassiodorus and St. Jerome, those are iniquities which are committed before faith and baptism, but those committed after are sins. But this opinion is not tenable because Ps. L (51:7) says: "For behold, in iniquities was I brought forth and in sins did my mother conceive me." For original sin is called many sins: First, because it is the first and chief of all sins. Second, because in it (many, nay) all men are involved. It is like the salvation of Christ, which is called "salvations" and "lovingkindnesses," because He saves many and ascribes His manifold salvation to any one man. (Third, because it suggests many penalties, as it were for many sins.) It can also be said that this iteration expresses the succession of all those men whom he describes, whose sins are forgiven through faith in Christ.

Then he says, "Blessed is the man unto whom He hath not imputed sin" (32:2). This means that God reckons it to anyone who is righteous for righteousness, as to Abraham, according to the apostle (Rom. 4:3). For He does not impute sin to such a man, but ascribes righteousness to him. "And in whose spirit there is no guile," that is, he does not wish to confess sin, but defends himself and refuses the righteousness of Christ. For this is hypocrisy in the heart: to be unwilling to confess sin, and yet to know that one has sin, as the Jews did; since the sins of the heart availed nothing as long as they were only such. See Cassiodorus. There follows a description of the sinner's wretchedness.

"When I kept silence" (32:3): (that is to say, I now mention it, because I have discovered that whoever keeps silence, etc.). First of all, whoever "keeps silence" (i. e., does not confess), "his bones grow old"; i. e., his strength, which before enabled him to stand in good deeds, is always diminishing more and more as a result of sins. For "sin, which is not washed away by repentance, by its own weight soon drags him down to another," as is clear in the case of David. First he committed adultery, then he made Uriah drunk, finally he caused him to be killed. And

Saul, at first sparing Amalek, afterwards erected a monument, etc. It can also be understood in another way, thus: that the bones, which are the constancy of faith and hope, are weakened with respect to trust in God, in that confession is put off. And so he calls aloud because he feels and fears the punishment and hand of God. For no one prays like this unless he feels disturbed in his conscience. (How did he "keep silence," who "shouted all the day"? . . .).

The beginning of the Psalm teaches two things. First, that all men are in sins, (no one is righteous) and no one blessed. Second, that no one is capable of deserving forgiveness of sin (because no one can be made righteous of himself), but only the Lord forgives by gratuitous non-imputation. But the whole world was ignorant of these two things, and so, when the apostles preached, resisted them and rejected Christ who knew these two things, as Bernard beautifully expresses it in a certain sermon. Wherefore he says, "Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven," and then, "Blessed is he to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin," for it is not enough that we do not impute it to ourselves, or are not aware of it. He does not say, Blessed are they who have no iniquities, although they, whose iniquities have been forgiven, no longer have any, for they have been forgiven; but they did have them. For no one is without iniquity. And there are none who have no iniquities, but there are some, only, whose iniquities have been forgiven, etc. And this is what the title refers to when it reads: "The Instruction of David." For in our understanding, through faith, we are instructed concerning these things, not by our sense or reason.

The "understanding" (32:9) in the Holy Scriptures derives its name from the object rather than from the agent, differing in this respect from philosophy. For understanding is knowledge, or knowing, perceiving Christ. Concerning this the apostle teaches admirably in I Cor. 1 and 2, since "we speak," he says, "wisdom hidden in mystery, which none of the rulers of this world hath known." It is, briefly, nothing other than the wisdom of the cross of Christ, which unto the Gentiles is foolishness and unto the Jews a stumblingblock — namely, to understand that the Son of God has been incarnate and crucified, has died and risen again for our salvation. The title of this Psalm is interpreted as referring to the understanding of this wisdom, for it reads: "The Instruction of David," or "The Understanding of David," i. e., which has been given to him. But because all this is in faith, and not from sense or reason, so in Scripture the understanding of men is called sensibility, since it does not grasp anything but things sensible, no matter how subtle and acute and judicious it may be. So the apostle says that "knowledge of the flesh," i. e., of carnal man, who certainly has understanding, in which is knowledge, "is dead" (Rom. 8:6). Wherefore he says, "just as the horse and the mule" (32:9), so are all who do not have this knowledge which has to do with things invisible, divine, and heavenly; because they understand and notice only what is visible, as the horse and mule also do. So to understand is to recognize things spiritual, the mysteries of salvation and of the grace of God. It is from this that that manner of speaking is derived which speaks of the "mysteries" of redemption and incarnation, because they are manifest only to those who are mystic and spiritual, but not to men to whom they are foolishness, for they are foolish horses and mules. Therefore it is necessary, first of all, that they be changed so that they might recognize the mysteries which are eternal. "For as a man is, so does he judge." But they are "horses and mules." Therefore, their judgment of such things is as good as nothing, since they do not perceive them. Such are those who regard the immortality of the soul, hell, heaven, God, and Christ as fables. The Jews think so especially of Christ. And after them, likewise, the heretics.

It is to be noted that in the Scripture "holy" means a person whom the Scholastic theologians call "established in grace which makes acceptable." So Is. 54. "I will give the holy and sure blessings of David" (Acts 13:34), or the "sure mercies of David" (Is. 55:3), because He has made many holy. Whence the apostles always call Christians holy (saints).

"Blessed is the man to whom He hath not imputed": "sin" and "guile," in my opinion, seem to differ on this account that we do evil in two ways: First, openly; and this he calls sin. Second, with good intention and appearance; and, because they do not know better, he calls this guile. For perchance they do not count it sin when they do evil under the appearance of good, as to pray for pride, glory, avarice, etc.

3. *Scholia on Psalm LXX* (71) — Look closely at each word. In the first place, no one can "hope in God" (71:1) who has not already despaired of Mammon, of the world, and even of himself.

And it cannot be said of him that he "is not confounded forever."

Neither can he, in the second place, be "delivered in the righteousness of God," since he surely does not hope in God, who justifies the wicked. So he cannot be "rescued." I imagine, moreover, that two words are used here — "deliver" and "rescue" — for this reason, that He saves not only from guilt but also from the wretchedness of sin. Because even after the guilt has been removed, we still have many of the effects from sin: namely, weakness in memory, blindness in intellect, concupiscence or disorder in will. From these three all sin originally proceeds. Moreover, these are the remnants of the original sin which has been removed in baptism. Or it may be put another way, thus: "Deliver," that is, my soul, by righteousness. Wherefore he says, "in Thy righteousness deliver me," not "in something else," if he wishes to be delivered by righteousness. Therefore, he wishes to be delivered from unrighteousness. For we are delivered from unrighteousness by righteousness, just as we are delivered from sickness by health and from ignorance by knowledge. Then he continues, "and rescue me"; that is, from this body, or, even, with respect to this body. For even when the soul is delivered by righteousness, we are still bound in the body to the dangers and captivity and exile of this life.

In the third place, no one can say, "and save me," except a man who knows and acknowledges himself to be weak and sick and damned. For this reason, those who seem to themselves to be saved and who are pleased with their soundness in the flesh, the world, and its riches, do not pray, even if they speak these words.

In the fourth place, now that he has been delivered, saved, justified, it remains that he be sent into battle and trial. There is need now of that Protector who was before a Savior. For He who begins is also the One who perfects. Therefore, "be Thou my God Protector" (71:3); that is, from attacks. Notice the wonderful construction of the phrase. He does not say only, "be Thou my Protector," nor only, "be Thou my God," but both at the same time. He is assailed by great danger, and so hard is this battle that he cannot hold his ground without God the Protector. For that strength by which the world is overcome is divine, nor can he stand by any other than divine help. How can anyone "who maketh flesh his arm" (Jer. 17:5) say this word?

It is necessary first of all, therefore, to abandon all things for God alone. He continues, "and be Thou a Fortress"; that is, where I might defend myself perseveringly, so that I, who am now saved by you in hope, might also be made safe in reality. For salvation in hope is vain unless it proceeds to that which is in reality. But for this there is need of God the Protector and Fortress, lest what is in hope should be lost or driven out by temptation. Again, this can be iteration. But I leave it, for it expresses the spirit together with the letter.

"My mouth shall proclaim Thy righteousness" (71:15). It is as if he would say: "I shall add Thy praise more and more" (71:14), because I boast of Thy righteousness and unseen salvation; since in the light of those things which are visible, all things appear to be wicked and lost. We are pierced through and we are slain; nevertheless, only thus are we saved. And when we praise Thee in such buffeting, we confess that this is salutary for us; but others do not think so who praise only the good which they see. So we are counted wicked, and yet this is our righteousness. And so, in evils always hoping, we add praise above all praise. What follows expresses the same thing. "Since I did not know what is written" is as if he were to say: I do not walk, as do they, in the letter and visible righteousness and law which Moses or man wrote. But I shall enter, I shall go within, I shall come inwardly into the spiritual righteousness, which is the excellence of Christ. This cannot be written in letters like the law of Moses. And this is the reason why I am counted unrighteous by those who have only the letter and written righteousness. But I am the more righteous by this means, the more I am counted lost by those who know only the literal and outward salvation, and in this alone praise God. But I do not acknowledge those contemptible things as salvation. It does not please me. Therefore, "I shall add Thy praise above all" that, and "shall come into the strength of the Lord."

"And into Thy righteousness unto the highest" (71:19). In this verse, finally, the correct distinction between the righteousness of God and human righteousness is presented. For God's righteousness reaches and extends even to the heaven of heavens. It is a righteousness unto the highest. The human, however, is not, but rather unto the lowest. It is so because "he who exalts himself is humbled, and he who humbles himself is exalted" (Luke 14:11). But God's righteousness is all this: namely, to humble oneself to the depths. For such a man attains to the highest, because he descends first to the very depths. And this expressly portrays Christ. He is the power of God and the righteousness of God because of the greatest and profoundest humiliation. For this reason He is now in the highest enjoying supreme glory.

4. *Scholia on Psalm LXXI* (72) —

- *Judgment*
  - *of men* — in thought, word, deed
    - *public*
      - just
      - unjust
    - *private*
      - thoughtless, unfair
      - true

    According to Scripture, moreover, the judgment of men is said to be that which is contrary to the judgment of God. For they think only of temporal goods when they call evil good, and good evil. Is. 5, (20). And it is the same with righteousness.
  - *of God*
    - *Anagogical:* What is called by others judgment of damnation. Also in the Scriptures (of the old law. But happily in the new) it is rarely called judgment. But more often "revelation of judment," Rom. 2, (5). And "day of retribution," Is. 61, (2).
    - *Allegorical:* (which is nevertheless literal according to prophecy). Others call this judment of discrimination and damnation: discrimination of the good, condemnation of the evil. And Christ, as God, executes this judgment in the church secretly; it is inscrutable. Nor does Scripture speak of it often. Yet there is another judgment which He executes openly.
    - *Tropological:* This is most frequently claimed in the Scriptures. This is that judgment by which God condemns, and causes to condemn, whatever we have of ourselves, the entire old man with his acts (even our own righteousness. Is. 64, (6)). And, properly, it is humility; nay, rather, humiliation. For not he who thinks himself humble, is just; but he who counts himself damnable and detestable in his own eyes (and damns, avenges, etc., his sins), this man is righteous. "For he that hath died, hath been justified." Rom. 8 (6, 7). *And for this token Scripture uses this word "judg-*

Judgment of God

ment" to express the true nature of humility, which is vilification and contempt and utter condemnation of oneself. (And also to justify God before those men to whom He appears unjust. "Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men": so "the wickedness of man is better than a pleasant-dealing woman" (Ecclus. 42: 14). And the injustice of God is better than the justice of men). *This is the case especially where the word is connected with "righteousness,"* as in Is. 9, (7): "to uphold it with judgment and righteousness." And in Is. 11, (4): "He shall try the poor in judgment, and with righteousness in behalf of the meek of the earth." And Ps. 88 (89:14): "righteousness and judgment are the preparation of Thy throne." And Ps. 94 (97:2): "righteousness and judgment are the correction of Thy throne." And Ps. 98 (99:4): "Thou executest judgment and righteousness in Jacob." And Ps. 32 (33:5): "He loveth mercy and judgment." And Ps. 36 (37:28): "since the Lord loveth judgment." And Ps. 98 (99:4): "the king's honor loveth judgment." And this is the judgment which all the prophets proclaim: that the Jews were detestable. And so they continue to do today. For "Moab is exceedingly proud" (Is. 16, 6). And they are seized in their pride. For "they shall not rise again in the judgment, etc." (Ps. 1:5). So Psalms 95 and 96: "He will judge the world with equity. He will judge the people with righteousness" (Ps. 96:13). And "He cometh to judge the earth, etc." (Ps. 98:9). So "if we judged ourselves, we would not be judged by the Lord" (I Cor. 11:31). For this is called the judgment of God. It is like the righteousness or virtue or wisdom of God. It is that by which we are wise, strong, just, and humble, or by which we are judged.

But because this judgment is accomplished in thought, word, and deed, just as any manner of power, therefore neither is sufficient without the other. Again, just as faith is received sometimes by an inner act, sometimes by the Gospel itself which instructs faith, or by the objects of faith; so judgment sometimes means the Gospel itself and the word of God, because it teaches us to exercise and employ such judgment. Ps. 18 (19:9): "the judgments of God are true, etc." Ps. 9 (10:5): "Thy judgments are removed beyond his face." Nay more, in every place "judgment" may be taken for the word of God [especially when it appears in the plural: "from Thy judgments I have not turned aside" (Ps. 119:102)]; for by Him are executed all the judgments of God which are executed, since the Son also is the judgment and word of the Father. Therefore, these three are one:

$$\left.\begin{cases}\text{judgment — word of God}\\ \text{judgment — damnation of self}\\ \text{judgment — such fulfillment in deed}\end{cases}\right\}\text{ so }\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{water}\\ \text{spirit}\\ \text{blood}\end{array}\right\}\begin{array}{c}\text{these three}\\ \text{are one.}\end{array}$$

the water — the fluid word on the lip
the spirit — in the heart
the blood — vengeance on the body

For whoever condemns and vilifies himself in his heart, ought also to show and manifest this in his body.

So tropologically this means "the two-edged swords in their hands; to execute vengeance upon the nations (that is, of the senses) and punishments upon the people (that is, of the impulses of the flesh); to bind their kings in schackles (that is, the members of sin ruling in man), and their nobles in fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgment written (that is, tropological). This glory belongs to all His saints" (Ps. 149:6-9). In other words, no one is holy when he glories in such glory. Confusion and ignominy would appear to men of their generation, because they do not know those things which are of the spirit.

It can also be understood allegorically in this fashion.

The righteousness of God, in the same way, is threefold. Tropologically it is faith in Christ, Rom. (1:17): "for the righteousness of God is revealed in the Gospel from faith to faith." And this is the most frequent use in the Scriptures. Allegorically, it is the whole church. As the apostle says, "that we might be the righteousness of God in Christ" (II Cor. 5:21). Anagogically, God Himself is in the church triumphant. But just as righteousness has respect rather to good men, and is in them, so judgment has respect rather to evil men, and is in them. For judgment calls to damnation, just as righteousness to salvation. Corollary: Those prayers in the Psalms are very tender, if they are spoken at least in a mood of prayer, and are not offered in the tenor of prophecy: "Judge me, O Lord" Ps. 43:11). "Judge the earth" (Ps. 82:8). "He will judge the world, etc." (Ps. 96:13). For then they are always to be understood as referring to tropological judgment, so that the sense is: Judge me, O Lord; that is, give me true humility and mortification of my flesh, condemnation of myself, that so through Thee I might be saved in spirit. So also, Judge the earth, O Lord; that is, teach them to have a low opinion of themselves, to damn and crucify their vices, etc. So they are also spoken prophetically. Such are the terrible words, burdened with horror, that the sense is: Thou shalt judge and damn them, etc. And they are to be understood as anagogical judgment.

(Corollary 1.) The law of Christ, the law of peace, the law of grace, the Gospel— it is called by many other names: such as "the way of the Lord," Ps. 24 (25:10): "all the ways of the Lord are lovingkindness and truth" (that is, "grace and truth through Christ Jesus," John 1). So in Is. 55, (9): "As far as the heaven is above the earth, so are My ways above your ways." And Ps. 70 (71:19): "Thy righteousness is very high." Ps. 103 (103:11f): "As far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our iniquities from us. As far as the heavens are high above the earth, so hath He established His lovingkindness toward them that fear Him"; that is, He has exalted grace above the level of the letter, because the letter is the "law of sin and death" (Rom. 8, 2). Now, then, is it strange that grace, or the law of grace (for it is the same), is judgment and righteousness? This should be noted: It is undoubtedly so because He judges and justifies whoever believes in Him. Hence any word of God whatsoever is judgment.

Moreover, He judges in three ways:

First, tropologically: because He condemns the works of the flesh and the world. For He shows that all things which are in us in the world are abominable and damnable before the face of God. So whoever clings to Him by faith, necessarily is exposed to himself as vile and nothing, as abominable and damnable. This is true humility. Whence also the nature and property of humility is very aptly expressed by this word. *For it is not he who makes himself, or says he is, or counts himself, humble; but rather he who shows that he is vile and damnable, and this not only by thought and word, but also in deed.* (And this, of which he speaks here, is judgment.) Wherefore the castigation and crucifixion of the flesh, and the condemnation of all those things which are in the world, are judgments of God. They work in those who are His through judgment; that is, through the Gospel and His grace. And so righteousness is produced. For whoever is unrighteous in his own eyes, and so humbled before the face of God — to him does God grant His grace. And this is the way in which it is frequently expressed in Scriptures. So, tropologically, righteousness is faith in Christ, Rom. 1:(17): "The righteousness of God is revealed in Him, etc."

Second, allegorically: because just as He distinguishes between the flesh and the spirit and divides their works, approving some for justification and condemning others for reprobation (nay, rather condemning all our works, even our righteousness); so also He distinguishes between those who believe and those who do not believe. For the grace or the law of Christ is not given to any and every one indifferently, as temporal gifts were once given under the law and still are given now. These things God seems to give without judgment to all men, as much to wicked as to good men. It was this that made the Jews complain, Ezek. (18:25, 29): "the way of the Lord is not equal." It was this that brought forth that proverb: "The fathers have eaten a cluster of grapes, etc." (Jer. 31:29). [And Jer. 23:(33): they said, "The word of the Lord is a burden." And he countered, "Every man's own word shall be his burden" (Jer. 23, 36)]. He also gave evil indifferently to good and evil men. And so God has seemed to have no discrimination. Now, the Gospel, on the contrary, is spiritual good. Consequently, with the most precise discrimination, it is given only to the good, while spiritual evil is given only to the wicked, just as he declares in this same passage. *And accordingly it is called a judgment of God,* because it is contrary to the judgment of men. For He damns what men choose, and elects what men damn. And this judgment is shown to us in the cross of Christ. Because even as He died and was rejected by the people, so must we bear the same judgment, be crucified, and die spiritually, as the apostle explains in Rom. 6 and 8 (6:4f; 8:10f).

It is to be observed, moreover, that when I say the Gospel is judgment and righteousness, it is to be understood of the full and fulfilled Gospel. For it is the fulfilled Gospel actually perfected which is the judgment and the righteousness by which Christ rules the church.

Otherwise, if it is taken only for the word Gospel, then it is only that judgment and righteousness which shows what must be condemned and what must be chosen. I express it thus, in our fashion of speaking: the Gospel is really and formally judgment and righteousness when it is lived in deed as it teaches us. Moreover, it is ostensibly and doctrinally judgment and righteousness when it teaches us so to live. For those who fulfill the Gospel are not under the law. Because the law is not above them, since they have fulfilled it and have now been made equal to it. The law does not have dominion over those, nor is above those, who fulfill it. Rather do they rise up to it and reach it.

(The fulfillment of the law is the death of the law. Rom. 7:(1): "for so long time as man liveth").

(Corollary 2.) (Because when the Gospel is fulfilled in deed, then the word of God is always spiritually incarnate. For a work is like flesh. And the word of God is like the Son of God. Wherefore the Gospel fulfilled is judgment and righteousness; it is the work of God, the way of God, etc., just as Christ is literally all of these things in His person).

Consequently whoever wishes intelligently to understand the apostle and the other writings, must understand all these things tropologically: truth, wisdom, virtue, salvation, righteousness are means by which He makes us strong, saved, just, wise, etc. So the works of God, the ways of God: all these things Christ is literally. And faith in Him is all these things morally.

Judgment and righteousness are very rarely (anagogically *deleted*) taken in the Scriptures of the old law to have literal reference to the future, but very frequently — always, in fact — are taken tropologically and morally and allegorically. The reason for this is that the old law, strictly speaking, prophesied only the first coming of Christ, in which Christ reigns in benign and salutary judgment, because it is the advent of grace and benignity. So the apostle says, Rom. 3:(21f): "the righteousness of God hath been witnessed by the law and the prophets, even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ." However, the new law, properly speaking, does prophesy concerning future judgment and righteousness. For it prophesies the second coming of Christ, which will be a judgment of severity and an eternal punishment, as is clear from many authorities. John 6 (5:27): "He gave Him power to execute Thy judgment." And I Tim. (II Tim. 4:1): "Who shall judge the living and the dead, etc."

And Rom. 2:(5): "in the revelation of the righteous judgment of God."

Moreover, what is said here of benign judgment, appears from the word: "He will judge the poor people" (Ps. 72:4). For He condemns those whom He saves, etc. Likewise, "judge Thy people with righteousness": but He judges the wicked with their unrighteousness. And he does well to say "judge," because Christ does not receive judgment from the Father in vain; nor for Himself alone, but rather for us. For "to judge Thy people," he says.

"He descends like the rain on the grass," etc. (Ps. 72:6). First, He will be incarnate without human work. Wherefore also Micah 5 (5:7) says of the apostles: "The remnant of Jacob shall be in the midst of many peoples as dew from the Lord and as showers upon the grass; they do not tarry for men, nor wait for the sons of men." For just as Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit, so anyone who has faith is justified and reborn, not by any human work, but alone by the grace of God and by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

He shall be	"a means of support" (Septuagint) "a memorable wheat" (Jerome) "an abundance of wheat" (Lyra) "a wheat cake" (Burgensis) "a particle of wheat" (Kimchi)	"*in the earth on the top of the mountains*" (Ps. 72:16); in Chaldean, "on the heads of the priests." All of which agrees together. For he said the apostles and their successors are "over the mountains." But the top, or summit, of the mountains is their head. Moreover, on this summit Christ, in the sacrifice of the Mass, is the grain and bread of heaven under the sacramental form.

First, it is "a means of support," because "bread strengtheneth man's heart," Ps. 103 (104:15). And in this sacrament Christ is the only and unique support of the whole Christian faith and religion. Take away the sacrament, says Bonaventure, and there will be a confused paganism and idolatry throughout the whole church.

Second, it is "a memorable wheat," because it was instituted in memory of the Lord's Passion. Therefore it is called a "memorial of the Lord."

Third, it is "an abundance," because such a sacrament is abundantly observed in all lands.

Fourth, it is "a cake." This expresses, rather, the form and figure (the rite and ceremonies) of the sacrament.

Fifth, it is "a particle." This shows the quantity of bread. But that the Septuagint has preferred to call it "a means of support," was done for this reason, that it might not, by being clear, betray such a sacred sacrament to the Gentiles.

II. Selections from Luther's Lecture on Romans 1515-1516*

1. *Chapter 1:1* — Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ. The sum of this epistle is: to destroy, root out, and extirpate all the wisdom and righteousness of the flesh — be it ever so great in the eyes of men or even in our sight; though it be done ever so earnestly and sincerely — and to implant, establish, and magnify sin — whether it does not exist at all, or whether one only thinks that it exists. Hence, St. Augustine says, in chapter 7 of his book "On the Spirit and the Letter": The Apostle Paul "strives earnestly against the proud and arrogant men and those who boast of their own works," etc. "And so in the Epistle to the Romans this question is dealt with almost exclusively, so stubbornly and extensively as to fatigue the attention of the reader; nevertheless, it is a useful and salutary fatigue." Among the Jews and the heathen there are and there have been many who thought it was enough if one possessed virtue and knowledge, not for appearance's sake and to please men, but from the inmost heart, as is also the case with many philosophers. But, even though it may well be that they did not assert such righteousness in the presence of men or boast of it, but adhered to it because of a real love for virtue and wisdom (they were among the best and most sincere of men, but, with the exception of Socrates, very few of them are known), nevertheless, they could not inwardly refrain from being pleased with themselves, and at least in their own hearts pride themselves that they were wise, righteous, and good men. Of such the Apostle says: "Professing themselves to be wise they became fools" (Rom. 1:22).

Here, however, the very opposite is to be taught. For in the Church we are concerned not only that our righteousness and wisdom be annulled and consequently neither vauntingly exalted nor idolized in fancy; no, that is not so much its concern (on the contrary, according to the Gospel, the light that is kindled must not be put under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house, and a city seated on a mountain cannot be hid, Matt. 5:14, 15); it is rather concerned that our righteousness and wisdom be destroyed and rooted out of our hearts and out of our inward self-complacency that makes such a show before our eyes. For, if in our eyes we have little regard for it, then it will be easy not to care at all about the opinion or the praise of others. As He spoke through the prophet Jer. (1:10): "That you may root up, pull down, and waste, and destroy," namely, everything that is in us (that is, all with which we are pleased because it originates in us and lies in us), and "build and plant," namely, everything that is outside of us in Christ. That is also the intention of Daniel's figure of the stone that shattered the statue, Dan. 2, 34. For God would save us, not through our own, but through another righteousness and wisdom, through a righteousness that does not come out of us or originate in us, but which comes to us from elsewhere, which originates not upon earth, but comes from heaven. This righteousness, which is altogether external and alien to us, is the righteousness that must be taught. And therefore our own personal righteousness must first be rooted out, as it says in Ps. 45:11: "Forget thy people and thy house, etc."; and as Abraham was called to go forth (Gen. 12:1); and in the Song of Solomon it says: "Come from Lebanon, my spouse, thou shalt be crowned" (Song of Sol. 4:8). And every exodus of the people of Israel in olden times also had this significance. They are usually interpreted as the way from vice to virtue. But they ought rather to be interpreted as the way from the virtues to the grace of Christ, since such virtues are just so much the greater and worse vices the less they are considered to be vices, and the more strongly they bind themselves to the human affections, more than all other goods are able to do. So the right side of the Jordan feared much more than the left, Josh. 3:16; cp. Ps. 114:5. But now Christ would have us to be so free and divested of all our desires that we should fear no shame on account of our sins, and that we should not love praise and be vainly pleased because of our virtues, but rather that we should also not boast before men of the righteousness that is in us from the outside, from Christ, nor withdraw ourselves from the sufferings and evils which come upon us on account of Him. On the contrary, a true Christian must have nothing of his own, must have divested himself so completely of all things that, whether in honor or ignominy, he remains always the same, knowing that the honor shown him was not really shown to him but to Christ, whose righteousness and gifts shine in him, and that the ignominy inflicted upon him was inflicted upon him and Christ. But of course it requires much practice (exclusive of spiritual grace) to achieve such perfection. For, though one may, thanks to his natural and spiritual gifts, be wise and righteous and perfect in the eyes of men, yet God does not recognize him as such, especially if he esteems himself as such. Therefore one must keep oneself in humility in all things, as though heretofore one had nothing whatsoever, and wait for the pure mercy of God by which one is accounted righteous and wise. God does this when we ourselves are humble and do not prevent Him from doing it by our self-justification and self-esteem, as though we already were somebody, as it says in I Cor. 4:3-5: "Neither do I judge my own self, . . . but he that judgeth me is the Lord; therefore judge not before the time," etc. Of course, there are many who think nothing of the goods to the left, that is, temporal goods, and willingly sacrifice them for God's sake, as do even the Jews and heretics; but there are very few who also reckon as of no account the goods at the right, that is, spiritual goods and righteous works, in order to acquire the righteousness of Christ. This the Jews and heretics cannot do. Nevertheless, so it is, even if none is saved. They are always wishing and wanting that their own (righteousness and wisdom) should be recognized and rewarded in the sight of God. But the sentence remains fixed: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," Rom. 9:16.

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* Translated from Johannes Ficker, Luthers Vorlesung ueber den Roemerbrief, 1908.

2. *Chapter 1:16.* For it is the power of God. . . . . Whence it follows in conclusion: He who believes the Gospel must become weak and foolish in the eyes of men in order to be strong and wise in the power and wisdom of God. For in I Cor. 1:27, 25, it says: "The weak and the foolish things of the world hath God chosen in order that he may confound the strong and the wise. For the weakness and foolishness of God is stronger and wiser than men." So when you hear that the power of God is so lightly rejected, know that here the power of man or the world and the flesh is at work. Therefore all power, wisdom, and righteousness must be hidden and buried; it must not appear, just like

the image and similitude of Christ, who emptied Himself in such wise that He totally hid the power, wisdom and goodness, but rather showed the weakness and foolishness and severity. In like manner he who is strong, wise, and amiable must possess these things as though he really did not have them. Hence the life of princes and jurists and those who must maintain themselves by power and wisdom is threatened by the greatest perils. For if these are not apparent or are obscured even in the slightest degree, then they are not respected at all. But if they are apparent, behold, then death is in the pot (II Kings 4:40), especially if in their hearts they are pleased that they are taking the eye of the people and are honored by them. For it is hard to hide and despise in one's own heart what among all men enjoys public appreciation.

3. *Chapter 1:17* — The righteousness of God is revealed. In human doctrines the righteousness of man is revealed and taught, that is, who is righteous and in what way one is righteous or can become so in his own eyes and in the eyes of men. But only in the Gospel is the righteousness of God revealed, that is, who is righteous and in what way one is righteous or can become so in the eyes of God, namely, solely through the faith by which one believes the Word of God. As it says at the end of Mark: "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned" (Mark 16:16). For the righteousness of God is the cause of salvation. But here again, the righteousness of God is not to be understood as the righteousness by which one becomes righteous of himself, but that by which we are made righteous by Him; and that is done through faith in the Gospel. St. Augustine, therefore, says in the eleventh chapter of 'On the Spirit and the Letter': "Righteousness of God means the righteousness which God bestows in order by it to make righteous men. Just as it is said 'Salvation to the Lord,' because He saves us by it." And he says the same thing in the ninth chapter of the same book. It is called God's righteousness to distinguish it from man's righteousness, which comes from works. Just as Aristotle clearly describes it in Book III of his Ethics, according to which, righteousness follows and comes out of works. But according to God, it precedes the works and the works grow out of it. So it is also with the office of a bishop or priest; no one can exercise it unless he has first been consecrated and sanctified thereto. Righteous works done

by those who are not yet righteous are like the acts of a man who performs the acts of a priest or bishop, though he is not a priest at all. In other words, such works are foolish, laughable, and like the antics of a quack.

4. *Chapter 1:23* — And they changed the glory. . . . How many there are even today who revere Him, not as God, but as they themselves have imagined Him! Look at the oddities and superstitious customs which are utterly empty! Or does it not mean to change the glory of God for the likeness of an image or a phantasm when you dismiss what you ought to do and honor Him with work of your own choice and still imagine that He is such that He will accommodate Himself to you and your wishes, that is, just as though He were other than He has clearly revealed Himself to you in His Law? And so even today, many are abandoned to self-conceit and a depraved way of thinking.

5. *Chapter 3:7* — For if the truth of God . . . . So it is with the godless and the proud; though in the eyes of God they are sick, they, nevertheless, look upon themselves as the most healthy of people. Hence they not only reject God as a physician, but they also consider Him a fool and a liar because He presumes to heal them, the healthiest people in the world, just as though they were sick. They do not, however, thereby denounce God absolutely, as He is in His essence, (because no creature, yea, not even any evil whatsoever can do that), but they turn against God in His words. Therefore he adds pertinently, "that thou mayest be justified in thy words." For the words of God, which have gone out from Him to them, are held to be foolish, untrue, and senseless, as though they were not God's words. He purposed to heal them through His Word; but they deny their sickness, think Him foolish and even more sick than they; they resist Him, contradict, judge and condemn Him. But in vain, for His words gain the victory when they are so judged, or rather, God gains the victory in His words when they judge Him in them. In that they reject Him it becomes manifest that they hold Him to be foolish, senseless, and powerless, while of themselves they publicly profess to love nothing but wisdom, power, and truth. It is as though they said: Can he be wise who denounces us as fools? no, rather He is Himself a fool, since we hold only to the truth and follow it. The same applies to all the rest. Can he (that is, God or His Word) really be righteous, strong, etc. who denounces us as liars, unrighteous, and weak,

when we hold only to truth, righteousness, and power? Is it not rather He who is such, since He does not know, as we do, where alone such goods lie? So they said of Christ in the Gospels in the same way: "We know that this man is a sinner" (John 9:24), and again, "This man is not from God" (John 9:16). Hence it says also in Ps. 4:6: "Many say, who showeth us good things?" as though they said, Since we know the good ourselves, he who presumes to teach us is in error; he cannot show us the good, as it says in John 9:40: "Are we also blind? And Jesus said to them: If you were blind, you should not have sin; but now you say: We see, your sin remaineth."

We conclude, therefore: God in His words can be wise, righteous, true, strong, and good, etc., only when we believe on Him, submit to Him, and thus confess that we are foolish, unrighteous, deceitful, weak, and wicked. Wherefore humility and faith is necessary. These words refer solely to humility and faith; they are the sole concern here, that we should be emptied of ourselves and become as nothing and all things become null and void, and say with the prophet: "Against thee only have I sinned . . . that thou mayest be justified in thy words," Ps. 51:4. Before Thee am I foolish and weak that Thou mayest be wise and strong in Thy words. So the whole creation teaches us also, to wit: Only those who are ill need a physician (Matt. 9:12), only the lost sheep is sought (cp. Luke 15:4), only the captive is freed (cp. Luke 4:18; Is. 61:1), only he who is poor is enriched, only the weak are given strength, only the humble are exalted (cp. Luke 1:52), only that which is empty is filled, and only that which is cast down is lifted up. And, as the philosophers say, material cannot be given form, unless it first be formless, or unless its previous form be done away. And: the intellect as pure capability (intellectus possibilis) cannot receive form, unless in principle it lacks all form and is like a blank tablet (tabula rasa).

Hence, if all creation speaks thus, it is impossible for one who is full of his own righteousness to be filled with the righteousness of God, Who fills only those who hunger and thirst. Therefore, one who is replete with his own truth and wisdom is incapable of grasping the truth and wisdom of God, for only where there is emptiness and vacuum can these be received. Let us, therefore, say to God: O how gladly would we be empty that Thou mayst be full in us! How gladly am I weak that Thy strength may dwell in me! How gladly am I a sinner, that Thou mayest be justified in me! Gladly am I foolish, that Thou mayst be my wisdom! Gladly am I unrighteous, that Thou mayst by my righteousness! See, that is the meaning of the words: "Against thee have I sinned . . . that thou mayest be justified in thy words."

In summary, therefore, God is justified in three ways.

First, when He punishes the unrighteous, for He thereby shows that He is righteous, and His righteousness is revealed and confirmed by our punished unrighteousness. But that is an inadequate confirmation, for the godless man punishes the godless.

Secondly, in a different way, that is, incidentally or relatively. Just as contraries become more conspicuous when one is placed next to the other than when they stand alone, so the righteousness of God is so much the more fair the fouler our unrighteousness is. The Apostle, however, does not treat of this at this point, for that is God's inward and essential righteousness.

Third, when He justifies the godless and infuses grace, or when one believes that He is righteous in His words. Through such faith He justifies, i. e. He recognizes as just; whence this righteousness is called the righteousness of faith or the righteousness of God. Just as, in like manner, a good artist can recommend himself in three ways: first, when he exposes and rebukes the unskilled when they make a mistake; second, when he shows himself to be more able in comparison with them; third, when he transmits the perfection of his art to others who before did not have it. That is the real proof of his skill! For, to criticize others and to appear to be an artist is not to be a praiseworthy artist; but to make artists of others, that is to be a true artist. So God the Righteous is praiseworthy by reason of what He does in us. But just as the unskilled refuse to be taught, so the proud do not want to be justified.

Appendix (in re chapter 3:4). Through "God's becoming righteous," however, are we justified, and this passive justification of God, by which He is declared just by us, is our own justification, which is done upon us actively by God. For He counts as righteousness that faith which declares His words righteous, as is said in chapter 4:5, which is the same as "The just shall live by faith" (Rom. 1:17). Or conversely: The passive judgment of God, by which He is judged by the unbelieving, is itself its own condemnation. For He counts their unbelief, by which they judge and condemn His words, as unrighteousness and condemnation. With this accords the Hebrew text (Ps. 51:4), which reads: "Against thee have I sinned, therefore wilt thou justify," that is, bring about justification, "in thy word and wilt make clean when thou shalt be judged." That is to say, He justifies and conquers in His word, when He makes of us men who are like His word, namely, righteous, true, wise, etc. Thus He changes us in His word, but He does not change His word in us. He makes us such, however, when we believe that His word is such, namely, righteous and true. For then the word and the believer have the same form, to wit, the form of truth and righteousness. Therefore, in that He is declared to be just, He justifies, and in that He justifies, He is declared to be just. Hence, what is expressed in the Hebrew by the active form is expressed by the passive in our translation.

But God wins the victory, i. e. preveals, and will ultimately expose as deceitful and false all who do not believe, that is, those who by their judging have sullied Him, as can be seen in the case of the Jews, and as will be even more manifest in the Judgment. The Hebrew, therefore, has it: "And thou wilt make clean," that is, accomplish a cleansing, "when thou shalt be judged," that is, Thou wilt make clean Thy word and those who believe on it and Thyself in them at the same time, and vindicate them over against the reproach of the lie, which those unbelievers set up. But these Thou wilt disgrace even more, that is, Thou wilt expose them as filthy liars. That, however, means that their unbelief does not cancel the faithfulness of God.

Appendix. The passive and active justification of God and faith or confidence in Him are one and the same thing. For the fact that we justify His word is His gift, and on account of this gift He counts us as righteous, i. e. justifies us. And we do not justify His words except as we believe that they are just, etc.

Appendix (in re chapter 3:5). Even if we recognize no sin in ourselves, we must, nevertheless, believe that we are sinners. Wherefore the Apostle says: "I am not conscious to myself of anything, yet am I not hereby justified," I Cor. 4:4. For just as righteousness dwells in us through faith, so sin also dwells in us through the same faith, that is, only faith tells us that we are sinners. It is not at all obvious to us, indeed, more often we are not in the least conscious of guilt. It behooves us, therefore, to let God's judgment stand and believe His words in which He pronounces us unrighteous; for He cannot lie. Hence, it cannot be otherwise; it must be so, even though it does not appear to be so. "Faith is the evidence of things that appear not," Heb. 11:1, and faith can be satisfied only with the words of God. It is just in this humiliation and this judgment that, as was prophesied, the lordship of Christ will consist. Thus: "He judges among the nations," Ps. 110:6. And "there the seats have sat in judgment," Ps. 122:5. For we must constantly accuse, judge, condemn, and confess ourselves evil-doers, in order that God may be justified in us. From the same confession come such words as: "From my secret ones clease me. Who can understand sins?" Ps. 19:12. Likewise: "Remember not my ignorance," Ps. 25:7.

But this must be exceedingly well pondered, that it is not enough to confess oneself a sinner, as unrighteous and deceitful and foolish only with the mouth; for what could be easier than that, especially when you have found peace and are free of tribulation? Nay, when you have thus confessed yourself a sinner with the mouth, then you must also steadfastly think of yourself as such in your heart and conduct yourself accordingly in all your acts and life. Hence it is very rare for anyone to acknowledge and believe himself to be a sinner. For how can he confess himself a sinner who will not endure one word directed against him, against his actions and his plans, but at once flares up passionately, and will not confess himself a liar even with his mouth, but, on the contrary, contends that he is a well-doer and that it is unfair to oppose him and wrong to reprobate him. But as soon as he is forced to endure the one or the other he goes off his head and bothers everyone else with the complaint that of all people the injury is done to him alone. Look at the hypocrite, who has confessed himself a sinner, and now he is utterly unwilling to do and suffer what befits a sinner, but only that which befits a just man or a saint.

So we are all quick to say: I am the most miserable of sinners, but none, or only the rare one, wants to conduct himself as a sinner should. For what is it to be a sinner if not to be worthy of every punishment, every confusion. To confess oneself a sinner with the mouth, but in fact not want to do, that is hypocrisy, a lie. For to the just man belong peace, praise, honor, and all good things. Hence, if you deny that you are just, then you must also forego those good things. And, if you confess yourself a sinner, then you must willingly embrace punishment, injustice, and ignominy as your own deserts; but you must flee from those other good things as from strange goods which belong to the just alone. Therefore when you meet with contumely or insults, blows, injustice, injuries, and sickness and you say: I have not deserved it, why should I endure it; this is an injustice to me; I am innocent; do you not convict yourself a liar with your own mouth? With all these sufferings (which are, as it were, His words, for "he speaks and it is done," Ps. 33:9). God proves and confirms your sinfulness, for He inflicts upon you what is due a sinner. And yet He cannot err or lie. But you rise up in passionate protest and resist Him and fight against Him just as though He were acting evilly, foolishly, and falsely. And so you are like those of whom it is said above: "They that are contentious, who believe not the truth, but believe unrighteousness," Rom. 2:8. For neither do you believe the truth (that is, that which God in His truth visits upon you).

But if, when those sufferings come, you say: Good! I really deserve it; it is my just due; I freely admit that all these things are just and true, for I am actually a sinner; in any case I have sinned against Thee, so that these Thy works and Thy word are justified, O Thou true and just God! Thou dost not err in me; it is not a lie in Thee, for as Thou revealest me to be a sinner by means of these trials, it is true, I am actually such. See! that is what it means to say: "Against thee alone have I sinned and done evil before thee, that thou mayst be justified in thy words," Ps. 51:4. Just as it says in the third chapter of Daniel: "Everything that thou hast done to us, Lord thou hast done to us in true judgment, for we have sinned against thee (Dan. 3:31, 29 Vulgate). It is the same as when two men quarrel over something and one of them humbly gives in and says: I will gladly give in, in order that you may be just and true; I acknowledge that I have erred, that I have done wrong, in order that you may be right in your conduct and thought. Will he not say: I have erred against you so that you may be right in your judgment? Then they will be of one mind, they, who otherwise would have remained in constant strife and discord. So! only don't be wise all by yourself!

That is why I said how seldom it happens and how hard it is to become a sinner and say this verse rightly and from the heart. For no one wants to be contradicted in what he thinks of himself, no one wants to see his conduct reproved and his counsel undervalued. Nevertheless, if one would do it, saying: Teach me, I pray, I would do otherwise, yea, gladly, and so be neither on the one side nor the other, how blessed he would be! But the pride of our thought and will is all too deeply rooted. No one is free from this disease in all respects, especially when misfortune comes suddenly.

But now it still remains to be said: In what way must a man become a sinner spiritually? Not in any natural way. No, he does not become a sinner thus, but rather every man is already a sinner. On the contrary, the whole force of this transformation lies in the hidden depths of the mind, that is, in the estimate or valuation which we put upon ourselves. To change this attitude of mind is the purpose of every word of God and every work of God. It is the "evil eye" (cp. Matt. 20:15) and the (humanly speaking) incorrigible conceit of human nature. Hence the saying of the Blessed Virgin: "He hath showed strength in his arm; he hath scattered the proud in the conceit of their heart" (Luke 1:51), that is, in their self-complacent attitude and estimate, which is opposed to God. This attitude of mind is also called "the counsel of the ungodly," Ps. 1:1, and, mystically interpreted, "the golden calf" in the wilderness (Ex. 32), and also the idols Baal and Moloch etc.; and in this sense "the wicked shall not rise again in judgment," Ps. 1:5. Therefore, to become a sinner means to destroy this attitude of mind in which we stubbornly imagine that our life and speech and conduct are good and holy and righteous, and to put on a new attitude (which comes from God), in which we believe from the heart that we are sinners and that our conduct, speech, and life is evil and that we have gone astray, and in which we thus accuse, judge, condemn, and detest ourselves. "He that doeth these things shall never be moved," Ps. 15:5.

To be sure, these words must be rightly undersood, that is, not in the sense that righteous, good, and holy works are to be rejected, as though they were to be omitted; no, that applies only in so far as the inward attitude, the estimate and valuation we put upon them is concerned. That is, we must not put our trust in them, esteem them and ascribe such value to them as though with them we were sufficiently righteous to stand in the presence of God. It is this false attitude, this foolish estimation alone that is to be hooted off the stage by these words. For the rest, however, such works ought to be practised with utmost diligence and all fervor to the end that, as by a sort of preparatory process, we may become fit and capable of receiving the righteousness of God, not that the works are our righteousness, but that they seek after righteousness. And if we do not ascribe them to ourselves as righteousness, forthwith they are no longer our righteousness. With all these works we must prepare the way of the Lord, Who wishes to enter into us (cp. Is. 40:3; Matt. 3:3; Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4). They are not the way of the Lord, however. The way is the righteousness of God, which the present Lord, and He alone, works in us afterwards.

6. *Chapter 3:9* — That they are all under sin. This whole passage must be understood as being spoken in the Spirit, that is, he does not speak of men as they are in their own eyes and in the presence of men, but as they are before God, where they are all under sin, those who are manifestly wicked in the sight of men, as well as those who appear to be good in their own eyes and in the eyes of men.

The reason for this is that those who are manifestly wicked sin in both sides of their human nature; they lack even the semblance of righteousness even in their own judgment. But those who appear to be outwardly good both to themselves and to men sin in the inner man. For even though outwardly they do good works, they do it from motives of fear of punishment or love of lucre, desire for praise, or some other creaturely desire, but not willingly and cheerfully. And so the outward man is constantly practicing good works, but the inner man fairly bubbles over with sinful desires and lusts, which tend to the contrary. For if he could do it with impunity or if he knew that no laurels or peace would reward him, he would rather omit the good and do evil. What difference then is there before God between him who does evil and him who wants to do evil, even if he does not do it in fact, being held back by fear or because he is dazzled by the alluring prospect of temporal goods? But then he is in the saddest plight of all, if besides he looks upon such outward righteousness as sufficient and resists those who would instruct the inner man, and if, when he is reproached, he defends himself or feels that it was not meant for him, although, as a matter of fact, he is not reproached because he has not done something, but because he does not act out of a simple heart and does not amend his will, which lusts after the opposite of what he does. For now his works are doubly evil, first because they are not done out of good will and are therefore evil, and second, because in a new pride they are held to be good and are defended. Thus it says in Jer. 2:13: "A double sin have my people sinned against me, etc." Therefore, if that will is not cured by the grace of God (which He has promised and which He bestows upon those who believe in Christ), so that we set about those works of the Law freely and cheerfully, seeking nothing but to please God and do His will, not on account of fear of punishment, nor motivated by self-love, then we are forever under sin.

7. *Chapter 3:10* — There is none righteous. Here let every one take heed and open his eyes and pay the strictest attention. For the righteous man is rare, whom the Apostle here seeks. That is the case because it is so rarely that we examine ourselves so profoundly as to recognize this infirmity of the will, yea, this disease of the will. Hence it is so seldom that we humble ourselves, so seldom that we seek in the right way after the grace of God, because we lack the insight which is here spoken of. Indeed, so subtle is this disease that it cannot be fully grasped even by the most spiritual of men. That is why the truly just lament and pray so fervently for the grace of God, not only because they see that they have an evil will and are therefore sinful in the sight of God, but also because they see that they can never fully understand how profoundly and boundlessly corrupt their will is. Wherefore they believe that they are always sinners, just as though their will were of an infinite baseness. So they humble themselves and pour out their sorrows and supplications till at length they are perfectly healed, which is done in death. And thus it is that we sin always and in many things offend (James 3:2) and "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves," I John 1:8. By way of example: Who is there who has such a will that he does good and omits to do evil who would continue to act in the same way if there were no command or prohibition? I believe that if we would examine our hearts in the right way no one would find such a will in himself, unless he were altogether perfect; no, rather he would find, if it were possible, that he had omitted much good and done much evil. That is what it is to be in sin before God, Whom we

are bound to serve freely with this very will of which we spoke. Therefore, "there is no just man on earth that doeth good and sinneth not," Eccl. 7:20. Thus it is the just who always confess themselves sinners, Ps. 32:6: "For this shall every one that is holy pray in a seasonable time." Indeed, who knows or can know, even if he imagines that he does good and omits evil with such a will, whether it is really so, since God alone can judge of that and we ourselves cannot presume to judge on this point, according to the Apostle, I Cor. 4:7: "Who maketh thee to differ?" and "Judge not before the time," I Cor. 4:5. If some actually do imagine that they possess such a will, then it is a perilous presumption, in which most of them fall victim to an utterly cunning deception. They are confident that they already have the grace of God, then they omit to examine the secret inward parts, and daily they become more lukewarm and finally literally die. If they would ask themselves whether they were moved to do good and omit evil by fear of punishment or love of honor or shame or applause, or some other desire, they would undoubtedly discover that they were in fact moved by the above-mentioned motives, and not by the will of God alone; or at least they would know that they had no certainty whatsoever that they had acted thus out of love for God. But if this did begin to dawn on them (and they *must* discover it), then they would most certainly be terrified, since there is nothing in us of which we can be proud as a superiority, but only evil, seeing that we are by nature evil of ourselves; they would humble themselves and evermore seek after the grace of God with sigh and supplication, and so make constant progress. For when we are commanded to hope, we are certainly not commanded to hope that we have acted as we actually had to act, rather we should hope that the merciful God, who alone fathoms this abyss of our nature (whose surface, in our eyes, is covered with darkness), will not account it to us as sin if only we confess it. Thus Job says: "Though I were blameless, even this my soul would ignore," Job 9:21. And again: "I feared all my works," etc., Job 9:28. That is, he could not know whether he had not acted out of duplicity and whether, he had not, with an utterly secret cupidity, sought after his own ends. Therefore that word of Seneca is a word of overweening pride and sinful through and through: "Even if I were sure that men would not learn of it and that the gods would pardon it, I would still not wish to commit sin."

In the first place, it is quite impossible that man should have this will of himself, since he always inclines to the evil, indeed so much, that without the grace of God he cannot even stir himself up to do a good work. Therefore, he still does not know himself who presumes so much concerning himself. It is true, of course, I grant you, that one can do or will do some good with such an attitude of mind, but not all. We are not so utterly inclined toward evil but that there is not a remnant in us that is turned towards the good, as is evident in our conscience. In the second place, when he says that he would not commit sin even if he knew that the gods would pardon him and that men knew nothing of it, did he also have the courage to say that he would do good even if he knew that neither the gods nor men took any notice? If he does have the courage, then by that token he is an arrogant man, for under no circumstances would he avoid boastfulness and vanity, at least by himself, in which he would show that he is pleased with himself. For man can seek only that which is his; he can love only himself above all things. Therein lies the root and essence of all sinfulness. Therefore such men seek, even in their good and virtuous acts, only to please and applaud themselves.

8. *In re Chapter 4:7* — Because the saints always have their sin before them and beg for righteousness from God according to His mercy, therefore they will also always be accounted as righteous by God. Thus in their own eyes and in reality they are unrighteous; with God, however, who counts them as righteous because of the confession of their sin, they are righteous. In reality they are sinners, but righteous in the reckoning of the merciful God. Without knowing it they are righteous, but knowingly they are unrighteous; sinners in reality, but righteous in hope. That is what he means by the words: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered." Hence it continues: "I said I will confess my transgressions which are before me to the Lord," Ps. 32:1, 5. (That is, I will always have my sin before my eyes, that I may confess it to Thee). And therefore "Thou forgavest me the iniquity of my sin," not only me, but all. Hence it continues: "for this shall every one that is holy pray to thee," Ps. 32:6. See! every saint is a sinner and prays for his sins. And so at bottom the righteous man is his own accuser. And again: "The righteous will make supplication for his sins," Ecclus. 39:7. Once more, Ps. 38: "For I will declare

my iniquity, and I will think for my sin." Wonderful and sweet is the mercy of God, who at the same time accounts us sinners and not as sinners; the sin remains and at the same time does not remain. Here, therefore, our understanding of this passage must conform with the title of the Psalm (that is, the superscription to Ps. 31 in the Vulgate). But on the other hand, wonderful and dreadful is His wrath. He regards the godless as at once righteous and unrighteous; at the same time their sin is taken away and not taken away.

Appendix. He speaks here not only of sins of act and word and thought, but also of the "tinder"*, as he says below in chapter 7:20: "Not I, but the sin that dwells in me." And in the same place (Rom. 7:5) he calls this tinder the "sinful passions," that is, motions, desires, inclinations toward sin, which, he says, bring forth the fruit of death. Hence, mortal sin (as the theologians call it) is truly sin, that is, it is the work and fruit of sin, but the sin itself is that passion, the tinder, the concupiscence, or the inclination toward evil and coldness toward good, as it says below: "I did not know that concupiscence is sin," Rom. 7:7. For when it "works" (operantur) (cp. Rom. 7:8), the concupiscence is not itself the works, but it works in order to bring forth fruit, hence the concupiscence is not the fruits. Conversely, just as our God-given righteousness is the inclination toward the good and the turning away from evil, an inward grace-effected gift, the works, however, being the fruits of righteousness, so sin is the turning away from the good and the inclination toward evil. And sinful works are the fruits of this sin, as will become more clear below in chapter 7:5ff. and 8:1ff. Sin understood in this sense applies to all that has been said before, namely: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven." And, "I said I will confess my transgressions which are before me" and "for this shall every one that is holy pray to thee," Ps. 32:1, 5, 6. And, "for I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me," Ps. 51:3. And again, "Against thee only have I sinned," Ps. 51:4. That is the evil which God, since it is really sin, through His merciful non-imputation, forgives all who acknowledge and confess and hate it and pray that they may be cured of it. So it is that "if we say we have no sin, we are liars," I John 1:8. It is erroneous that this evil can be cured by works, since experience testifies that, in spite of our zealous efforts to do good works, this concupiscence remains and no one is free from it, not even a one day old child. But it is by the mercy of God that this evil remains and, nevertheless, is not accounted as sin to those who call upon Him and sigh for liberation from it. For such will readily be concerned about good works, too, because they strive with all zeal for justification. So thus in our own eyes we are sinners, and yet, in so far as God looks upon us as righteous, we are righteous through faith. For we believe Him who promises that He will free us, if only in the meantime we persevere that sin may not rule, but that we stand firm until He takes it away.

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* *fomes* — The remnant of original sin which remains after baptism. It is concupiscence that has been baptised and, therefore, is not regarded as really sin, but only as "tinder," which may easily be inflamed to sin." Vide Note p. 36, Vol. III, Phila. ed. Works of Martin Luther.

It is with us as with a sick man who believes the physician who has promised that he will surely be healed, obeys his precepts, and, in the meantime, in hope of the promised cure, abstains from that which is prohibited that he may not impede the promised cure and aggravate the illness, until the physician fulfills what he has promised. Is that sick man well? No, rather he is at the same time sick and well. In reality he is sick, but he is well by virtue of the certain promise of the physician, whom he believes and who looks upon him already as a well man because he is certain that he will heal him; for he has already begun to heal him and therefore does not consider his sickness a sickness unto death. In the very same way, Christ our Samaritan has received half-dead man, His sick patient, into the inn to be cared for and has begun to heal him unto everlasting life, according as He has promised him perfect health, which is contained in eternal life. He does not impute the sin, i. e. the concupiscence, to him unto death, but only prohibits him in the meantime, in the hope of the promised cure, from doing or omitting the doing of that which could impede that restoration to health and aggravate the sin, i. e. the concupiscence. Is he, therefore, perfectly righteous? No, for he is at once a sinner and a righteous man; sinner in reality, but righteous by virtue of the imputation and certain promise of God that He will deliver him from sin until he is perfectly well. And for that reason he is perfectly well in hope, but in reality a sinner; but he has the first fruits of righteousness in order that he may ever strive more to know himself as unrighteous. But now if this sick man will not allow himself to be completely cured because he is content with his weakness, will he not die? So it is with those who pursue their passions in the world. Or if a sick man looks upon himself as not sick but well, and therefore spurns the physician, then that is the same as wanting to be righteous and sound by his own works. Now if that is so, then either I have never understod it, or the scholastic theologians did not teach well concerning sin and grace, they who dreamed that all of original sin as well as the mortal sins would be taken away, just as though they were definite objects which could be pushed aside in a moment, as darkness is dispelled by light, despite the fact that the ancient holy fathers, Augustine and Ambrose, spoke of these things so utterly differently, to wit, after the manner of Scripture. They, however, speak after the manner of Aristotle in his Ethics, who bases sin and righteousness upon works, and accordingy upon their presence or absence.

St. Augustine, however, said most plainly that "sins (the sinful passions) are forgiven in baptism, not as though they were no longer present, but that they are no longer imputed." And Ambrose said: "I sin always, therefore I commune always." I, poor fool, could not understand why I ought to look upon myself as a sinner just like all the rest and prefer myself above none, even though I was contrite and had made confession. For then, so I thought, was not everything cancelled and removed, even inwardly? And if I ought to put myself on the same level with all other sinners on account of my previous sins, of which, they say, one must always be mindful (and they say the truth, but not strongly enough), then, so I thought, they are not forgiven, even though God has promised to remit them to those who confessed them. And so I fought with myself, not knowing that the forgiveness was real, but that it is a taking away of sin only in hope, i. e., still to be completed, and only by the gift of grace which begins to take away the sin so that it is no longer accounted as sin. It is, therefore, utter nonsense to assert that man can by his own powers love God above all things and do the commanded works according to their substance, but not according to the intention of the Lawgiver, because he does not perform them in a state of grace. O fools, O hog-theologians*! Hence grace was necessary only in order to fulfill the New Commandment which is beyond the Law. For, if the Law can be fulfilled by our powers, as they say, then grace is unnecessary for the fulfillment of the Law itself, but is needed only for the fulfillment of the New Commandment imposed by God, which is above and beyond the Law. Who can tolerate such sacrilegious opinions, when the Apostle says clearly enough (Rom. 4:15 and 8:3) that "the Law worketh wrath" and "it (the Law) was weak through the flesh," and that under no circumstances can it be fulfilled without grace. They could have been warned of the utter foolishness of their notion had they been capable of shame and able to disapprove. Even their own experience might have made them wiser. For, whether they want to or not, they can perceive the perverse passions in themselves. So I say here: Ho! I beseech you, get to work! Be men! With all your powers work that these evil passions be no longer in you! Prove your statement that one can love God with all one's powers by nature, in short, without grace! If you have no concupiscence, then we will believe you, but if you still live with and in it, then already you are no longer fulfilling the Law. The Law says: "Thou shalt not covet" (Ex. 20:17), but love God! But whoever covets and loves something else, can he love God? And yet this concupiscence is in us; hence the love of God is never in us, except incipiently through grace, and only because God out of His mercy does not impute to us as sin the remnant of concupiscence which still needs to be cured and which still does not allow us to love God with the whole heart, until it is completely eradicated and the perfect love of God is given to those who believe and perseveringly struggle for it to the end.

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* In the midst of his Latin, Luther breaks out with this vigorous German expression: "O Sautheologen!"

All of these monstrosities arose out of the fact that they were ignorant not only of what sin, but of what forgiveness is; for sin as well as righteousness was narrowed down to an utterly minute motion of the soul. They narrowed it down so much that they said: because the will feels, even in the slightest degree, an impetus of the conscience (synteresis), it is, therefore, "inclined to the good." And in their dreams they consider this insignificant movement of man toward God (which can be made by one's natural powers) an act of love for God in which one loves God above all things. But look at the whole man and see how he is up to his neck in these base passions (and that insignificant motion can do nothing about it). The Law, however, commands that he be absolutely emptied of concupiscence in order that he may be wholly devoted to God. This Is. (41:23), ridiculing them, says: "Do ye good or evil, if you can." So this life is a life of healing from sin, not a life without sin where the cure is finished and health already attained. The Church is an inn and a hospital for the sick and convalescent. But heaven is the palace of the healthy and the righteous, as Peter says (II Pet. 3:13): "A new heaven and a new earth will the Lord make, in which righteousness dwells." Here on earth, however, righteousness does not yet dwell, but in the meantime it prepares a dwelling place, in that it cures sins. That is the way in which all the saints thought of sin, as David prophesied in Ps. 32:5ff. They all acknowledge themselves to be sinners, as is evident in St. Augustine's book; whereas our theologians limited the essence of sin to outward works, and thus took away its point. They began to teach only how works could be provided for, but not how one ought to seek humbly and yearningly after healing grace and confess oneself a sinner. And thus they necessarily make men proud, make them people who consider themselves righteous already by reason of their outwordly performed works and who, therefore, do not bother to declare war also upon their evil passions by constant sighing for the Lord. That is why today in the Church the relapse after confession is so great; for they do not know that they must first be justified. No, they are confident that they have already been justified and so they plunge themselves into destruction through their own self-confidence, without the devil having to lift a hand. That certainly is to establish righteousness by works! And even if they do implore the grace of God, they nevertheless do not do it rightly, but only to get forgiveness for their sinful act. But those who belong to Christ have the Spirit of Christ and act rightly, even if they do not understand what we have just said. They do it, in fact, before they understand it, yea, they get this understanding more from life than from doctrine.

One objection which may be made to what has been said previously still remains; namely, that without works the righteousness of God is imputed to those who believe. For we read in the lives of many of the saints that some of their works or their prayers were received by God and the rest were set up as an example. So they say, "Ergo: they were justified by such works." I answer: A fine argument, which, on the one hand, may give rise to a great error, and on the other hand, may clarify a useful understanding of what has been said above. The error lies with those who forthwith begin to imitate, with powers which they falsely assume themselves to have, everything in these saints that was accepted by God and want to be deemed righteous because they do the same works that those saints who were accounted righteous did. But that is to seek after work-righteousness; it is by no means an imitation of the saints, but rather a perversion of their example. For undoubtedly those to whom such works were ascribed and awarded did not perform them in order that they might be deemed righteous. On the contrary, they did not even know whether God would accept them; but they did what lay in their power in humble faith, in the constant prayer that their conduct would be pleasing to God in His mercy. And so the works of those who were at first accepted on account of the humble yearning of their faith were afterwards also accounted to them and accepted. But you, who foolishly want to turn everything upside down, you commence first with the accepted works and neglect the inward yearning, by which you would first be accounted righteous, as it was in the case of the saints. You want to be considered righteous by virtue of your works alone; you want "respect to be had unto the works" before "unto Abel," Gen. 4, 4. But that cannot be! And this senseless notion now finds passionate defenders everywhere in the pulpits of those who ought to be preaching the Word of God.

9. *Chapter 5:14* — . . . . Now, what is original sin? 1. According to the subtleties of the scholastic theologians it is the loss or lack of original righteousness. In their opinion, however, righteousness is only subjectively present in the will, and hence also the opposite, the loss of this righteousness, is only subjectively present in the will. Thus, according to the principles of logic and metaphysics, it is in the category of quality.

2. According to the Apostle and simple common sense in Christ Jesus, however, it is not merely a loss of a quality or the will, nor only a loss of the light of understanding, the power of memory, but the total loss of the whole rectitude and the capability of all the powers of the body as well as the soul and the whole inner and outward man; and, on top of this, it is also the proneness to evil, the aversion to good, the disdain of light and wisdom, the love of error and darkness but flight from and abhorrence of honorable works, and the race toward evil. As it is written in Ps. 14:3: "They are all gone aside, they have all become unprofitable." And Gen. 8:21: "For the imagination and thought of man's heart are

prone to evil." For it is not only this loss that God hates and imputes (just as many forget and do not recognize their sins); no, He hates this whole concupiscence by which we disobey the command: "Thou shalt not covet," Ex. 20:17; just as the Apostle treats of it further on in chapter 7. For this commandment shows us sin, as the Apostle says: "I would not have known that concupiscence is sin, if the Law did not say: Thou shalt not covet," Rom. 7:7.

The holy ancient fathers were, therefore, entirely right when they said: This original sin is the "tinder," the law of the flesh, the law of the members, the weakness of nature, the tyrant, the original disease, etc. It is the same as with a sick man: his mortal sickness consists not in that one member is sick, no, rather in that all the members have been deprived of their health and that all the senses and powers are debilitated. And added to that there is the distaste for that which is healing and the greed for that which is harmful. It is therefore that many-headed Hydra, this all too stubborn monster, with which we struggle into death in the Lerna of this life. Here is Cerberus the insatiable barker, and Antaeus who was invincible as long as he touched the earth. I have found no one who gave such a clear exposition of original sin as Gerhard Groot in his little treatise "Blessed is the man"*;

Chapter 7:25 — Therefore I myself, with the mind, serve the law of God; but with the flesh, the law of sin. This is the clearest passage of all. Behold, one and the same man serves the law of God and the law of sin at the same time; he is at once righteous and a sinner. Observe that he does not say, My mind serves the law of God; nor does he say, My flesh serves the law of sin, but: I, he says, I, the whole man, one and the same person, am enslaved in this double servitude. And therefore he gives thanks that he serves the law of God and he seeks mercy because he serves the law of sin. Who can assert of the carnal man that he serves the law of God? See now, as I said above: The saints are sinners at the same time as they are righteous; they are righteous because they believe in Christ, whose righteousness covers them and is imputed to them. But they are sinners because they do not fulfill the Law, because they are not without concupiscence, being rather like sick men who are under the care of a physician, sick men who are really and truly sick, but who are healthy incipiently and in hope, or better, made well, i. e. about to become well. A presumptuous anticipation of health is most harmful to them, for then they suffer an even worse relapse. From this definite insight, therefore, the Apostle, above in the second chapter, speaks so decidedly against those who were righteous in their own eyes and judged others who did evil, although they themselves were doing the same thing. They who preached, Thou shalt not steal, themselves stole, etc. For even though he knew nothing at all about their outward works, he did know one thing most certainly, that if they were outside of grace, they were acting inwardly in their hearts contrary to the Law. For, if a spiritual man does not do that which he ought, if he who wants to do what he ought and still does not do it, how much more will a carnal man, who does not will what he ought, but does what he must only under compulsion, not do what he ought! So "the spiritual man judges all things of himself, but he himself is judged of no man," I Cor. 2:15. Hence at last we can understand that word of David: "For this shall every one that is holy pray to thee in a seasonable time" (Ps. 32:6), and we can understand, too, why Christ repudiated His wife, the Synagogue, because of her ugliness, namely because she does not want to acknowledge her iniquity and confess the mercy of God, but rather looks upon herself as righteous and holy. As for the rest, however, enough has been said above in the fourth chapter.

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* The reference is not to Gerhard Groot, but to Gerhard Zerboldt of Zűtphen, whose "Devotus tractatulus de spiritualibus ascensionibus" begins with the words "Beatus vir" from Ps. 83:5. in this book he speaks, not like a rash philosopher, but like a sound theologian.

10. *Chapter 7:8* — For without the law sin was dead. St. Augustine expounds this passage, together with the following section, in his comments concerning the time of infancy before the use of reason, in his second book "Against Julian." He says therefore: "A child which still has not the use of reason is, indeed, by a decision of the will, neither in a state of good nor evil. But with the advance of years, when the reason awakens, comes the Law and then sin revives. And once it has taken up the struggle with the growing child, then it will become apparent what slumbers hidden in the child. Either it conquers and the man will be damned, or it will be conquered and the man will be cured." Hence, the Law revives and sin begins to become evident when one begins to know the Law. Then the sinful passions which lay hidden in the child break out and become apparent. When

they break out in the adolescent child, however, they are really only showing what was already in the infant. Just as a young tree does not show clearly what kind of fruit it will bear; but when the leaves break forth and the fruits begin to appear, then one knows what kind of a tree it is. This, however, can be understood in an even profounder sense. For there are some who in their minds are children, and there are children a hundred years old, namely, those whom an angel of Satan has bewitched with the delusion of a spiritual good. They hanker for this spiritual good so ardently, yea more persistently than a paramour will burn for a woman or a miser for money; and so they neglect the Law and obedience to God, like the Jews, heretics, schismatics, and separatistic individuals, who have no sin because they have not yet been given the Law. But if they knew of the Law against which they sin, then they who are inflamed with a pious zeal for the Law, would doubtless recognize their sin at once. Therefore, when the Law comes to them, then sin, too, revives in them. For then they burn even more with craving for that which they desire and wish, and they become even more irritated against the Law and they hate it even more, because it restrains them from that which they themselves have chosen in accord with a law which they have invented for themselves. Therefore, when the Law says: "Thou shalt not covet," concupiscence is thereby so profoundly prohibited that whatever is coveted outside of God, even if it is coveted for the sake of God, is sin.

11. *In re Chapter 8:3 — Appendix.* It is in vain that some magnify the light of nature and compare it with the light of grace, for it is, nevertheless, darkness and the opposite of grace. Therefore Job and Jeremiah (Job 3:1ff.; Jer. 20:14) curse it as an evil day and an altogether hurtful vision. For this light was born directly after sin, as it is written, "And their eyes were opened," Gen. 3:7. Grace sets up before itself no object, other than God, to which it is driven or toward which it strives. Him alone it sees, Him alone it seeks, and to Him alone it aspires in all things, and everything else that it sees between itself and God it leaps over, as though it did not see it, and aims straight for God. That is the "upright heart" and the "right spirit" (cp. Ps. 7:10; 78:37; 51:10).

Nature, on the other hand, sets up before itself no object to which it is driven or toward which it strives except itself. Itself alone it sees and seeks and to itself alone it aspires in all things; and everything else that it sees that lies between, even God Himself, it leaps over, as though it did not see it at all, and aims straight for itself. That is the "perverse heart" and the "wicked heart," Ps. 101:4 etc. Just as grace puts God in the place of everything else that it sees, even in its own place and prefers Him to itself and seeks only what is God's and not its own: so, on the contrary, nature puts itself in the place of all others, yea, even in the place of God, and seeks only what is hers and not what is God's. Hence, nature itself is the foremost and greatest idol of all. Thereupon it changes even God into an idol and the truth of God into a lie, and finally it makes idols of all created things and all the gifts of God. Grace, however, is not content in all things unless it sees God in them and over them, and then it can desire and wish and rejoice that everything that is seen and which works is all to the glory of God. Nature, on the contrary, considers everything that it sees as worthless, if it does not serve to its own advantage and does not exist and work for it alone. It values all things only if it can bring it about that they can be employed to its gratification and use and to its own good. That is spiritual fornication and iniquity and crookedness that cries aloud to heaven. This natural prudence, therefore, cannot be called a light; we might more correcty call it darkness. It must be then that it is called a light because through the reason and senses they see and know, for the rest, however, as far as the covetousness is concerned with which they turn to their own use what they have learned, it is really darkness in the truest sense of the word. By its very nature it can do nothing else but turn all things to itself; for it cannot love God and His Law, as the Apostle here says.

The sign, however, by which all this can be known is that nature is happy and quiet when those good things pour in upon it, but when they disappear it is thrown into confusion and disquiet. Not so with grace. It remains unmoved, it loves and observes only the will of God in all things and is therefore content with whatever may come to pass. It is at peace with itself as well as with all others. Everything that God does and wants, that it wants, too, and is satisfied therewith, be it ever so bitter; yea, always it praises and blesses God, even when the greatest reverses and sorrows befall them. It knows how to be joyful in sorrow and how to sorrow in joy. To the flesh by its own powers that is impossible.

12. *Chapter 8:16* — The spirit itself beareth witness. St. Bernard, who was himself filled with this Spirit, shows most clearly in the first chapter of his "Treatise on the Annunciation" that this witness of the Spirit is just this confident trust of our heart in God: "I believe that this witness consists in three things. First, you must believe that you can have forgiveness of sins only through the gracious indulgence of God. Next, that you also cannot call one single good work your own, even if He did not give it to you. Finally, that you cannot earn eternal life for yourself with any works, if this life is not given to you out of pure grace." Nevertheless, that is not yet altogether sufficient; it must rather be looked upon as a beginning and, as it were, the foundation of faith. If you believe that your sins can be blotted out only by Him, you do well. But now believe this in addition (not as if you could do it, but the Spirit must produce such faith in you), believe that through Him your sins also are now remitted to you. This is the witness the Holy Spirit gives our hearts: your sins are forgiven *you*. So, the Apostle believes, man is justified by faith. (You must believe firmly of *yourself*, not only of the elect, that Christ died and made satisfaction for *your* sins.) The same applies to merits. If you believe that one can possess such merits only through Him, that is not enough, until the Spirit of Truth gives you testimony that you actually now *have* such merits through Him. And so it comes about that when you trust firmly the works that you do are pleasing and acceptable to God, whatever they may be. But you confidently trust that they are pleasing if you are sensible of the fact that you are nothing in the sight of God in spite of these works, even though they are good and done in obedience, because you do not do the works that are evil. And this humility and compunction in good works brings it about that they are acceptable to God. Likewise with eternal life; it is not enough to believe that He will give you this life out of grace, no, you must have the testimony of the Spirit that you will actually attain this life through God's help.

These three things are to be found clearly and distinctly expressed in the Apostle; for he says: "Who shall accuse against the elect of God?" Rom. 8:33, that is to say, we are sure that no sins will accuse us. He says the same thing concerning merits: "We know that to them that love God, all things work together unto good," Rom. 8:28. Likewise he says concerning eternal glory: "I am sure that neither things present, nor things to come, etc., can separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ," Rom. 8:38.

13. *Chapter 8:19* — For the earnest expectation of the creature. The Apostle philosophizes and thinks differently concerning things than the philosophers and metaphysicians. For the philosophers immerse themselves so deeply in the present state of the thing that they speculate ony concerning its essence and its qualities. The Apostle, however, turns his eyes away from the observation of the thing in its present state, away from the question of its essence and its accidents, and directs his attention toward the thing as it will be in future. For he speaks not of the "essence," nor of the "activity" of the creature, nor of "action" and "passion" and "motion," but he speaks with a new wonderful theological word of the "earnest expectation of the creatures," so that just because of the fact that the soul has an ear for this expectation of the creature, he no longer directs his attention toward nor seeks to ascertain what the creature is, but rather what it expects. But alas, how deeply and to our own harm we stick in discussions concerning categories and quiddities, how involved we are in the foolish opinions of metaphysics! When will we get wise and see that we are squandering away precious time with such worthless studies and neglecting worthier things? We are always acting in such a manner that we verify Seneca's word: "We are ignorant of the necessary things because we have learned the superfluous things; indeed, we are ignorant of that which is salutary because we have learned what is hurtful."

I believe that I owe the Lord this obedience, to fight against philosophy and advocate the Holy Scriptures. For if anyone else were to do it who had not seen through it, he might be afraid or he would not be believed. But I have been grinding away at it for so many years, and for the same number of years I have experienced, heard, and seen that it is a futile and ruinous study.

I therefore admonish you with all my powers: Get through these studies quickly and seek one thing only, not to establish and defend its principles, but rather to deal with it as we do with the evil arts which we learn, namely, we learn them in order to destroy them; we learn to know the errors that we may refute them. And so we shall pursue these studies also, in order to reject them, or at any rate, merely to acquire the vocabulary of those with whom we must necessarily be associated. It is high time that we give ourselves to other studies and learn Jesus Christ "and him crucified," I Cor. 2:2.

You will be the best philosophers and the best natural philosophers if you learn of the Apostle to look upon the creature as a waiting, groaning, troubled creature, that is, as that which scorns what is and yearns for that which is in the future, and therefore is not yet. Then you will soon attach little value to the science of quiddities and its accidents and distinctions. The foolishness of the philosophers is like that of the man who, apprenticed to a builder, marvels at the cutting, hewing and measuring of the timbers and boards and, like a fool, is satisfied and content therewith and is not in the least concerned as to the purpose of the builder in all these labors. He is an empty-headed fellow and the work of this officious worker serves only vanity. It is the same with God's creation. This creation of God which is constantly being prepared for future glory is viewed as such by these fools only in its preparation, but not from the point of view of its ultimate goal. Are we not laboring under an utter delusion when we sing the praises of philosophy? Just look, we deem the knowledge of the essence of the thing, its activity and passivity, to be something valuable, when the things themeselves despise their essence and what they do and suffer, and mourn over it! We take delight and glory in the knowledge of that over which the creature itself sorrows and with which it is itself displeased. Or has he not gone crazy, I ask you, who seeing someone weeping and lamenting, laughs and glories in himself, as if he saw him delighted and laughing? Such a fellow is deservedly called mad and crazy. Yea, if it were the simple people who foolishly deemed such studies as something worthwhile and did not know of the secret groaning of the creature, then it would still be tolerable. But it is just the wise and the theologians! Infected with this wisdom of the flesh they draw from things which are full of sorrow a knowledge that gives them pleasure. And with a marvellous expenditure of effort, they laughingly gather knowledge from that which is full of groaning and sobbing.

The Apostle is therefore right when he speaks against philosophy in Col. 2:8: "Beware lest any man cheat you by philosophy, and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men." Of course, if the Apostle had wanted to recognize any philosophy as good and useful, he would not have condemned it so absolutely. We draw this conclusion therefore: He who would rather inquire into the essence and activity of the thing than its groaning and expectation is without doubt foolish and blind, since he does not know that the creature, too, is a creature. This text shows that clearly enough.

14. *In re Chapter 8:28* — Therefore if one has too great a fear that he is not of the elect, or if he is disturbed about his election, he ought to give thanks for such fear and be glad that he has fear, since he can know with certainty that God cannot lie, as it says: "A sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit," i. e. a despairing spirit. "A contrite and humbled heart, O God, thou wilt not despise," Ps. 51:17. But that he is "afflicted" he himself feels. He should therefore cast himself valiantly upon the truthfulness of God who gives the promise; he should turn away from knowledge of the terror of God and he will be saved and elect.

Of a certainty it is not the way of the reprobate, at least in this life, to tremble before that hidden judgment of God, but it is the way of the elect. For the reprobate scorn it, pay no attention to it or say in despairing insolence: If I am damned now, then I shall be damned henceforth.

15. *Chapter 9:33* — Whosoever believeth, shall not be confounded. In Hebrew: He that believeth shall not hasten (Is. 28:16). These two versions can be brought into accord in the following way: Whoever believes in Christ is secure and righteous in his conscience; for, as the Scripture says, "he is as bold as a lion," Prov. 28:1. And again: "The just man shall not be disturbed, whatever may befall him" (cp. Prov. 12:21) but "the wicked" (Prov. 28:1) "flee when no man pursueth." And once more, Is. 57:20: "The wicked are like the raging sea, which cannot rest." "There is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord," Is. 57:21; Is. 48:22. And Ps. 1:4: "Not so the wicked, but like the dust which the wind driveth away." Lev. 26:36: "The sound of a flying leaf shall terrify them." And Is. 30:15: "Thus saith the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel: If you return and be quiet, you shall be saved; in silence and in hope shall your strength be. And you would not. But have said: No, but we will flee to the horses; therefore shall you flee. And we will mount upon swift ones; therefore shall they be swifter that shall

pursue after you. A thousand men shall flee for fear of one," etc. The sense is, therefore, this: He who believes in Christ does not need to hasten, he will not flee, he will not be terrified; he fears nothing, he stands safe and secure, founded upon a strong rock, as the Lord teaches in Matt. 7:24. He who does not believe in Him, however, he shall assuredly "hasten," that is, he shall flee and still be unable to escape when he is pressed hard by tribulation and distress, but especially when he shall stand before the Judgment.

16. *Chapter 12:2* — But be ye transformed. So it is called here, instead of "progress," for he speaks to those who have already begun to be Christians. Their life consists not in idleness, but in a progressive movement from good to better, as a sick man moves from sickness to health, as the Lord shows in the case of the half-dead man whom the Samaritan took up and cared for. So the Spirit of the Lord did not rest upon the waters (cp. Gen. 1:2), but "he moved over the waters." And Deut. 32:11: "As the eagle enticing her young to fly, and hovering over them." Ps. 18:11: "He ascended and flew, and flew upon the wings of the winds." Hence St. Bernard: "As soon as you begin not to want to become better, you cease to be good." It is no use if a tree, for instance, grows green and blooms, if it does not bring forth fruit from the blossom. That is why so many perish in the bud. For just as in natural things there are five stages: not-being, becoming, being, doing, suffering, that is, privative, matter, form, operation, passivity, according to Aristotle, so it is with the Spirit: "not-being" is a thing without a name, man in sins. "Becoming" is justification. "Being" is righteousness. "Action" is righteous doing and living. "Passion" is perfection and consummation. And these five are always, so to speak, in motion in man. And whatever may be present in man, — resp. apart from the first "not-being" and the last "being," for between these two: between the "not-being" and the "passion" there always move those three, namely, the becoming, the being, and the doing — through the new birth he passes over from sin to righteousness, and so from "not-being" through "becoming" to "being." When this happens, then he acts righteously. But from this new being, which in truth is a not-being, he goes farther and passes over into another new being through suffering, that is through a "becoming other" in a better being, and from here again into another. Hence it is really true that man is always in a pri-

vative state, always in a state of becoming or of potentiality and matter, and always in motion. Thus does Aristotle philosophize concerning these things, and rightly too; nevertheless they do not understand him in this sense. Man is always in not-being, in becoming, in being; he is always in a state of privation, of potentiality, of motion, always in sin, in justification, in righteousness, that is, he is always a sinner, always a penitent, always righteous. In that he repents he is transformed from an unrighteous man into a righteous. Thus penitence is the middle point between unrighteousness and righteousness, and so it is also in sin, in so far as one looks at the terminus a quo, and in righteousness, in so far as one looks at the terminus ad quem. If, therefore, we must always repent, if we are always sinners, we are, nevertheless, by that very token also righteous and are being justified; in part we are sinners, in part righteous, that is, nothing else but penitents. Just as, conversely, the wicked who depart from righteousness take up the middle between sin and righteousness; only they move in the opposite direction. This life is, therefore, the way to heaven and to hell. No one is so good that he could not become better; no one is so bad that he could not become worse. And so it goes, until we reach the extremest form.

III. SELECTION FROM THE SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS 1517*

17. *The First Penitential Psalm by number the Sixth.*

1. In order to explain this psalm, several points must be observed.

First. In all suffering and temptation man should run to God first of all, and recognize and accept the fact that all has been sent by God, whether it come from the devil or from men. That is what the prophet does, who here in this psalm names his enemy. But first he runs to God, and ascribes the enmity not to his enemy, but to God, for in this way he learns patience and the fear of God. But he who looks to men and does not accept it from God becomes impatient and a despiser of God, etc.

Second. God punishes in two ways; first in grace as a loving Father and temporally; second in wrath as a stern Judge and eternally. But now when God assails men, our nature is so weak and faint-hearted that it does not know whether God is punishing it out of anger or out of grace, and in fear of wrath it begins to cry: *O God punish me not in anger*, let it be in grace and temporally; be a Father and not a Judge. As St. Augustine also says: O God, be angry here, lash us here, strike us here, but spare us hereafter. So it is that he prays here, not that he wants to go altogether unpunished, for that would not be a good sign, but rather that he be punished as a child is by its father. But that these words are spoken by a sinner, or at least in the person of the sinner through Christ, follows from the fact that he names the punishments, for God's punishment is not on account of righteousness. All saints and Christians must therefore acknowledge themselves sinners and fear God's judgment, for this psalm is common to all and none is excepted. Therefore, woe to all those who have no fear and do not feel their sinfulness and confindently approach the fearful judgment of God, before which, in truth, no good works can be sufficient.

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* Translated from the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works, I, 158ff.

2. *Have mercy upon me.* That is, show grace unto me, that I may not fall into anxiety and fear and despair. *Heal me.* That is, strengthen me, help me in this exile. *For all my bones are terrified.*

That is, all my strength and power has succumbed for dread of Thy punishment; therefore, because my strength has left me, give me Thy strength. It is to be marked here, that this psalm and its like will never be thoroughly understood or prayed unless the man meets with misfortune, or is at the point of death and final leave-taking. And blessed are they who experience this in their lifetime; for every such person must come to destruction. But then when man goes down and perishes in all his powers and works and being, so that there is nothing left but a wretched, condemned, forsaken sinner, then comes the divine help and strength. Therefore Job 11:17: "When thou thinkest thyself consumed, thou shalt rise as the morning star."

3. *And my soul is sore terrified.* For God's strength and comfort is given to none, except he pray for it from the bottom of his heart. But no one prays from the bottom of his heart who is not yet thoroughly terrified and forsaken; for he does not know what he lacks, and meanwhile he stands secure in some other strength, trusting in himself or in creatures. Therefore, in order that God may give out and impart His comfort to us, He does away with all other consolations and makes the soul utterly desolate, crying and yearning after His consolation. And so all the

punishments of God are lovingly ordained for blessed consolation; although the unwise hinder and pervert its effect upon themselves by their faint-heartedness that despairs of God, because they do not realize that God has concealed and given His goodness and lovingkindness beneath the wrath and punishment. *But, O God, how long?* To all suffering men time is long, but short for the happy. But especially and immeasurably long is it for those who have these inward pangs of the soul, who feel that they have been forsaken and abandoned by God; and it is well said that one hour of purgatory is more bitter than a thousand years of temporal bodily pain. So there is no greater suffering than the keen suffering of the conscience, which comes when God abandons one and takes away truth, righteousness, and wisdom, and nothing remains but sin and darkness and woe. And this is a drop or foretaste of the pains of hell and eternal damnation, and therefore it touches all the bones, powers, sap and marrow and all that is in man.

4. *O God, turn back and deliver my soul.* The "turning away" of God means inwardly abandoning or forsaking, which makes one feel that horrible terror and, at the same time, the beginning of damnation, as in Ps. 30:7: "Thou turnedst away thy face from me, and I am troubled." But "turning back" is inward consolation and forbearance in joyful hope. Hence he says, "*Deliver my soul,*" as though he were to say, it is sunk and damned, lift or pull me out again. *Save me* (*or heal me*). For this is the deepest and greatest sickness of the soul, in which the soul must perish eternally, if it should remain therein. *For thy mercy's sake.* Not because of my merit or worthiness, but because of Thy mercy, that it may be prized and loved and praised that Thou dost let it come to the aid even of the unworthy. For he whom God helps according to his merit is more justly honored and praised than God's mercy. That would be a great outrage; therefore, if God's mercy is to be praised all merit and worthiness must be set at naught; and that is done by this temptation.

5. *For in death no one remembers thee.* That is, the dead praise Thee not and do not extol Thy mercy, but only the living; as in Ps. 115:17, 18: "The dead shall not praise thee, nor any of them that go down to hell. But we that live bless God now and for evermore." Therefore he speaks here not of bodily death, but more of spiritual death, when the soul is dead, for sin is the soul's death, but agony is its hell. And he who lies in this

wretchedness feels both, sin and punishment of sin. Hence he says: Leave me not in death and in hell, but according to Thy mercy give me life with Thy grace and deliver me from hell with Thy consolation. So this verse gives us to understand that this suffering is a gate or entrance into eternal sin and punishment, that is, into death and hell; as King Hezekiah said (Is. 38:10): I said with great terror: I must go to the gates of hell in the midst of my life, that is, when I thought to live life at its best. *But in hell who shall give thee praise and thanks?* Therefore have I said, *for thy mercy's sake.* For hell, where Thy mercy is not, does not praise Thee, yea, it insults and defames Thy righteousness and truth. This is the very noblest of thoughts which the saints have in their suffering, by which also they are saved; otherwise they are in all respects the same as the damned, as it says in the last psalm*: "Turn not away thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into hell." But the difference is that the saints are favorably inclined toward God, and that they are concerned more lest they lose God's favor, praise, and honor, than whether they will be damned. For he does not say: In hell there is no joy or pleasure, but no praise nor honor. Therefore he introduces here that no one is favorable toward God in hell and that if he should go down he also would be in God's disfavor just like the damned; and that would be for him a woe beyond all pangs. Hence it says *in canticis* (Song of Sol. 8:6), that the love of God is strong as death and as hard as hell, and hence also, that it abides even in the torment of death and hell. In the same manner God also speaks through Is. (48:9): "I will bridle thee with my praise, lest thou shouldest perish," that is, in the midst of thy suffering will I give thee a heartfelt goodwill toward Me, and it will bridle thee and preserve thee; without which all the others will perish in their suffering. Likewise Ps. 18:3: "With praise will I call upon God, so shall I be saved." For suffering, death, and even hell, must be conquered by us. With curses and impatience, however, it will not be conquered, but with favor, goodwill, and love toward God in the midst (of suffering). These are hard words for the old Adam, especially when he is green and fresh; but it is of no avail.

6. *I am troubled in my groaning.* That is, I have groaned so often and so much that groaning has become my labor. My life

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* That is, the last of the Penitential Psalms (Ps. 143:7).

has become sour and laborious, for it is nothing but groaning. We still speak in this manner today: I have tired or worked myself up with running, with pounding, etc. So it is here: I labor in my groaning, am troubled with groaning. Now, what is the purpose of this verse? It is to be marked that he now describes and sets forth what a right life is. For in this trial he has been taught that a right life does not consist in many works, as the Jews thought, against whom he now begins to speak until the end of the psalm. Rather it consists only in a crucifying and killing of the old man, and, therefore, that the outward behavior of men, be it according to the world or according to seeming holiness, must be destroyed, and only that must remain which Christ says: "Blessed are they that mourn and hunger and thirst after righteousness" (Matt. 5). For this life should be nothing else but a hating of the old man and a seeking and yearning after life in the new man. Then one can say: Now I see that the world and all flesh and blood is a hurtful, vain thing, with all its laughter, happiness, wealth, power, grandeur, and the like. For it does not feel what I have felt and therefore it deems life good and does not know what will come to pass hereafter. It is therefore better to weep and mourn and groan than to laugh and be happy, to sing and have rest and peace and quiet. *Every night I will wash my bed.* In Hebrew thus: the whole night will I make my bed to swim, that is, so much will I weep that the tears shall swim in my bed, as it says immediately following. *With my tears will I water my couch.* But that is impossible, nor has it ever been heard of or read of as literally happening to a saint. The words are therefore spoken in the spirit and must also be understood in spirit, in the sense that his soul is so heavily burdened with suffering that, if it were possible to the body, he would weep that much. Therefore, as far as it lay in his power, it did happen, for the inner will has the weight of all outward works and life. And if the body really followed a soul that feels utter remorse and is inflamed with truth it would melt away in less than an hour and perish. And here again all this is spoken to the foolish world, as though he said: O you blind, wretched children, you lie on soft beds in peace and comfort and pursue your sensual pleasures thereon, you live in revelry, well bedded and clothed. Verily, if you only knew, you would wash with tears your beds and couches of lust, where you now lounge and have your pleasure. O God, they are not couches of salvation which serve the lusts of the flesh. They had better weep (that is, whoever could do it) so that they would swim in their tears.

7. *My face is consumed with wrath.* That is, my face and the whole outward shape of my body has become changed and misshapen before the world, for I do not care for it and tend to it, yea, I persecute it with a torturous and lamentable life, all because of the wrath that I have felt against the vanity of the flesh, because of the wrath of God. The world, however, indulges its body with silks and gold and food, like the rich man in the Gospel. But I have become poor, misshapen Lazarus, because of my voluntary anger, in order that I may escape the wrath of God, which, however, none can escape, except he who crucifies, destroys, and annihilates his Adam. *I have grown old amongst all my enemies.* That is, I am unfit and useless for the world, just like an old man, and therefore it despises me in my life, yea, it persecutes me, for my life is contrary to it and the world will not tolerate it. And so this life of the Cross makes me only enemies, for they are all my enemies. He who does not know this or does not believe it has only to begin to live a right life according to the Cross of Christ and he will soon find that the whole world is against him and that he will be ridiculed and persecuted as a crazy, erring, evil man. Then his form and face will become aged and consumed, especially before the high-minded and high-spirited who are always making bold to play the master over these righteous ones and will hear or suffer nothing from them concerning their superior airs and haughtiness. They are the ones who have all kinds of wisdom and righteousness, except that which is in the Cross; and there are no people in the whole world who fight more against the Cross than they. Nor are there any who slay their own reason, their own wisdom, their own conceit less than they, or, if they do reject these things, they cover up and fortify these evil defects with the appearance of good works and opinions and words, even taken from Scripture, and then without fear, confidently and boldly, they want to persecute and overmaster those who are truly righteous. Of these he now speaks.

8. *Depart from me all ye who work iniquity.* That the reference here is not to all sorts of unrighteous men, but to those who are high-minded and make pretensions of great holiness and wisdom, is confirmed by Matt. 7, (23), where the Lord quotes this very verse against those who will say at the Last Day: "Oh, Lord, have we not preached in thy name, and done many miracles,

etc.?" These wiseacres and saints are here given to understand that they are *operarii iniquitatis,* wrongdoers or evildoers, because they do not rightly do the good. These are the real enemies of Christianity, for it never had another enemy, nor has it now, nor will it have any other enemy other than those who want to be in the right and destroy the righteous for unrighteousness' sake, though they take great care that they may be able to live only in rest, peace, honor, ease, and pleasure, and not in the Cross and in unrest. And they are no different from the other gross sinners, except that these seek pleasure in fleshly things, while as a matter of fact, with their spiritual goods, wisdom, reason, and piousness, they stick deeper and more arrogantly in the lust of these things, than do the gross sinners in the flesh. *For God hath heard the voice of my weeping.* Because they are on top and think they are in the right, they will not believe that they are really at the bottom of the pile; they think they are somebody in the sight of God and that they are doing God a service and upholding the truth. And this confidence and lack of fear condemns and spoils all that they do, for where there is no fear and humility God can please no one. He says, therefore: God is so minded that He gladly hears those who cry and lament, but not those who are self-confident and free. A good life, therefore, consists not in outward works and appearance, but in a groaning, afflicted spirit, as it says hereinafter in the fourth psalm*: "The sacrifice pleasing to God is an afflicted spirit, and a humbled, broken heart thou wilt not despise." Likewise in Ps. 34, (18): "God is nigh unto them that are of a suffering or afflicted heart." Therefore, weeping goes before works, and suffering surpasses all action. 7 *God hath heard my apologizing (abbitten). God hath taken up my prayer.* These words express nothing else but a soul that is poor in spirit, that can do nothing but cry and implore and supplicate in firm faith, strong hope, and constant love. And therefore every Christian life and being is born to have and know nothing but God, and even Him only in faith. Hence those who are otherwise will not be heard by God, for they do not call upon Him with the heart; they are not yet poor enough to call upon Him, not thirsty enough to pray; they are satisfied and full. And *abbitten* means a prayer to put away the evil; *erbitten,* however, to enable one to seek after the good.

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* The fourth Penitential Ps. (51:17).

10. *Oh let mine enemies be ashamed and sore terrified.* That is, they are in such danger and peril in their self-regard, and they take pride in themselves as though they were really in good state. Oh, God! but they know not how unhappy they are. Therefore it would be good for them if they came to themselves and realized how shameful and wretched they are in the sight of God. For the high-spirited and the wise can not do otherwise than be pleased with themselves, self-confident, glory in themselves, think they are great, feel no foolishness, speak well, do right, and think piously, be better than others, and feel that there is none like them. That is the greatest blindness on earth, for the more they consider and think themselves such, the more are they despised and shamed in the sight of God. And the Psalmist desires that they should realize that, even though they are his enemies, for they would become his friends if they came to themselves and were terrified of their own selves. Pride makes them enemies and persecutors, but humility, that is, shame and terror, makes them friends. *Let them be turned back.* For they have turned away and gone so deeply into themselves and so far away from God. *And be shamed very speedily.* Inwardly, in their own eyes, because they hold themselves in such honor; and also outwardly, in the eyes of the people, because it is necessary besides the inward. Otherwise the outward alone, without the inward, is fruitless, even harmful.

IV. SELECTIONS FROM LUTHER'S LECTURES ON HEBREWS 1517-1518*

18. *Chapter 2:3* (Scholia 116, 10) (How shall we escape,) if we neglect such a salvation? — Law and Gospel differ also in this, that the Law contains a great number of works, though all of them are external, but the Gospel knows of only one work, of an inward kind, and that is faith. Therefore, the works produce an outward righteousness, but faith produces a righteousness hidden with God. Thus, when the Jews asked, "What must we do to perform the works of God?" (John 6:28), Christ drew them completely away from the multiplicity of works and led them back to the one, saying, "This is the work of God, to believe in him whom He has sent" (John 6, 29). The whole substance of the New

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* Translated from Luther's Vorlesung ueber den Hebraeerbrief nach der vatikanischen Handscrift, herausgegeben von E. Hirsch und H. Rueckert, 1929.

Law and its righteousness is, therefore, first and solely that faith in Christ. But the faith in Christ is not isolated and sterile as human fancies are, for Christ lives (in it), and not only lives but works; and not only works but rules. So it is impossible that that faith in Christ should be idle; no, it lives, works of itself and triumphs: the works of themselves flow outwards out of faith. Thus our patience flows out of the patience of Christ, our humility out of Christ's, and other good things in like manner, so long as we believe firmly that He has done all this for us, indeed, not only for us, but before us, that is — as the blessed Augustine was wont to say — not only as a divine sign (sacramentum), but also as an example (exemplum). Thus the blessed Peter (I Pet. 2:21) says: "Christ suffered for us (that is the divine sign) "and left us an example." The divine sign of the passion of Christ is death and the forgivenss of sin (as guilt); the example, however, is the imitation of His sufferings (in us). Therefore, whoever would imitate Christ's example must first of all firmly believe that Christ suffered and died for him as a divine sign. So those err greatly, who try to blot out sins by works and penitential labors, beginning, as it were, with the example, when they ought to begin with the divine sign (the sufferings of Christ). In short, the Gospel is neglected through the unbelief of the heart, but the Law through disobedience in works.

19. *Chapter 2:14* (Scholia 129:19). In order that he through death might take the power from him who had the power of death (that is, the devil). — The Scriptures attribute death to the devil, Wisdom 2:24: "By the envy of the devil death came into the world" and Wisdom 1:13: "God did not make death nor does he delight in the destruction of the living, rather he created all things that they might have being," as though he would say: In the beginning of Genesis one reads nothing concerning death among the works of God. Likewise Ezek. 18:32: "I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord"; Ezek. 33:11: "As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the godless," and Ps. 30:6: "For he is loath to be angry and he is disposed toward life," that is, He has no pleasure in death; likewise Hos. 13:14: "O death, I will be thy death!" If death were really the work of God, He would not destroy it, but "the Son of God appeared in order to destroy the works of the devil" (I John 3:8). That is what Christ says in John 10:10. "I have come that they might have life, and have it more abundantly." It remains,

therefore, that death as well as sin are the works of the devil, whence in Rev. 9:11 he is called "an angel of the abyss, whose name in Hebrew is Abaddon, and in Greek Apollyon, that is, in Latin exterminans (destroyer)." God's own works, on the contrary, are life, peace, joy and the other fruits of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22). But it is just in this that "the Lord has wonderfully guided his saints (cp. Ps. 68:36), that He destroys the devil, not by the work of God, but by the devil's own work. For that is the most glorious kind of victory: to pierce the adversary with his own weapon and slay him with his own sword, as we sing, "He is cast to earth, fallen upon his own javelin . . ." God promotes and implements His own work by other (alienum) work and in marvellous wisdom compels the devil by death to serve nothing else but life, so that just when he is working his hardest against God, he is really by his own work working for God and against himself. Thus he worked the death of Christ, which Christ, by His immortal divinity, completely swallowed up in Himself, and gloriously rose again. He promised such a most joyful victory to Job (40:19): "In his eyes as with a hook he shall take him, and bore through his nostrils with stakes. Canst thou pull out the leviathan with a hook and tie his tongue with a cord? Canst thou put a ring in his nose, or bore through his jaw with a buckle? . . . Shalt thou play with him as with a bird, or tie him up for thy handmaids? Wilt thou fill nets with his skin, and the cabins of fishes with his head? Shall friends cut him in pieces, shall merchants divide him?" On this passage in Job see Gregory in his Moralia. — So just as death and all the works of the devil were destroyed in the 'Author of Salvation,' in the Most Holy One, in Christ our Head, so it will happen in like manner in every one of His members. As Christ in His person was at the same time mortal and immortal (subject, indeed, to death on accout of His humanity), but yet, since His whole person could not die, death was overwhelmed and the devil, in killing, succumbed himself, and thus death is swallowed up and consumed in life, likewise the curse is swallowed up and conquered in blessing, grief in joy, and all other evils in highest good —; so now it has pleased the most holy God, through Christ, to destroy death and the works of the devil in us. For, just as it is impossible that Christ, the victor over death, should die any more, it is also impossible that whoever believes in Him should die; as He says in John 11:25: "He who believes in me will never die, and even if he die, yet will he live," and Ps. 23:4: "And though I walk in the shadow of death, I fear no evil; for thou art with me." For, just as Christ, through the union with immortal divinity, overcame death by dying, so, too, does the Christian conquer death by dying, that is, by becoming one with the immortal Christ through faith in Him. And so God destroys the devil by the devil himself, and accomplishes His own work by the other's work. That is what the world cannot comprehend, according to Hab. 1:5: "Behold, I will work a work in your days, which no one will believe when they are told of it." Hence, Chrysostom points out, with reference to this passage, something that is paradoxical: "that the devil is overcome by the very power which he himself possessed. By the selfsame powerful weapon which he had over against the world, that is, death, he was himself run through . . .Do you see what good death has done? Why do you tremble? Why do you fear it? It is no longer terrible, it is trampled upon, it has become contemptible." And further on: "Death is no longer bitter, for it has become like sleep." Thus the Apostle Paul, with exultant joy, everywhere proclaims the resurrection of Christ, because through it law and sin and death and hell and devil and world and flesh are conquered, for all who believe in Him and call upon Him. So in I Cor. 15:57: "Thanks be to God who has given us the victory through Jesus Christ, our Lord"; 'who has given us (the victory),' he says, not 'kept it for Himself alone'! And I Thess. 4:13: "We would not have you to be ignorant, (dear brethren), concerning those who are asleep, that you may not mourn as the others do who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus has died and risen again, then also that God will bring with him, through Jesus, those who have fallen asleep"; and Hos. 13:14: "I will ransom them from the hand of death and redeem them from death. O death, I will be thy death; O hell, I will be thy sting." And then the following, which tells how the Lord will do this (Hos. 13:15): "The Lord will cause a burning wind to come out of the desert and will dry up his springs and his fountains shall be dried up." Hosea here alludes to Ex. 14:21, where the Lord brought up a strong, burning wind for a whole night and dried up the Red Sea. There we are shown figuratively how the arteries of death, that is, sins, are dried up — for death rules through sin —; but the wind is the Holy Spirit, brought up and given out of the desert, i. e. by Jesus Christ, the Crucified.

Appendix. He who fears death or does not want to die is still not enough of a Christian, for he is still lacking in faith in the resurrection; he loves this life more than the future life. These are the very ones of whom Ps. 106:24 says, "And they despised the land of desire." Chrysostom, therefore, speaks here with censure, concerning those who mourn the dead: "In truth, they are much to be pitied who still fear death and tremble before it, who still do not believe in the resurrection." When such people pray "Thy Kingdom come," they either pray nothing or they pray against themselves, that is, they mock God and themselves and are baptized in vain, for, according to the Apostle (Rom. 6:3), "all who were baptized, were baptized into Christ's death," which means in addition, to accept death immediately and to follow the example of Christ at once. But you will say: I do not fear death, but an evil death, for "the death of the sinner is the worst death" (Ps. 34:22), and "evil shall slay the unjust man" (Ps. 140:12). But whoever says that shows clearly that he lacks faith in Christ, for he does not believe that Christ, the Lamb of God, takes away *his* sin. The weaker this faith is, the stronger the fear of death, and the stronger the faith, the more confidently will death be despised. For it is true that only the sinful conscience makes death horrible, for the sting of death is sin. Only faith in Christ, however, can cheer the sinful conscience, because "the victory is given us through Jesus Christ" (I Cor. 15:17; as was said above). Therefore, in order to show forth the power of faith in Christ, God manifested death, judgment and hell that the Christian might overcome them by faith. For these fearful powers are nothing but an exercise by which faith is to become "strong as death and hard as hell" (cp. Song of Sol. 8:6), because they oppress with assault and power and try to separate the heart from its trust in Christ. Therefore, when Jesus predicted the signs of horror, Luke 21:25ff., He immediately added, for the strengthening of faith: "But when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your hearts," in order that it might be conquered through faith. If death is feared on account of sin, it ought rather to be desired the more because of sin, for it is only death that ends and kills sin. We ought, therefore, to love death, the killer of sin, in the same degree that we fear sin. Hence the blessed

Cyprian says, in his work 'On Immortality': "We must struggle constantly and laboriously with avarice, with impurity, with anger, with the desire for honor, with the vices of the flesh and the allurements of the world. The spirit of man is beset and oppressed on every side by the attacks of the devil. With difficulty he resists each single (enemy), with difficulty he offers resistance." "Our minds suffer daily so many persecutions, the heart is oppressed with so many perils, and yet we enjoy remaining here on the battlefield of the devil as long as possible, when we ought rather to desire and yearn to hasten to Christ soon by the help of death." So says Cyprian. Nevertheless, we ought not to despair of those who fear death, but rather encourage and admonish them as we would those who are weak in faith, and receive them, according to the precept of the Apostle (Rom. 15:7). For this scorn of death is a special grace, preached by the Apostle and the saints; it is the goal and perfection which ought to be the desire of every Christian life, though only a very few are thus perfect. For Paul in the Epistle to the Romans calls Christians righteous and holy and free from sin, not because they (already) are, but because they are at the beginning and must become so by constant progress. Even the strong saints were terrified by death and God's judgment, as they themselves say (Ps. 55:4): "The terror of death has fallen upon me"; and again (Ps. 39:10): "I am consumed by the blow of thine hand"; and Ps. 116:3: "The pains of death have encompassed me, and the perils of hell have gripped me"; and Ps. 88:3: "My soul is full of troubles, and my life is near to hell." So such people are to be comforted and admonished: in the first place, through Christ Himself, who, in order not to be lacking in anything that one could desire of the best priest, not only took death upon Himself for us, conquering and making mock of it for us, but also accepted, conquered and sanctified the fear of death for the sake of those of little faith, in order that we should not scorn this fear as leading to damnation. Otherwise it would really be a sin not to want to die and to fear death. Behold; what more could the most merciful Savior have done that He has not done? Sin He bore wholly, death He left with us — but a conquered death. Moreover, He rendered harmless the fear of death, which, though conquered, is still fearful. — In the second place, they are to be comforted as the Lord comforts us in Matt. 10:28: "Fear not them which kill the body"; Is. 10:24: "O my people, fear not the Assyrian." For the Lord does not desire death. And even though He uses the devil and evil in the death and suffering of His saints (as He says in Job 40:19: "He who made him, he gave him his sword" and Is. 10:5, "O woe Assyrian, who is the rod and staff of my anger, in whose hand is my idignation), nevertheless, He does it with a loving and quiet heart, as He says in Job 41, 1 (Vulgate) (cp. 41:10): "I will not stir him up, like one that is cruel." Finally, He reproaches and chides them because they did more than He has commanded them, Zech. 1:14: "I am zealous for Zion with a great zeal. And I am angry with a great anger with the arrogant heathen, for I was angry a little, but they helped forward the evil." Nay more, God is even more wonderful when He smites and bruises His saints in order to move others to compassion that they may intercede before God for them, according to Ezek. 13:5: "You have not gone up to face the enemy, nor have you set up a wall for the house of Israel, to stand in battle in the day of the Lord"; and further on (Ezek. 22:30): "I sought among them for a man that might set up a hedge and stand in the gap before me in favor of the land, that I might not destroy it: and I found none." Hence the cry of Job 19:21: "Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, (because the hand of the Lord hath touched me)." Hence also the praise of Moses in Ps. 106:23, who "stood before God in the breach . . . , that He might not destroy Israel." On the other hand, He severely rebukes those who "increase the wounds with pains," "for they persecute him whom thou hast smitten" (Ps. 69:26).

20. *Chapter 2:15* (Scholia 135, 116) (and deliver them) who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage.— Chrysostom understands this in a threefold way. "Either, he who fears death is a slave and will endure everything in order not to die; or, they were all the slaves of death and were fettered by death as long as they were not redeemed; or, they lived in perpetual fear, constantly expecting death, unable to get a sense of happiness as long as this fear remained in them." All three of these interpretations, however, flow together into one explanation. For it was only on the basis of words that Chrysostom set up an antithesis between them. For did not he call the devil the ruler of death; so therefore he must have such as are subject to his rulership; thus the second interpretation is true: all were slaves of death and subject to the prince of death. Then the

first and third interpretations portray the misery accompanying the servitude. The first (interpretation shows) that such subjects, driven by fear and uncertainty, can find no real peace, according to Is. (48:22): "The wicked, saith the Lord, have no peace," and Deut. 28:65ff.: "The Lord shall give thee a trembling heart . . . , so that thy life shall hang in doubt before thee . . . In the morning thou shalt say, Would that it were evening! and in the evening thou shalt say, Would that it were morning! (for the fearfulness of thy heart, wherewith thou shalt be terrified)." The third interpretation (shows) that the fear of death makes (us) slaves of sin; for it is the spirit of bondage that makes men ever more wicked and drives them deeper into hate for law and righteousness. Christ, therefore, liberates us from the bondage of sin, in that He takes away fear; and thus He took away the power of him to whom we were subject only because of the fear of death. He did not destroy him in the sense that he is no longer existent, but in the same way that He liberated the spirit from the Law: not as though the Law were no more, but that we no longer fear the Law; so in like manner did He liberate us from the devil, not that the devil no longer exists, but that he is no longer feared. So, too, with death; not that there is no death, but that it is not feared, etc. I conclude, therefore: Henceforth the Christian need dread nothing, neither in this life nor the next, seeing that for him even death and all evils have been turned into blessing and gain.

21. *Chapter 3:7.* (Scholia 142, 5) (Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith:) Today if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts (Ps. 95, 7f). — . . . 'When you will hear in his voice' is Hebrew. For the word 'you will hear' (audietis) is taken to be impersonal (neutraliter) or rather as a noun (nominaliter); so that it reads 'when you will have been hearers' (cum fueritis auditores) or 'when you will have got to hear' (cum habueritis auditum), namely 'in his voice,' that is, through his voice; for "hearing comes through the word of Christ" (Rom. 10:17). It is expressed more clearly in the Hebrew than in our translation (= Vulgate). For there it sounds like the promise of future hearing through the voice of Christ, as if he should say, "When He Himself shall speak and make you to hear, harden not . . . " In our translation, however, it sounds as though the issue were uncertain. It is to be noted that this is the only and greatest thing that God requires of the Jews, nay, of all men, that they

hear His voice. Moses, therefore, repeats throughout the whole of Deuteronomy, "Hear, O Israel" (cp. Deut. 4:1; 6:4; 9:1), and again, "If thou wilt hear the voice of the Lord, thy God . . . " (cp. Deut. 4:30; 5:23ff. etc.). Likewise Jer. (7:21ff.) goes so far as to say, "Add your burnt offerings to your other sacrifices and eat flesh. For I neither spoke nor commanded your fathers in the day that I led them out of the land of the Egyptians concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices; but this I commanded them, saying, Hear my voice and I will be your God and you shall be my people." Indeed, nothing in the Prophets resounds more frequently than 'hear,' 'hear ye,' 'they heard not,' 'they would not hear'; and not unjustly, for without faith it is impossible that God be with us or deal with us, since He works all things only through the Word. Therefore no one can cooperate with God who does not adhere to the Word, which is done by faith, just as no instrument can work with the artificer unless it allows itself to be grasped by his hand. It is, therefore, altogether wrong to rush into works before God works in us, that is, before we believe.

Of course, the natural man vehemently recoils from this hearing, for there he must be reduced to nothing and fall into utter darkness, according to Ps. 38:10: ("The light of my eyes is gone" and Ps. 73:22:) "I became nothing and knew nothing," that is, I became a fool, as it says in Ps. (116:11): "I said in my distraction, All men are liars." When the potter wants to make a vessel out of clay, it is impossible to retain the former shape of the clay and at the same time make a vessel, for the previous form of the clay is contrary to the new form and lacks all the form of a vessel; as the natural philosophers say: the generation of one is the corruption of the other and all motion runs from contrary to contrary. And so, too, the natural man with his own light has a disposition to the light of grace, as does darkness to light and formlessness to form. Hence Jer. in chap. 18:6 gives the most beautiful example of the potter and the clay and says, "Behold as clay is in the hand of the potter, so are you, O house of Israel, in my hand." It is, therefore, impossible that the natural decision, counsel, wisdom, resolution and good intention should appear or come to pass in that with which and in which God works. For all of that is like raw material, like unformed clay, which, as soon as God begins to work, must give way to the opposite. Therefore, those who "wait not for the counsel of the Lord," relying on their own counsel, harden their hearts, to their own inestimable hurt, and hinder the work of God in them, because God works above and beyond all capability, above sense, above intention, and above all thought. So He says in Is. 55:9: "As the heavens are exalted above the earth, so are my ways exalted above your ways (and my thoughts above your thoughts), saith the Lord." For He is the Highest, and therefore His work also is the highest, as is manifest even in minute particulars, for example, in the exodus of the children of Israel (from Egypt). Whence we can now understand what it means to provoke God, to irritate God, to exasperate God, to contradict God, as the Scripture says so frequently. They are the ones who do not believe the Word of God and are impatient with the work of God, who, like "horses and mules" (Ps. 32:9), follow the Lord only so long as they can feel tangible things upon which to find support. If these supports collapse, they, too, collapse. Faith in Christ is, therefore, the most difficult thing possible; it is to be transported and rapt (cp. II Cor. 12:2ff.) *away* from all that is perceptible and tangible within and without *to* that which is perceptible neither within nor without, that is *to* God, the invisible, the highest, the incomprehensible.

22. *Chapter 3:9.* (Scholia 145, 19). Where your fathers tempted me, (proved and saw my works for forty years). — This is said to censure such great unbelief. For, if faith in God is really the most difficult thing possible, it is, nevertheless, greatly strengthened and made easier by the words and works of God which have preceded it. Hence they are denounced because they distrusted the promise of God, who promised them the land of Canaan, even though they had already experienced so often similar, nay, far greater, help from God. For it was no less impossible to escape the Egyptians through the Red Sea than to conquer the nations in Canaan; yet they had seen it done, as He also says here: "they saw my work," as though He said: I would be less angry if they had had to believe the word alone and had not previously seen such a work. Nor did He become angry at the time when they went through the sea, even though they doubted even there. And the prophets and saints learned this lesson to the comfort and strength of their faith; whence Ps. 143:4ff.: "My spirit is in anguish within me; my heart within me is troubled." What shall I do? Shall I despair? Far be it, no; but read on.

"I remembered the days of old, I meditated on all thy works and I meditated upon the works of thy hands. I stretched forth my hands to thee; my soul thirsteth for thee like a land without water." Likewise, in Ps. 77:12, where he laments in the same affliction and yet says, "I remembered the works of the Lord, for I will remember thy works from the beginning and I will meditate on all thy works and thy doings." Hence, too, the word of I Macc. 4:9: "Remember in what manner our fathers were saved," namely, through faith, as is shown more beautifully in Ps. 44 than in any other place: "O God, we have heard with our ears, (our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the times of old . . . .for they got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them: but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them)." So it comes to pass that the faith of the fathers who have gone before becomes gain and strengthening for the faith of those who follow after. And for that reason the faith of the ancient fathers was so much the more glorious, for it had less help and strengthening from previous examples; and so much the worse is the unbelief of the descendants for they had more examples for the strengthening of their faith, though they did not allow them to do so. But most detestable of all is the distrust of Christians, who, having the example of so many holy martyrs, still fear and refuse to tread the great, dolorous way of faith.

23. *Chapter 3:12.* (Scholia 148, 15). Take heed, brethren, lest perhaps there be in any of you an evil heart (of unbelief, departing from the living God). — The whole emphasis of this discourse lies upon the word 'heart'; for he does not say: 'Take heed, lest there be in any of you a greedy hand, a prurient ear.' For, above all, one must take care that the heart is pure, good, and holy; as in Ps. 51:12: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me," as though he said: The cleanliness of bodily works is nothing, if there is not first a cleanliness of heart. This uncleanness of heart, however, is so very deep that no man can recognize it, much less drive it out by his own power, as it is said in Jer. 17:9: "The heart of man is perverse and inscrutable, who can know it? I, the Lord, search the heart and (prove) the reins." Therefore, the heart will not be pure and good, except it be through faith in Christ, as in Acts 15:9: "And (God) put no difference between us and

them, purifying their hearts by faith." Faith does indeed make pure, for just as the Word of God is altogether pure and good, so it makes him who adheres to it like it, pure and good; and to every one who adheres to it and believes it, it imparts what itself it has and can do, Ps. 19:8: "The law of the Lord is unspotted, converting souls." And Christ in John 15:3: "You are clean by reason of the word, which I have spoken to you." And likewise Ps. 51:4 says in the Hebrew: "Against thee only have I sinned (and done evil before thee); therefore thou wilt justify in thy word, and purify in that thou judgest." And so also inversely, whoever is separated from, or has departed from the Word of God, will remain of necessity in evil and in uncleanness and in all that is contrary to the Word of God. Hence the Apostle says to Titus (Tit. 1:15): "To the unclean nothing is clean, but both their mind and their conscience are defiled." That is what he calls here 'departing from the living God.' For one departs from the living God as soon as one departs from His Word, which is living and which creates all life, yea, which is God Himself; therefore they die. But the departing is done by unbelief; and so it becomes manifest how the heart is evil: on account of unbelief. It is all evil, for (by unbelief) one departs from all good.

24. *Chapter 3:13.* (Scholia 149, 20). But exhort one another every day, (whilst it is called today). — Since we live in the midst of enemies, constantly attracted by countless allurements, hemmed in by cares, occupied by business (by all of which we are diverted from purity of heart), there is, therefore, one thing left for us to do: to exhort ourselves with all zeal and constantly arouse the sluggish spirit by hearing, reading, and meditating upon the Word of God, as the Apostle here admonishes. Thus we read of St. Cecilia, that she "constantly carried the Gospel of Christ on her heart and did not cease day or night from praying and godly conversation." Otherwise, with all the multiplicity of those things about us, the sluggishness and lukewarmness of the spirit (of all perils the greatest) would surely smother and choke us finally. That was the suffering of the Jews in the wilderness when they were sickened by the manna. So says Ps. 107:18: "Their soul abhorred all manner of food, and they drew near even to the gates of death." Indeed, out of his own experience the Psalmist says (Ps. 119:28): "My soul hath slumbered through heaviness, strengthen me in thy word," and Ps. 102:4: "I forgot

to eat my bread." Just as it is impossible for the body to be without bread (otherwise it would become weak), so, too, the heart of man cannot be strengthened except by this bread, the Word of God. For as often as we forget God's Word, so often will our heart sink back into material things and become polluted by them. And from that pollution we cannot be cleansed, except by returning to the Word. The Scripture, speaking thereof in metaphor, often mentions earrings; for just as earrings always hang on the ears, so must God's Word resound in the heart. Finally, Christ, therefore, lays it upon our hearts to preach His Word.

25. *Chapter 5:1.* (Scholia 172, 14). Is ordained for men. — A Christian is to know that it is not enough for him to believe that Christ is ordained (a high priest) for men and not believe that he himself is one of those men. For even the demons and the godless know that Christ is a high priest for men, but that they belong among those, they do not believe. So the blessed Bernard, in the treatise on the Annunciation (the theme of which is: "That glory may dwell in our land," Ps. 85:9), says somewhat as follows: 'You must believe that God can forgive your sins and give grace and glory. But that is not enough; if you do not believe with utmost certainty that *your* sins are forgiven, that grace is given to *you* and glory bestowed upon *you*. And this is the testimony of our conscience, which the Spirit of God gives our spirit (cp. Rom. 8:16), of which the Apostle in II Cor. 1:12 says: "Our glory is this, the testimony of our conscience."' The testimony of the conscience of which the blessed Bernard speaks must not be understood as though we had it of ourselves (that would be Pelagian and 'glory in shame' [cp. Phil. 3:9]), but rather that our conscience receives (this testimony), just as it also receives righteousness and truth. So it is that no one attains to grace because he receives the absolution or baptism or the communion or the unction, but because he believes that he attains to grace through absolution, baptism, communion, and unction. For that universally known and accepted dictum is true: 'Not the sacrament, but faith in the sacrament justifies,' and also the word of the blessed Augustine: 'It (the sacrament) justifies, not because it is performed, but because it is believed.' It follows that it is an altogether pernicious error to say that the sacraments of the New Law are efficacious signs of grace in the sense that they require no preparation at all in the one who receives, other than that he must not put any obstacle in the way; an obstacle

they call an act of mortal sin. That is utterly false! Rather, every sacrament requires the purest heart, otherwise one will become guilty in the sacrament and incur its judgment. But the heart cannot be made pure, except through faith, Acts 15:9. Thus Philip, also, did not baptize the eunuch (Acts 8:37) without first examining his faith. Even at the present time no child is baptized unless someone responds for it: 'I believe' etc. Hence it attains to grace, not because it is baptized, but because it believes. It is, therefore, a monstrous error in those who want to go to the Sacrament of the Altar leaning on such a reed as the fact that he has confessed or that he is not conscious of any mortal sin or has prayed beforehand and prepared himself. All such people eat and drink to judgment (I Cor. 11:29), for they have not become worthy and pure through these things; but have rather defiled themselves even more by such trust in their own purity. But if they believe and trust, they will attain to grace. For it is this faith alone that makes them pure and worthy, that is, those who do not lean upon such works, but rather upon the one pure, holy, sure word of Christ when He says: "Come to me, all you that labor, and are burdened, and I will refresh you" (Matt. 11:28). In deliberate trust in this word one should go to the Sacrament; and he who goes thus will never be confounded.

26. *Chapter 6:13.* (Scholia 192, 7). For God making promise to Abraham . . . "Just as the Apostle has terrified us with punishments in the foregoing, so now does he comfort us with recompense in these words; and thus shows us God's way (of doing things); for God does not fulfil immediately what He promises, but after a long time" (Chrysostom). Accordingly, he who wants to serve God must know this His will and His way (of doing things). For who can serve a master whom he does not know? Furthermore, it is not enough merely to know God as a dog knows his master or as the philosophers (as it is written in Rom. 1:20) have known God's power and essence. For that is a sensual, rude knowledge, injurious to him who has it. Nay, what God wills, what His counsel is, that is what we must know. And this He manifests in His commandments, as it says in Ps. 103:7: "He hath made his ways known to Moses; his will to the children of Israel." But no one can rightly understand His precepts unless he be enlightened anew from above, according to Wisdom 9:13: "For what man can know the counsel of God, or who can think what God wills?" Likewise I Cor. 2:16: "Who

hath known the mind of the Lord." Likewise (I Cor. 2:11 and 10): "No one knows what is in God, save only the Spirit of God," but God has revealed it to us through his Spirit." And that is what He meant in John 14:26 where He said: the Spirit "will teach you all things and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you," as though He would say: You are not yet able to bear or understand my words (cp. John 16:12), though they are the will and commandment of the Father, but you shall understand them if the Holy Spirit teaches you. This was beautifully predicted in Ex. 20:18f. and Deut. 18:15f., where the Jews were unable to endure the speech of God and desired an interpreter, and God promised them (a prophet), which was the future Christ. Psalm 143:8, therefore, teaches us to pray: "Make the way known to me in which I should walk," and throughout the whole of Psalm 119 we hear "Teach me" (Ps. 119:12, 26, 64, 68 etc.), "instruct me" (Ps. 119:27), "give me understanding" (Ps. 119:34, 73, 125 etc.), and so forth, with many more of them, by which not only God's essence, but, above all, His will is enjoined upon us. Therefore, those who presume to grasp the Holy Scriptures and God's law by their own ability and to understand it by their own study, are utterly wrong. For heresies and impious doctrines arise as soon as they approach (the Scriptures), not as receptive disciples, but as officious teachers, though it is written in Ps. 92:15: "They shall be very receptive*, that they may proclaim," that is, they shall let themselves be taught, that they may teach. Man, of himself, cannot understand the will or law of God; nevertheless, we ought to try as far as possible, although it is unspeakable for the inexperienced. In the first place, it is the will of God in every law that He alone be esteemed and preferred above all things. Now when God begins to accomplish and fulfil this will, He divests and deprives man of every work of his own inwardly and outwardly; and thus "He scatters the thoughts of the people and rejects the counsel of the heathen" (cp. Ps. 33:10). Here in the depths man cries: "Thy judgments are a great deep" (Ps. 36:6), there "he comprehends with all the saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth" (Eph. 3:18). In short, he becomes so confused and confounded that it is impossible for him to endure and persevere in the will of God, unless the Holy Spirit helps his infirmity (Rom.

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* Et bene pacientes erunt, whereas the Vulgate reads: et bene patientes erunt.

8:26) and, as Isaiah says, "bridles our mouth for the praise of God" (Is. 48:9). Here, then, comes to pass what is said in Job 3:23 concerning "the man whose way is hidden and whom God has surrounded with darkness." How, then, can he understand, much less love, God, when all his counsel and thoughts are rejected? Therefore, to understand this invisible will of God in such darkness is none other than the office of the (Holy) Spirit. And assuredly this will of God was tolerable heretofore, and still is tolerable, if He at least leaves us such consoling words as Is. 54:7: "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee," and the like. Nevertheless, the final (will of God), which abrogates even this word of comfort and promise, is that (will) which makes it possible for us to understand the saying of Christ (in Matt. 24:22): "Unless those days had been shortened, no flesh would be saved."

27. *Chapter 9:14.* (Scholia 223, 8). How much more does the blood of Christ (who through the Holy Ghost offered himself without spot to God) cleanse our conscience (from dead works, to serve the living God). — . . . Let us go through the individual parts. In the first place, a pure conscience is one that does not sting man when he remembers his sins, nor torment him with the fear of future punishment, as Ps. 112:7 says: "The just shall not fear the evil hearing." For an evil conscience is caught and tormented between past sins and future punishment, as if in the midst of straits, as the Prophet says (Lam. 1:3). The Apostle, also, in Rom. 2:9 says: "Tribulation and anguish (upon every soul of man that doeth evil)." For (the conscience) must have anguish and tribulation wherever it turns, since it can neither alter past sin nor in any way escape the coming wrath. And it is freed from this anguish only through the blood of Christ. If it looks to Him in faith, then it believes and knows that in Him its sins are washed away and blotted out. Thus it is at once purified and quieted through faith, so that for joy over the forgiveness of sins it no longer fears punishment. Therefore, no law and no works can add a single thing to this purity; only the blood of Christ, and even this cannot, save only where the heart of man believes that it was shed for the forgiveness of sins. It is necessary, therefore, to believe Him who made the testament and said: "This is the blood which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins."

In the second place, by 'dead works' he undoubtedly means sins, for unquestionably he calls that which defiles the conscience 'dead works,' of which it is cleansed by the blood of Christ; for it is only sin that defiles the conscience. From these weighty words it follows, therefore, that even good works, performed outside of grace, are sins to such a degree that they also can be called 'dead.' For, if without the blood of Christ the conscience is mortally unclean, then it can do nothing but that which it is itself, namely, uncleanness, as the Apostle teaches in the first chapter of Titus (Titus 1:15): "To the impure, nothing is pure." But it is certain that he speaks here not of venial, but of mortal impurity. For even in the pure and in the saints there is nothing pure, that is, nothing without venial sin, for, according to Is. 64:6 even their righteousness is impure: ("But we are all as the impure, and all our righteousness is like filthy rags"). And so we must have done altogether with the opinion of those who call the good works done outside of grace 'dead' (mortua) but not 'mortal' (mortalia). For it is manifest that the Apostle, when he says 'from dead works,' makes 'dead' (= dead work) mean the same thing as 'mortal' (= mortal sin). Otherwise, if 'dead' here were the same as 'not meritorious,' as they say, then it would follow that the blood of Christ will not cleanse (real) sinners, but only those who, as they say, do 'good works in general.' Consequently they would also have to say that 'uncleanness,' 'sin,' 'faults,' etc. are the same as 'not meritorious,' which would be nothing else than an utter twisting of the whole Scriptures by giving new meanings to words. It follows from this that a good, pure, quiet, cheerful conscience is nothing but faith in the forgiveness of sins, which (faith) cannot be received except in the Word of God, which proclaims to us that the blood of Christ is shed for the forgiveness of sins. For, no matter how much we saw or heard that the blood of Christ is shed, the conscience would still not be cleansed in the least, unless the words 'for the forgiveness of sins' were added. For the Jews have seen, all the heathen have heard, and still they are not cleansed. Indeed, it is even not enough to believe that it is shed for the forgiveness of sins, if one does not believe that it is shed for the forgiveness of one's own sins. Behold, only Christ's shed blood cleanses the conscience through faith in Christ's word . . .

28. *Chapter 9:24.* (Scholia 236, 7). (For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the

figures of the true, but into heaven itself) that he may now appear in the presence of God for us. — As has been said, some know Christ through speculation (speculative), others by personal experience (practice). The opinion of the one is that Christ appears in the presence of God for any one. The view of the others, however, is that Christ appears in the presence of God for us. Therefore, it is necessary that the Christian be certain, nay, most certainly certain, that Christ appears and is a priest before God *for him.*

29. *Chapter 11:6.* (Scholia 268, 9). (But without faith it is impossible to please God.) For he that cometh to God, must believe (that he is, and is a rewarder of them that seek him.) — To believe that God is, appears to be so easy for many people that they ascribe this faith even to the poets and philosophers, as the Apostle affirms in Rom. 1:20. Indeed, there are some who think that this (the existence of God) is self-evident. Nevertheless, (in the first place,) such a faith is human, just like other human thought, art, wisdom, dreams, etc. For it all falls to ruins as soon as temptation comes. Then neither reason, nor counsel, nor human faith will avail: "They were troubled, and reeled like a drunken man; and all their wisdom was swallowed up (Ps. 107:27). The apostle James, therefore, calls it a dead faith (James 2:20), and others call it an 'acquired faith.' But there is nothing whatsoever in man that is not vanity and lies. — In the second place, it is the kind of faith that does not believe that which concerns itself, but only what concerns others. For even when he believes "that God is, and is a rewarder of them that seek him," he still does not believe that God is (for him) and will reward *him.* It is, therefore, a belief concerning God, as we say, but not a belief in God. On that account another faith is needed, namely, a faith by which we believe that we ourselves belong to the number of those for whom God exists and is a rewarder. But such a faith comes, not from the natural man, but out of grace. For the natural man fears and flees the face of God, and in his belief He is not a God, but a tyrant, a torturer, and a judge, according to Deut. 28:65: "The Lord will give thee a fearful heart . . . and thy life shall be as it were hanging before thee." Let us give an analogy for both kinds of faith. A candle exposed to the wind loses not only its rays, but all its light; but neither the sun itself nor its rays shining down from above can be disturbed by any force of the winds. So the one kind of faith is extinguished, but the other never.

V. SELECTIONS FROM LUTHER'S COMMENTARY ON GALATIANS 1519*

30. *Chapter 1:3. Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ* — The Apostle here distinguishes between '*grace and peace*' as God gives it and grace and peace as the world gives or as man can give to himself. For the grace of God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ takes away sins, because it is a spiritual and hidden grace. In like manner the peace of God makes the human heart serene, quiet, and glad in the presence of God in secret. And, as is said elsewhere, grace takes away the guilt and peace takes away the punishment, so that righteousness and peace kiss and meet each other (Ps. 85:10). But when this happens one soon loses grace and peace among men, with the world and the flesh, that is, with oneself and the devil; rather one excites anger and tumult among them. For he who stands in the grace of God, does what is pleasing to God, and therefore he at once displeases the devil, the world, and his own flesh. While to God he is righteous, to the flesh and the world he is a sinner. And so the war breaks out, — war on the outside, but peace within. "Within," I say, but not accessible to the sense or felt in its sweetness, at least, not always; but rather it is an invisible peace through faith. For "the peace of God surpasseth all understanding" (Phil. 4:7), that is, it is incomprehensible without faith. Conversely: he who is in the grace of the world and himself and is pleased with himself immediately sins before God and runs into wrath. Says James (4:4), he "who would be a friend of this world, becometh an enemy of God." Hence here, too, war ensues at once, — war within with God, peace without with the world. For "there is no peace to the wicked, saith the Lord," Is. 48:22. And yet Ps. 73:2 says, "I saw the prosperity of sinners," and Ps. 37:7, "the sinner prospers in his way." So this war, too, is a hidden one and at least at times it cannot be perceived. Therefore the following four propositions balance each other, so to speak, as two pounds:

Grace of God and disgrace of the world,
Peace of God and dispeace of the world,

Grace of the world and disgrace of God,
Peace of the world and dispeace of God.

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* Translated from Weimar Edition II, 443ff.

In this sense Christ says in John 16:33: "In the world you shall have distress, but in me peace: but have confidence for I have overcome the world." And Paul says below (Gal. 1:10): "If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ," that is, I would not please Him. Therefore in this salutation he sets forth the sum of his doctrine: Manifestly no one can be just outside the grace of God, in no case by works. And the disquiet of the conscience can find no peace except through the peace of God; hence, not through any kind of works of virtue or satisfaction.

How is it then that the Apostle was not satisfied simply to say, "*from God our Father*," without adding, "*and our Lord Jesus Christ*"? He writes it thus in order to distinguish the kingdom of grace from the kingdom of glory.

The kingdom of grace is the kingdom of faith in which Christ as man reigns, according to Ps. 8:6, being placed by God the Father over all things. In this kingdom "he receives gifts for men" from God, as Ps. 68:18 says, and He does that until the Last Judgment. At that time, so the Apostle teaches in I Cor. 15:24, 28, "he shall deliver up the kingdom of God and the Father, and God will be all in all, when he shall bring to naught all principality and power."

The kingdom of glory is that in which God will reign in His own Person, no longer through Him who became man in faith. Not as though it were an altogether different kingdom; it is rather totally different only in the way in which it is ruled; now "in faith" and "through a dark glass" by the Christ who has become man, then "in sight" (II Cor. 5:7; I Cor. 13:12) and in the revelation of the divine nature. Hence the Apostles as a rule call Christ "Lord," but the Father "God," although both are one and the same God. But they do this, as I have already said, because of the difference between the kingdoms; for now we are among those who are being purged in faith, but "in sight" we shall be saved.

31. *Chapter 1:4-5. Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present world, according to the will of God and our Father: to whom is glory for ever and ever. Amen.* — The individual parts of this passage are full of inner tension and also betray unusual emphasis. For here Paul lays it down in general terms that the Law and human free will are absolutely nothing. The only thing that matters is faith in Christ who was delivered for our sins.

"*Who gave*," he says, and hence it is a gratuitous gift to those who have not merited it. He does not say, "he paid back," as if it were a reward for people to whom it was due. Thus also Rom. 5:10: "When we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son." He "gave," not gold or silver, nor a man, nor all angels, nay, but "*himself*." There is nothing greater than that, nor has He anything greater to give. Now He gave such an inestimable price "*for our sins*," for something that is so despised and which deserves only hate. O how God condescends to us and loves us! With what noble and well chosen words does the Apostle praise the mercy of God the Father, and how sweet above all things does he make it for us! Now where are those who swagger so boastfully with their free will, where is the erudition of moral philosophy, what good are the laws, spiritual as well as secular, if our sins are so great that they could only be blotted out at such a great price? What can we ever accomplish so long as we still try to make ourselves righteous with our will, by laws and doctrines, except to cover our sins with the lying appearance of righteousness and virtue and so make of ourselves incurable hypocrites. What good is virtue when sins remain? We must therefore despair of all these things and deem all virtue that is without faith in Christ as nothing but a "cloak of maliciousness" (I Pet. 2:16) and a "cover for all filthiness," as Christ describes the Pharisees (Matt. 23:27). The virtues of the heathen, therefore, are nothing, nothing but fraud. Otherwise one would have to assert that it was for nothing that Christ was delivered for our sin, as though He had resolved to pay such a great price in vain, for something that we could have done by our own powers!

But do not pass over this little pronoun, "*our*," with contempt! For it will do you no good whatsoever to believe that Christ was delivered for the sins of other saints, while you despair because of your own. For even the godless and "the devils" believe that much (James 2:19). But with constant faith you, too, must believe of yourself that it applies to your sins also and that you are one of those for whose sins He was Himself delivered. This faith justifies you; it will bring it about that Christ will dwell, live and rule in you. This faith is the "testimony of the Spirit which He gives to our spirit that we are the sons of God," Rom. 8:16. Wherefore you will readily see, if you take heed, that that impulse (toward faith) is not present in you of your own powers.

It must therefore be obtained by the prayers of a humble, self-despairing spirit.

Therefore those opinions of the scholastics, which teach that man has no certainty as to whether he is in a state of salvation or not, are fables. Beware of ever being in a state of uncertainty; but rather be certain of this, that of yourself you are lost, and strive to be surely and firmly founded in faith in the Christ who was delivered for your sins. How can it be then, (as the scholastics say) that you are not conscious of this faith when you have it, when St. Augustine assures us he who has faith knows it with utmost certainty?

Observe here that Paul does not say "for your sins," but "for our sins," for he had certainty. Likewise in the phrase "*deliver us*," he does not say "you." With the lightning of this word he shatters the presumption of the will, the Law, and the works of our own righteousness. It is not such things, he says, that deliver us, but Christ who was betrayed, — if only you will believe that *you* will be delivered. This deliverance is a spiritual one, however, not a bodily one. It takes place when the soul dies to the world and when it, that is, the concupiscence, which dwells in the flesh of all men, is crucified to the world (cp. Gal. 5:24; 6:14). Paul explains this further in Titus 2:12, where he says: "Denying ungodliness and worldly desires, we should live soberly, and justly, and godly in this world." In this verse he has strongly emphasized both things, namely, the life in this world, since the world (in itself) is not evil, and (the denial) of worldly desires, since in this world evil desires are so abundant. Wherefore he adds here: "*from this present wicked world.*" Otherwise, if by "wicked world" he wanted us to understand the course of time, he would teach that all who believe in Christ must immediately be snatched out of this life. That this was not his own view he explains likewise in I Cor. 5:10, where he says: "Otherwise you must needs go out of this world." That is to say: "I did not intend that you should flee from the world, but rather from the lusts and passions that are in the world." So also in II Pet. 1:4: "Fleeing the corruption of that concupiscence, which is in the world." St. Jerome explains beautifully and exhaustively how this expression is here used. He says: "Forest thickets that are full of robber bands fall into disrepute; we detest the sword by which human blood has been shed, and the chalice in which poison has been mixed, not because the chalice and sword have sinned, but because the men who have so misused them deserve hate. In like manner, the world also, so far as it is in the span of time, is not in itself good or bad, but it is called good or bad on account of those who are in it." In the same sense, St. Augustine takes wicked world to mean the wicked men in the world. But be sure to understand all this in a way that you will also recognize yourself as a part of this wickedness. For "all men are liars," Ps. 116:11, and "there is none righteous on earth," Ps. 14:3; therefore do not lift yourself up in pride too much above others. So when Christ delivers you from the world, then assuredly He is delivering you from yourself, who are your very worst enemy, as Paul says in Rom. 7:18: "In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." Not with your own powers, therefore, will you conquer the wicked world and your lusts. Works are vain, if Christ alone does not deliver you. Take heed, therefore, that fasts, vigils, studies, temperance, sobriety, and other virtues do not make you an irreparable hypocrite!

"*According to his will,*" that is: When we are delivered, then "it is not of him that runneth (our virtues), but of the merciful will of God," Rom. 9:16. Likewise Ps. 51:18 says: "Deal favorably, O Lord, in thy good will with Zion." And Luke 2:14: "And on earth peace to men of good will," not his own good will, but the divine good will, as it is in Greek, "*Eudokia.*" Just as there is the phrase "men of mercy" (Is. 57, 1) and "vessels of mercy" (Eccl. 44:10), because they are received not through their own merit, but on account of the mercy of God, so it also speaks of "men of good will," because they are saved, not by their own powers, but according to the good pleasure of the divine will, Eph. 1:9. For this must stand firm: To God alone "*be glory for ever and ever, Amen,*" as the Apostle here says. But if we are able to do something (of ourselves), it certainly must not be ascribed to the glory of God, but to our glory. But far be it that dust and nothingness should have praise and glory! See therefore with what force Paul strikes the Galatians and their teachers even in his salutation alone, — a very fitting introduction to the theme of this epistle!

32. *Chapter 3:21a. Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid!* — Thus in solving one question he calls forth another. For when the Law increases transgressions it appears to move the goodness (of God), who gives the promise, to wrath.

That would be correct if the promise of blessing depended upon the Law or upon our righteous works in the Law. But it depends solely upon the truth of Him who gives the promise. Therefore the Law is not against the promise of God; nay, it is for the promise of God. How so? Because it shows forth sins and irrefutably convinces that no one can be justified by it, yea, that it even increases sin, and thus constrains us the more to seek the fulfillment of the promise, to implore and to wait in expectation. For now we need it much more than before, when the Law did not exist. Therefore *"God forbid"* that the Law should be against the promises; on the contrary, it makes the promises all the more welcome and desirable to those whom it has humbled by showing them their sins.

33. *Chapter 3:21b. For if there had been a law given which could give life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.* — That is to say: The Law is not against the promises, for it is given that it may kill and increase sins, that is, that through the Law man might learn how urgently he needs the grace of the promise. For the "good, just, and holy law" (Rom. 7:12) only makes him worse. Hence if he leans upon the Law, he is not to become over-confident in his trust in the works of the Law; he should rather learn to seek for something altogether other and better than the Law, namely, the promise. If the Law had been able to give life, then we would already be righteous. But it rather kills and makes more sinners, and by that token it works for the promises; for it constrains us to desire them the more and it destroys to the very bottom all work-righteousness. But if it did not destroy it then we would not seek after the grace of the promise; it would be ungratefully accepted, yea, it would be repudiated, as is the case with those who do not rightly understand the Law. It would not destroy, however, if it were only unable to make righteous and give life and if its purpose were not to be the occasion for the increase of sins and death (Rom. 7:8-11). For where concupiscence is forcibly suppressed it is always only goaded and increased. So even if the Law is apparently against the promises in that it increases sin in those who do not come to a recognition of their sins by means of the Law, that is not the fault of the Law. For when the Law is not rightly understood it is not the Law at all. It is rightly understood only when one recognizes one's sins by it. And where it is understood and sins are recognized, there it assuredly works

for the promise, because at the same time it makes one yearn for the grace of the promise. For it shows that one can be bound to grace without any merit. Therefore a right understanding of the Law establishes and strengthens the pure favor of Him who gives the promise and His most gracious will, which is shown in the granting of this favor.

34. *Chapter 3:22. But the scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith in Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.* — With this word Paul answers two questions at the same time: Why the Law is given and why the Law, in spite of the increase of transgressions, is not against the promises of God. *"All,"* he says, *"hath God concluded under sin through the scripture."* That is to say, through the Law and the letter God showed that we were sinners and incapable of righteousness or fulfilling the Law. By means of the Law and the letter, even if the Law did make sins manifest and even if it did prove our incapability of fulfilling it, He wanted to constrain the humbled, who despaired of themselves and trembled, to flee to the gratuitous mercy of God in Christ. And so the promise, made to Abraham, as Paul here says, is to be *"given"* (given, mark you, not paid out), given to those who are not worthy of it and who through the Law have deserved the very opposite. That is, the grace and blessing of justification by faith in Christ is to be given to all who believe in Him.

We find the same thing also in Rom. 11, 32: "God hath concluded all under sin, that he might have mercy upon all" and (Rom. 3:19f.): "that every mouth may be stopped and the world may become guilty before God, because by the works of the law no flesh shall be justified before him." How did He "conclude" them? Through the Scripture, through the Law, through the letter. That is the same as Paul set forth with such boldness, above in chapter 3:10, concerning the works of the Law when he quotes Deut. 27:26: "Cursed be all who do not abide in all, etc." That also is what he says so confidently in Rom. 3:9-12: he proves "that both Jews and Greeks are all under sin," and he resolutely proclaims over all men that word of Ps. 14:1-3: "There is none just, there is none that understand, they are all gone aside and become unprofitable altogether." Likewise in Rom. 2, where he dares to characterize as guilty even the Jews, who trusted in the outward appearance of their works, because he looked upon this appearance as nothing. He says there (Rom. 2:1 and 21):

"Thou doest the same things which thou judgest"; "thou teachest not to steal, and thou stealest, in that thou hast lusted." So sure was Paul, — so sure is it in reality, that all that is done outside of grace is sin and pure hypocrisy . . . .

Therefore that saying of Ps. 116:11: "All men are liars" stands, and the saying of Ps. 143:2: "In thy sight no man living shall be justified" stands, that at the same time the glory of God, the praise of His grace and the splendor of His mercy may also stand. "We must be ashamed," says Dan., chap. 9:7, "but our God is righteous, etc." You see therefore what it means to become righteous by faith in Christ: namely, to learn to know your iniquity and your weakness through the Law and thus to despair of yourself, of your powers, your knowledge, of the Law, of works, of everything, and with trembling and with confidence humbly implore the right hand of Christ the Mediator, firmly believing that you will attain to grace. As Paul quotes from Joel (2:32) in Rom. 10:13: "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved." And at the same time you see that the whole human race, though in the eyes of men it may shine with ever so much wisdom and righteousness, is nothing but a mass of corruption and curse. This can also be seen in the wording of the promise itself (Gen. 22:18): "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed." If all nations are to be blessed, are not all nations accursed? Hence, in that they still need justification, saving, and all that the word "blessing" signifies, they are condemned sinners and all that the word "curse" signifies. The Law, therefore, is given in order that sin may increase. But increase of sins is not its only purpose, but also that proud man should also recognize this increase of sin and be terrified by the Law, so that, driven to despair of himself, he may thirst after mercy. As Ps. 42:1 says: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." Likewise Ps. 42:3: "My tears have been (my meat day and night), whilst it is said to me daily: Where is thy God?" From this cause comes all the crying, groaning and yearning of the patriarchs and prophets and the anxious expectation of Christ and the fearfully grievous laments over the burden of the Law.

The Law is therefore good, just, and holy (Rom. 7:12), but it does not justify. It shows me who I am in so far as I am irritated by the Law and hate righteousness more than before, and delight in concupiscence more than before. For it is only terror of the threats of the Law that restrains me from evil works, but never from evil concupiscence. To illustrate the matter for you by way of example: Water is a good thing, but when it is poured over lime it kindles it. Is it then the fault of the water that the lime becomes hot? No, the lime, which gives the impression of being cold, is convicted by the water of what it has within it. So the Law arouses the evil passions and hatreds and exposes them, but it does not bring healing. If, however, one pours oil on lime, it does not become hot; rather its hidden heat is quenched. So grace, which is poured into our hearts by the Holy Spirit, quenches hate and concupiscence.

I have gone into this at such length because this matter cannot be sufficiently impressed upon our generation, so strong has the tyranny of legalistic righteousness become! But mark you well: If the most holy Law of God could not justify us, but only made us even more sinners, what can this sea of our laws, traditions, and ceremonies in the Church accomplish? Especially since they are observed in the foolish notion that one can be justified by them and since they prevent us from knowing what Christ means to us and why we should believe in Him! For these laws are not used in order to know sin through them, nor to exercise faith in Christ through unselfish love. They are rather observed because it is confidently believed that their observance makes one righteous, and it is believed that nothing else is necessary. Or, if they implore the grace of Christ they do so in order that they may be able to do such (legalistic) works, not that they may be freed of the inward corruption and uncleanness of the flesh. Therefore, as I have often said, with all these unwise and unhappy laws the Church must surely perish, if God had not provided us with a remedy.

35. *Chapter 3:23. But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto that faith which was to be revealed.* — To all, says Paul, who are under the Law, before they have been justified by faith, the Law is like a prison in which they are locked and guarded. For the freedom to sin is prohibited to them by the power and terror of the Law, no matter how much the concupiscence may rise up and struggle against it. Indeed, concupiscence becomes infuriated and hates the Law, its prison, but it is nevertheless forced to abstain from the works of sin. Whoever has once learned to know this misery, however, will be

humbled and will yearn for grace and will no longer be able to put his trust in the righteousness of the Law. For he feels that the Law itself makes him averse to the Law and prone to sin. He would rather that there were no Law at all, that he might satisfy his evil lusts with impunity. But this wish is hate of the Law, and to hate the Law is to hate truth, righteousness, and holiness. And that is not only sin, but love of sin; it is not only to be unrighteous, but even to hate righteousness. That is to say, sins are increased by the Law!

Hence St. Augustine says of this passage: If through the Law one must discover oneself to be a transgressor of this Law, then to those who believe it conduces, not to their ruin, but to their benefit; for the Law has shown that the sickness was a serious one and, therefore, has brought it about that the physician was more urgently desired and more fervently loved. For he to whom most is forgiven, loves the most (Luke 7:47). Also in Rom. 5:20: "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." The Law was given, therefore, not only that it might reveal and increase sin (otherwise it would better have been postponed until the last Judgment, that we might be spared the double contrition), but also that by revealing sin it might humble us and drive us to Christ.

By that phrase "*before faith came*" is meant not only the faith that was revealed after Christ, but the faith of every righteous man. For the same faith came aforetimes also to the patriarchs, since the Law of God which was first revealed to them constrained them to seek grace also. Of course, faith was not yet preached in the whole world at that time, but it was, nevertheless, preached at home in the families of the patriarchs.

Moreover, one must take care not to arrange the context thus: "*shut up unto faith,*" as though Paul wanted us to understand that we are "shut up" in faith, as in a prison; when, in fact, he intends to affirm this of the Law. Rather we were "shut up" in the prison of the Law and "unto faith," that is, until the coming of faith, or in order that we may be freed by the coming of faith when the Law, by keeping us prisoner, has brought us to the point where we yearn to be free by faith. The same thing is expressed in chapter 3:17: "The covenant that was confirmed by God in Christ," that is, it was to be confirmed by the coming of Christ; likewise (chap. 3:24): "The law was our pedagogue in Christ," that is, unto Christ.

36. *Chapter 3:24-25. Wherefore the law was our pedagogue unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after the faith is come, we are no longer under a pedagogue.* — In truth this is a beautiful simile! "*Pedagogue*," the word derives from "child" and "to lead," for he imparts discipline and training to the young. Now, says the Apostle, just as children are assigned a taskmaster in order to keep in check the wantonness of youth, so the Law is given us in order to keep sins in check. But it is just as with children: they are restrained only by fear of discipline and for the most part they hate the teacher; they want to be free and they do everything only if they are forced or enticed by coaxing, but never out of love for the thing itself or of free will. The same applies to those who are under the Law: they are restrained from sinful works only by fear of the threats of the Law; they hate the Law and want to give free rein to their desires, but they do all only because the terror of punishment compels them or because a love of a temporal promise entices them, but never out of a free, unconstrained will.

Afterwards, when the children come into their inheritance, they realize how useful the pedagogue has been and they begin even to love him and to praise the office of pedagogue and to blame themselves for not obeying gladly and willingly. Now without a taskmaster they do gladly of their own free will what under the taskmaster they did reluctantly and unwillingly. So it is with us when we have acquired faith, which is our true inheritance promised to Abraham and his seed: we perceive how holy and healing the Law is, but how shameful evil lust is. Then we come to love the Law and praise it and call it wonderfully good. Indeed, the more the Law itself pleases us, by so much the more do we damn and vituperate our own lusts. Now we do gladly and willingly what, when we were ignorant, the wholesome Law forced us to do outwardly through force and terror, without being able to force us to do it inwardly. That is what Paul means when he says that we are no more under a pedagogue after faith is come. Rather the pedagogue has become our friend and is more honored than feared by us.

Again, as I said above, take care not to read the context in this manner: "The law was our pedagogue in Christ," as though the Law were still a taskmaster for us who already live in Christ. Our translation has it so, and apparently also understands it so.* That entirely misrepresents Paul's meaning. On the contrary, just as children are under the pedagogue unto the inheritance, that is, they are to be educated by him in order that they may attain to their inheritance, so the Law is our pedagogue *unto Christ,* that is, we are to be prepared by the discipline and exercise of the Law for Christ, for faith, for the inheritance, to seek it and sigh for it. For, as I said, the Law prepares the way for grace, in that it reveals and increases sins and humbles the proud so that they yearn for the help of Christ. The Apostle supports this meaning also by the phrase that follows: "unto Christ," — namely, "*that we might be justified by faith,*" we who were made sinners by the Law. Thus Ps. 69:6 says: "For thy mercy is sweet, Lord" (Cp. Ps. 109:21). Why? "Because thy law is bitter, O Lord." Therefore the child shall not remain under the Law, but shall be educated unto the inheritance, which will then be "sweeter" to take. So the Law, too, makes the grace of God sweeter and more acceptable. Thus does Paul excellently set forth the goal of the Law: it does not consist in that we should become righteous and fulfill it, but rather in that we should sigh for Christ, that through faith in Him its fulfillment may be sought. But our hypocrites hold the laws themselves and their works to be the end of the Law; they do not direct them toward Christ, but only to the works, and thereby they are eternally lost along with the Jews, whom they imitate, understanding neither the Law nor its works.

37. *Chapter 5:1. Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* — I impress it upon you *ad nauseam*: "Liberty" and "bondage" are the points involved in what the Apostle says in Rom. 6:20ff.: "For when you were the servants of sin, you were free from righteousness . . . But now being made free from sin, you are become servants to God." Let us arrange it in the form of the following diagram:

Freedom from righteousness.	Bondage to sin.
Bondage to righteousness.	Freedom from sin.

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* The Latin Vulgate, not the Greek text, reads literally: "The law was our pedagogue in Christ." Luther corrected the Vulgate, following the Greek text (*in Christum*).

For he who is free from sin has become a servant of righteousness; but he who is a servant of sin is free from righteousness, and *vice versa.*

I repeat all this because I know that because of the multitude of locusts and caterpillars things have come to such a pass with the fruits of our ground* that far and wide no one any longer understands the meaning of this "bondage" and "freedom." To such an extent has that human fiction concerning the free will gained a foothold and completely established itself in the understanding of these two contraries or contradictions! Indeed, freedom is even thought of in a carnal sense, as though in Christ one were permitted to do anything one wished; and the Apostle has to oppose such people in the same chapter of Rom. (6:12ff.). In reality this "freedom" means that we willingly and joyfully do what the Law commands without regard for punishment or reward; bondage, however, means that we do it in servile fear or puerile love.† It therefore has nothing to say, nor does it make any distinction between a "servant of sin" and a "servant of the Law." For whoever is a servant of the Law is always a sinner, for he never fulfills the Law, unless perhaps for appearance' sake with (outward) works. Therefore he receives only temporal reward, as do the children of the handmaids and concubines; the inheritance, however, is given to the son of the free-woman (chap. 4:30). *With this liberty,* says the Apostle, *has Christ made us free.* It is a spiritual liberty, to be kept in spirit, not that heathen liberty of which even the heathen Persius saw that it was inadequate. It is a freedom from law, but of an altogether opposite kind from that which is usual among men. For among men, freedom consists in that the laws are changed, though men have not changed.‡ Christian liberty, on the contrary, consists in this, that, without the Law being changed, men are changed; so that the same Law that was formerly hated by the free will is now joyfully welcomed, because "love is poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost" (Rom. 5:5).

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* Referring to the description of the Egyption plagues in Ps. 105:34f., Luther is here characterizing the abuses in the Church.

† That is, like children, who do what is commanded because of love for reward.

‡ That is, laws are abrogated and their wholesome compulsion ceases, but men remain the same and do what they please. Such is "carnal freedom."

"In this liberty," the Apostle teaches, we must bravely and perseveringly *"stand fast."* For Christ, who fulfilled the Law for us and conquered sin, sends the Spirit of Love into the hearts of them who believe in Him, whereby they become men who are righteous and love the Law, not by their own powers, but through the rich, gracious gift of Christ. Therefore if you turn away from this gracious gift, you are ungrateful to Christ and proud of yourself; for then you want to make yourself righteous and free yourself from the Law without Christ.

Note the importance of these words: *"Be not again"*; be not *"in bondage"; * be not *"in the yoke of bondage"; * be not *"entangled,"* or as it says more clearly in the Greek: *"mi enechesthe"* (be not held fast in), just as he said above (cap. 3:23) that we are "shut up" in a prison. That is to say, do not be locked up, do not be possessed by, or, as Erasmus says, do not be ensnared and entangled under the ponderous and intolerable burden of the Law, in which you can only be a servant and a sinner anyhow. "To be entangled" is not so bad; "to be entangled in bondage" is a hard word; but the hardest of all is "to be entangled with the yoke of bondage," especially after one has been given liberty.

"Stand fast," he says, thereby presuming that they are in better case than he really finds them, namely, that they have not yet fallen. Otherwise he would have said, "Arise"; but he says engagingly "Stand fast." At the same time he intends to teach us that henceforth no one should give such sharp reproof that one despairs of ever making amends again; no, one must give grounds for good hope. But the thunderers of our day do not do that; they are quite satisfied when they have indulged their terrifying lust for power.

38. *Chapter 5:2. Behold, I Paul tell you that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* — After the Apostle has overthrown the righteousness of the Law with many powerful arguments and given abundant grounds in reason for faith in Christ, he now proceeds with no less vigor to exhort, restrain, threaten, and promise; and thus he waters what he has just planted (I Cor. 3:6ff.). With apostolic ardor and zeal he leaves nothing untried and withal he is temperate in all things, so that it is highly pleasing to behold such a mirror of apostolic solicitude. First he terrifies them by saying, Christ profits them nothing if they be circumcised. He says, *"I, Paul, declare to you,"* repeating his

name that it may have the weight of his authority. Here again I repeat: To be circumcised is not evil in itself, but to seek righteousness in circumcision (for that is why they let themselves be circumcised) is ungodliness. Indeed, with the ceremonial works it is much easier to see that it is wrong to trust their righteousness than with the moral works of the Ten Commandments; for one must not seek righteousness even in the Ten Commandments, but only in faith in Christ. I say this in order that no one will think that in this passage the Apostle is contending only against the ceremonial law. He is rather only taking the most manifest work of the Law as an example, but he understands by it all the works of the Law.

Romans 2:25 appears to stand in contradiction to this passage: "Circumcision profiteth indeed, if thou keep the law." How, asks Jerome, can circumcision be of benefit if you keep the Law, when even Christ was of no profit to those who were circumcised? This sainted man is a bit confused here, but, in short, it is impossible that the Law be fulfilled without Christ, as has already been frequently said. This the Apostle treats as a fixed principle and he has proved it conclusively. But those who keep the Law, that is, those who in faith have Christ the Fulfiller of the Law, are at liberty to be circumcised or not to be circumcised. All things profit them, "all things work together unto good" (Rom. 8:28). But those who are circumcised out of servility or fear of the Law, because they do it to satisfy the Law and thus force their justification, — they certainly "cast away" Christ and "the grace of God," chap. 2:21. For they presume to fulfill the Law by another way than through Christ. Thus, on account of circumcision, Christ profits them nothing. On the other hand, circumcision does no harm to the others on account of Christ.

Through such foolishness, yea, godlessness, those also perish who, in a fit of conscience or in danger of sudden death, become conscious of the utter wickedness of their lives and seeing the distance that separates them from the Law of God either despair or plunge themselves into the same godlessness (as the Galatians). They want to make satisfaction for their sins and then henceforth keep the Law in order to clear their conscience; they think they will become good men when they have fulfilled what the Law prescribes. Moreover, they understand by "fulfill," not an utterly pure faith in Christ, the Fulfiller of the Law, but the satisfaction of the Law by a multiplicity of works.

Such is the godless justification that we learn from the ordinances of men and a monstrous theology whose head is Aristotle and whose foot is Christ, in which they are the sole rulers. They brag so with their miserable works of satisfaction, and it is really marvellous how much they make out of it in their indulgence markets. They act as if it were not enough merely to believe in Christ; and yet upon this faith alone rests our righteousness, our redemption and satisfaction, our life and glory.

But you, when you have come to a knowledge of your sins through the guidance of the Law, take heed that you do not at once presume that now you are satisfying the Law because you are living a better life. Rather despair utterly of your past and your future life and believe firmly in Christ. But when you believe and thus are justified and fulfill the Law, then call upon Him that "sin may be destroyed" (Rom. 6:6) in your flesh also, that there, too, the Law may be fulfilled as it is already fulfilled in your heart by faith. Only then will you be able to do works that are good according to the Law.

Hence very appropriate is that custom of impressing upon the dying only Christ, the Crucified, and of exhorting them to faith and hope. Here at all events, — no matter how much the deceivers of the soul have deluded us throughout our whole life — the free will collapses, good works collapse, here the righteousness of the Law breaks down and nothing remains but faith alone and to call upon the pure mercy of God. So I have often thought that there are more, or at any rate, better, Christians in death than in life. For the more that trust frees itself from one's own works and the more absolutely it is directed toward Christ alone, the better will the Christian be. And the good works of the whole life must be practiced in this faith. At the present time, however, we are pushed into our own merits by the fogs and clouds and tornadoes of human traditions and human laws and, besides, ignorant interpreters of Scripture and preachers. We want to make satisfaction for our sins of ourselves and we do not direct our works toward the purging of the lusts of the flesh and "that the body of sin may be destroyed" (Rom. 6:6). No, we want to heap up works like corn in a barn, as if we were already pure and holy, and thus we want to make God our debtor and sit up in heaven, who knows how high. Blind, blind, blind! All such Christ profits nothing; they know what to do: they make themselves just.

SOURCE MATERIAL TO CHAPTERS THREE TO FIVE

I. Luther's First Attempts at Bible Translation

a. *Selections from the Penitential Psalms, 1517.*

1. *Psalm 6.* Ach got, straff mich nit yn deinem zcorne und castey mich nit yn deinem grymme. Ach got, erbarm dich mein, dan — ich byn schwach, Mach mich gesund, dan alle mein gebeyne erschrocken seyn, Und meyn seel seer erschrocken ist, aber o got wie lange? Ach got, keer erwider und erlosze meine seel, mach mich selig umb deiner barmhertzikeyt willen. Dan in dem tode ist niemant der dein gedenckt, aber yn der helle wehr wirt dir lob und danck sagen? Ich byn geengstet yn meinem sufftzen, ich wil alle nechte waschen mein bett und mit meinen threnen begissen mein lager. Mein angesicht ist gantz vorwustet vor grym, ich byn voraldtt under den die alle mein feinde synd. Weychet von myr alle, die yr do wircket das nit recht ist, dan got hat erhöret das geschrey meines weynen. Got erhöret hat mein gebeet, got hat auffgenomen mein bitten. Ach das sich schemeten und seer erschrocken wurden all mein feynde, das sie widerkeert wurden und seer schnel zu schanden wurden.

2. *Psalm 51.* Ach Gott, erbarme dich meyn nach deyner groszen barmhertzickeyt, Und nach der mennige deyner erbarmung Tilge ab meyne ungerechtickeit. Wasche mich yhe meer und meer von meiner ungerechtickeit und mach mich reyn von meyner sunde. Dann ich erkenne, das ich ungerecht byn, unnd mein sunde ist myr altzeyt vor meynen augen. Dyr alleyn byn ich eyn sunder und eyn ubel theter vor deynen augen, Auff das du alleyn rechtfertig seyst yn deynen worten, und uberwindest (ader besteest) wan du wirst gerichtet. Sihe, yn ungerechtickeyt byn ich empfangen, und yn sunden hat mich mein mutter empfangen. Sihe, die wayheyt hastu lieb, Das ynwendige und vorborgene deyner weyszheit hastu myr offenbart. Besprenge du mich mit hyssopen, szo werd ich reyn, wasche du mich, und alszo werde ich weysser dann der schnee. Gib meynem gehorde freud und trost, und szo werden sich erfrewen die gebeyne, die zurschlagen seynd. Wende ab deyn angesicht von meynen sunden und tilge ab all meyne ungerechtickeyt. Ach gott, schaff yn myr eyn reynes hertz, und ernewe yn meym ynwendigsten eyn richtigen geist. Vorwirff mich

nit von deynem angesicht und nym nit von myr deinen heilgen geist. Gib mir widder den trost deines heiles und befestige mich mit eim freywilligem geist. Ich wil deine wege leren die ubeltheter und die sunder sollen tzu dir bekert werden. Ach gott, got meins heyls, erlosze mich von denn gebluten unnd lasz mit freuden auszpredigen meinn tzunge deyn gerechtickeit. Ach gott, thu auff meine lippen und lasz meinen mund vorkunden deyn lob. Dann szo dyrsz wolegefallen were, hett ich wol kund ein opffer geben, aber yn den opffernn ist nit deyn wolgefallen. Das opffer, das dir, mein got, gefelt, ist ein zerbrochner geist, Eyn rewiges und gedemutiget hertz, ach gott, das wirstu nit vorachten. Thu guticklich yn deinem guten willen mit Zion, auff dass erbawet werden die mauren Jerusalem. Alszdanne wirstu angenehm haben das opffer der gerechtickeit, die gantz gebranten und andere opffer, danne werden sie kelber opffern auff deinen altar.

3. *Psalm 130.* O Gott, tzu dyr hab ich geschryen von den tyffen, o got, erhore mein geschrey. Ach das deine oren achtnehmen wolten auff das geschrey meines bittens. Szo du wilt achthaben auff die sunde, O mein got, O gott, wer kan dan besteen? Dan ist doch nur bey dir allein vorgebung, darumb bistu auch allein tzufurchten. Ich hab gottis gewartet, und mein seel hat gewartet, und auff seyn wort hab ich gebeytet. Mein seel die ist tzu gott wartend Von der morgen wache bisz widder zu der morgen wache. Israel der wartet zu gott, dann die barmhertzickeit ist bey gott, und manichfeltig ist bey yhm die erloszung. Und er wirt erloszen Israel ausz allen seinen sunden.

b. *Psalm 110, translated 1518*

4. *Psalm 110.* Got hat gesagt zu meinem herren: setz dich zu meiner rechten, Bisz das ich leg deine feind zum schämel deiner füsse. Das scepter deinr krafft wirt got aussenden ausz Syon, dein herrschafft sol sein mitten under deinen feinden. Deine völcker werden sein die freywilligen in dem tag deiner kraft in hailiger zierd, ausz der muter der morgenröt sol dir geborn werden der thaw deiner kindschafft. Got hat geschworn und wirt in nimmer gereüwen: du solt sein ain priester ewig nach der weisz Melchisedech. Der herr zu deiner rechten hat zerbrochenn in dem tag seins zorns die künig. Er wirt ain richter sein in der haydenschafft, er wirt erfuellen was zerfallen ist, er wirt zerschlagen die heüpter die ueber viler leüte land regieren. Er wirt trincken in seiner wegfart van dem wasserstrome, darumb wirt er das haupt erheben.

c. *Psalm 68, translated 1521*

5. *Psalm 68.* Gott der stehe auff, das sich tzurstrewen seyne feynd unnd seyne hasser flihen fur seynem angesicht. Wie der rauch sich vorwebt, szo vorweb sichs, wie das wachs fur dem fewer vorschmiltzt, alszo mussen auch vorgehenn die ungerechtenn fur gottis angesicht. Und die gerechten sich frewen und hupffen fur gottis angesicht, und ynn freuden alle wonne habenn. Singet Gotte, psalterspielt seynem namen, pflastert yhm den weg, der do fehrt yn Araboth, Herr ist seyn name, seyt guts muts fur seynem angesicht. Er ist eyn vatter der weyszen und eyn richter der witwen, Er ist eyn gott, ynn seyner heyligen wanunge. Er ist der gott, der do macht eynnmütige woner ym hausz, Er furet ausz die gefangnenn tzu rechter tzeytt, Doch die eygensynnigen bleyben ynn der durre. O Gott, da du auszgiengist fur dem angesicht deynisz volcks, Da du wandelist ynn der wusten, Sela. Da erbebet die erden, die hymel troffen, fur dem angesicht diszes gottis von Sinai, und fur dem angesicht gottis von Israel. Ach gott, eynen freyen regen wirstu orternn, Das erb ist yhe deyn, es ist mude, du wirsts zu richten. Deyn vihe wyrtt drynnen wonen, Du wirst bereytten dem gedemutigten, O got, yn deyner guttyckeyt. Gott wirt geben das auszreden, das der Euangelisten wirt seyn eyn grosz heerschar. Die kunige der heerscharen werden freundlich seyn unternander, und die hauszczihrd wirt tylen die auszbeut. So yhr werdet schlaffen tzwischen den grentzen, szo werden die fittich der tawben mit silber ubirtzogen seyn, und yhre rugflugel werden seyn golltfarb. Wen der almechtig die kunige ubir sie auszbreyttet, szo werdenn sie schnee weysz werdenn ym Zalmon. Der Berg gottis ist eyn fetter bergk. Eyn gehuglet berg, eyn fetter berg. Was hupfft yhr gehugleten berge? Disz ist der berg, Darauff gott woll gefellet tzu wonen. Ja er wirt drauff bleyben bisz ansz ende. Der wagen gottis ist zweymal zhehen tausent tausent, Gott is ynn yhnen mit Sinai ynn der heylickeyt. Du bist yn die hohe gestigen, hast den raub geraubet, hast gaben empfangen ynn die menschen. Wie woll noch eygensinnig dazu seyn, das gott der herr hir wone. Gebenedeyet sey gott alle tage, der sich mit unsz beladet, Disz ist eyn gott unszer selickeyt, Sela. Diszer got ist unsz eyn got selig zu machen und ist unsz zu eynem Herrn got worden ausz zu gehen von dem todte. Aber gott wirt das hewbt seyner feynd tzur knyrssen, denn scheddel mit den haren, deren die do wandllenn yn yhren sunden. Gott hat gesagt: ausz Basan will ich bekeren, Ich wil bekeren ausz der tieffe desz mehris. Darumb wirstu deynen fusz beferben yn blutt. Darausz kumpt

die zunge deyner hund ausz den feynden. Sie haben gesehenn, O gott, deyne genge, die genge meynisz gottis, meynsz kunigs ynn der heylickeyt. Die fursten sind die foddersten mit den spielleutten, mitten unter den Jungfrewlin, die do paucken. Inn den vorsamlungen gebenedeyet gott Den herrn fur den brunnen Israel. Da selbst ist Beniamin der Jungling im geist enttzuckt, Die furstenn Juda sind yhr steynigung. Die fursten Zabulon, die fursten Nephthali. O gott gepeutt deyner krafft, o gott bekrefftige das du ynn unsz gewirckt hast. Umb deynis tempelsz willen tzu Hierusalem werden dyr die kunige geschenck tzufuren. Straff das thier im rohr, die samlung der ochszen unter den kelbern der volcker, wilchs da regiert in den liebhabern des silbersz, und zurstrew das volck, das do sucht am nehsten zu sein. Die bottschafften ausz Aegypten werden kummen, Morenland wirt lauffen tzu gott mit seynen handen. Yhr reych der erden singett Gott, Psalter spielet dem hernn. Sela. Dem der do fehret im hymel aller hymel vonn anbegyn, Nempt war, er wirt geben seyner stym eyn stym der krafft. Gebt die krafft gotte ubir Israel, Seyn grosztettickeyt und krafft ist ynn den wolcken. Schrecklich ist got an seynen heyligen, Er ist der got Israel, er ist der do gibt krafft und stercke dem volck, Gebenedeyet sey gott.

d. *The Magnificat, translated 1521*

6. *Luke 1:46-55.* Meyn Seel erhebt Gott den herrnn. Unnd meyn geyst frewet sich ynn Gott meynen heyland. Denn er hat mich seine geringe magd angesehen, davon mich werden selig preyszen kyndsz kynd ewiglich. Denn er, der alle ding thuet, hat grosz ding mir gethan, und heylig ist sein name. Und sein barmhertzickeit langet von eynem geschlecht zum andern, allen, die sich fur yhm furchtenn. Er wircket geweltiglich mit seinem arm, und zurstoret alle die hoffertigen ym gemut yhrs hertzenn. Er absetzet die groszen herrnn von yhrer herschafft, und erhohet die da nydrig und nichts seynn. Er macht sat die hungrigen mit allerley gutter, und die reichen lessit er ledig bleybenn. Er nympt auff sein volck Israel das yhm dienet, nach dem er gedacht an seine barmhertzickeyt. Wie er denn vorsprochen hat unszernn veternn, Abraham und seynen kinden ynn ewickeyt.

e. *From the Church Postill of 1521*

7. *Luke 2:1-14.* Es ist auszgangen eyn gepot von dem Keyszer Augusto, das vortzeychnett wurd der gantz erden kreysz, und dieselb vortzeychnisz ist die erst geweszenn tzur tzeytt, da

Cyrenius ym land Syrien pfleger war, und haben sich yderman auffgemacht sich zuuorzeychen lassen, eyn iglicher ynn seyne stadt. Unnd Joseph hatt sich auch auffgemacht von Gallilea ausz der stadt Nazareth, ynn das Judisch land, ynn die stadt Dauid, die do heyst Bethlehem; denn er war van dem hawsz und geschlecht Dauid, auff das er sich vortzeychen liesze mit Maria seyner vortraweten hawsfrawenn, wilche gieng schwanger. Und ist geschehen, alsz sie da waren, sind erfullet die tage, das sie sollt geperen, und hatt gepornn yhren ersten sohn, und hat yhn ynn tuchle gewickellt und gelegett ynn eyn krippen, denn sie hattenn keynen andernn rawm ynn der herberge. Und es waren hirtten ynn derselbenn gegend, die waren ym feld und wartteten auff die wartt der nacht, ubir yhre hurtte, und nempt war, der Engell gottis stund hartt ubir yhnen, und die klarheytt des herrnn umbleuchtet sie, unnd sie sind erschrocken fur grosser furcht, und der Engell sprach tzu yhnen: yhr sollt euch nitt furchten! Nempt war, ich vorkundige euch eyne grosse freud, die do allisz volck habenn wirdt; denn es ist euch heutte gepornn der seligmacher, das ist, Christus der herr, ynn der stadt Dauid; unnd das habt euch tzum tzeychen: yhr werdet finden das kind eyngewickellt und gelegt ynn eyn krippenn; und alszbald ist vorsamlet mit dem Engell die menge der hymlischen heerscharen, die haben gott gelobt und gesagt: Ehre sey gotte ynn den allerhohisten, und frid auff erden, den menschen eyn wolgefallen.

II. SELECTIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT OF 1522 AND THE BIBLE OF 1546

From the September Testament of 1522

8. *Luke 15.* Es naheten aber zu yhm alle zolner vnnd sunder, das sie yhn horeten, vnd die phariseer vnd schrifftgelerten murreten vnd sprachen, diszer nympt die sunder an vnnd isset mit yhn, Er saget aber zu yhn dis gleychnis vnd sprach, wilch mensch ist vnter euch, der hundert schaff hat, vnnd so er der eynes verleuret, der nicht lasse die neun vnd neuntzig ynn der wusten, vnnd hyn gehe nach dem verlornen, bis das ers fynde? Vnd wenn ers funden hat, so legt ers auff seyne achszeln mit freuden, vnd wenn er heym kompt, rufft er seynen freunden vnd nachparn, vnd spricht zu yhnen, frewet euch mit myr, denn ich habe meyn schaff funden, das verloren war, Ich sage euch, also wirt auch freude ym hymel seyn vber eynem sunder der bus thut, fur neun vnd neuntzig gerechten, die der bussze nit bedurffen, Oder wilch weyb ist, die zehen grosschen hatt, so sie der eynen verleuret, die nit eyne liecht antzunde vnd kere das haus vnd suche mit vleysz, bis das sie yhn finde? vnnd wenn sie yhn funden hat, rufft sie yhren freundynnen vnnd nachparynnen, vnd spricht, frewet euch mit myr, denn ich habe meynen grosschen funden den ich verloren hatte, Also auch, sag ich euch, wirtt eyn freude seyn fur den engelln gottis vber eynen sunder, der busse thutt.

Vnd er sprach, Eyn mensch hatte zween sone, vnnd der iungst vnter yhn sprach zu dem vater, Gib myr, vater, das teyl der gutter, das mir gehoret, vnnd er teylet yhn das gutt, vnnd nicht lang darnach samlet der iungst son alles zu samen vnd zoch ferne vber land, vnnd daselbs bracht er seyn gutt vmb, mit brassen, Da er nu alle das seyne vertzehret hatte, wart eyn grosse theurung durch dasselbe gantze land, vnd er fieng an zu darben, vnd gieng hyn, vnnd henget sich an eynen burger des selben lands, der schickt yhn auff seynen acker der sew zu huten, vnnd er begerte seynen bauch zu fullen mit triestern, die die sew assen, vnnd niemant gab sie yhm.

Da schlug er ynn sich, vnd sprach, wie viel tagloner hatt meyn vater, die brod haben die fulle, vnd ich verderbe ym hunger,

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While Luther in the September Testament of 1522 did not make frequent use of the diphthongs ä, ö, ü, it is an exception in the Bible of 1546 if they are not used. Here we always find forms like these: S*ü*nde, F*ü*sse, S*ö*hne, erh*ö*ren, Z*ö*llner, erl*ö*sen, Sch*ä*mel

*From the Bible of 1546**

8. *Luke 15.* ES naheten aber zu jm allerley Zolner vnd Sunder, das sie jn horeten. Vnd die Phariseer vnd Schrifftgelerten murreten, vnd sprachen, Dieser nimpt die Sunder an, vnd isset mit jnen. Er saget aber zu jnen dis Gleichnis, vnd sprach, Welcher Mensch ist vnter euch der hundert Schafe hat, vnd so er der eines verleuret, der nicht lasse die neun vnd neunzig in der Wusten, vnd hingehe nach dem verlornen, bis das ers finde? Vnd wenn ers funden hat, so leget ers auff seine achseln mit freuden. Vnd wenn er heim kompt, ruffet er seinen Freunden vnd Nachbarn, vnd spricht zu jnen, Frewet euch mit mir, Denn ich habe mein Schaff funden, das verloren war. Ich sage euch, Also wird auch freude im Himel sein, vber einen Sunder, der busse thut, fur neun vnd neunzig Gerechten, die der busse nicht bedurffen.

Oder, welch Weib ist, die zehen grosschen hat, so sie der einen verleurt, die nicht ein Liecht anzunde, vnd kere das haus, vnd such mit vleis, bis das sie jn finde? Vnd wenn sie jn funden hat, ruffet sie jren Freundinnen vnd Nachbarinnen, vnd spricht, Frewet euch mit mir, Denn ich habe meinen grosschen funden, den ich verloren hatte. Also auch, sage ich euch, wird freude sein fur den engeln Gottes, vber einen Sunder, der busse thut.

VND er sprach, Ein Mensch hatte zween Sone, vnd der Jungste vnter jnen sprach zu dem Vater, Gib mir Vater das teil der Guter, das mir gehort. Vnd er teilet jnen das Gut. Vnd nicht lang darnach samlet der jungste Son alles zusamen, vnd zoch ferne vber land, daselbs bracht er sein gut vmb mit brassen. Da er nu alle das seine verzeret hatte, ward eine grosse Thewrung durch dasselbige gantze Land, vnd er fieng an zu darben. Vnd gieng hin, vnd henget sich an einen Burger desselbigen Landes, der schicket jn auff seinen acker der Sew zu huten. Vnd er begerte seinen Bauch zu fullen mit trebern, die die Sew assen, vnd niemand gab sie jm.

DA schlug er in sich, vnd sprach, Wie viel Tagloner hat mein Vater, die brot die fulle haben, Vnd ich verderbe jm hunger. Ich

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[= Schemel] etc.; however, instead of "f*ü*r God," it always offers "f*u*r God" without the diphthong. In the manuscript this peculiarity was overlooked, so the reader is asked to make these changes himself and read always S*ü*nder, erl*ö*sen, etc.

ich will mich auff machen vnd zu meynem vater gehen, vnd zu yhm sagen, vater, ich hab gesundiget ynn den hymel vnd fur dyr, vnd byn fort nit mehr werd, das ich deyn son heysze, mache mich als eynen deyner tag loner, vnd er macht sich auff vnd kam zu seynem vater, Da er aber noch ferne von dannen war, sahe yhn seyn vatter, vnd iamert yhn, vnnd lieff, vnd fiel yhm vmb seynen hals, vnd kust yhn, Der son aber sprach zu yhm, vater, ich hab gesundigt ynn den hymel vnnd fur dyr, ich byn fort nit mehr werd, das ich deyn son heysze, Aber der vatter sprach zu seynen knechten, bringt das beste kleyd, her, vnd thut yhn an, vnd gebt yhm eyn finger reyff an seyne hand, vnnd schuch an seyne fussz, vnd bringt eyn gemestet kalb her, vnd schlachtets, last vns essen vnnd frolich seyn, denn diser meyn son war todt, vnnd ist widder lebend worden, er war verloren, vnd ist funden worden, vnd fiengen widder an frolich zu seyn.

Aber der elltist son war auff dem feld, vnd als er kam, vnnd nah bey dem hausze war, horet er das gesenge vnd den reygen, vnnd rieff zu sich der knecht eynen, vnd fraget, was das were, der aber sagt yhm, deyn bruder ist komen, vnd deyn vatter hatt eyn gemest kalb gaschlacht, das er yhn gesund widder hatt, da wart er zornig, vnd wollt nit hynneyn gehen, Da gieng seyn vater eraus vnd bat yhn, Er antwort aber vnd sprach zu seynem vatter, sihe, so viel iar diene ich dyr, vnd habe deyn gepott noch nie vbertretten, vnd du hast myr nie eynen bock geben, das ich mit meynen freunden frolich were, Nu aber komen ist diser deyn son, der seyn gut verschlungen hatt mitt den huren, hastu yhm eyn gemest kalb geschlacht, Er aber sprach zu yhm, Meyn son, du bist alltzeyt bey myr, vnd alles was meyn ist, das ist deyn, du soltist aber frolich vnd guttes mutts seyn, denn diser deyn bruder war todt vnd ist widder lebend worden, er war verloren, vnnd ist widder funden.

9. *John 15.* ICh byn eyn rechter weynstock, vnd meyn vatter eyn weyngertner, Ein iglichen reben an mir, der nicht frucht bringt, wirt er abschneytten, vnd eyn iglichen der da frucht bringt, wirt er reynigen, das er mehr frucht bringe, Yhr seyt itzt reyn vmb des worts willen das ich zu euch geredt habe, Bleybt ynn mir, vnd ich ynn euch, Gleych wie der rebe kan nit frucht bringen von yhm selber, er bleyb denn am weynstock, also auch yhr nicht, yhr bleybt denn ynn myr.

Ich bynn der weynstock, yhr seyt die reben, Wer ynn myr bleybt, vnd ich ynn yhm, der bringt viel frucht, denn on mich kund yhr nichts thun, wer nicht ynn myr bleybt, der wirt weg wil mich auffmachen vnd zu meinem Vater gehen, vnd zu jm sagen, Vater, ich habe gesundiget in den Himel vnd fur dir, vnd bin fort nicht mehr werd, das ich dein Son heisse, Mache mich als einen deiner Tagloner. Vnd er machet sich auff, vnd kam zu seinem Vater. Da er aber noch ferne von dannen war, sahe jn sein Vater, vnd jamert jn, lieff vnd fiel jm vmb seinen Hals, vnd kusset jn. Der Son aber sprach zu jm, Vater ich habe gesundiget in den Himel vnd fur dir, Ich bin fort nicht mehr werd, das ich dein Son heisse. Aber der Vater sprach zu seinen Knechten, Bringet das beste Kleid erfur, vnd thut jn an, vnd gebet jm einen Fingereiff an seine hand, vnd Schuch an seine fusse, vnd bringet ein gemestet Kalb her, vnd schlachtets, Lasset vns essen vnd frolich sein, Denn dieser mein Son war tod, vnd ist wider lebendig worden, Er war verloren, vnd ist funden worden. Vnd fiengen an frolich zun sein.

ABer der elteste Son war auff dem felde, Vnd als er nahe zum Hause kam horet er das Gesenge, vnd den Reigen, vnd rieff zu sich der Knechte einen vnd fraget, was das were? Der aber saget jm, Dein Bruder ist komen, vnd dein vater hat ein gemestet Kalb geschlachtet, das er jn gesund wider hat. Da ward er zornig, vnd wolt nicht hinein gehen. Da gieng sein Vater heraus, vnd bat jn. Er antwortet aber, vnd sprach zum Vater, Sihe, so viel jar diene ich dir, vnd habe dein Gebot noch nie vbertretten, vnd du hast mir nie einen Bock gegeben, das ich mit meinen freunden frolich were. Nu aber diser dein Son komen ist, der sein gut mit Huren verschlungen hat, hastu jm ein gemestet Kalb geschlachtet. Er aber sprach zu jm, Mein son, du bist alle zeit bey mir, vnd alles was mein ist, das ist dein. Du soltest aber frolich vnd gut muts sein, denn dieser dein Bruder war tod, vnd ist wider lebendig worden, Er war verloren, vnd ists wider funden.

9. *John 15.* ICh bin ein rechter Weinstock, vnd mein Vater ein Weingartner. Einen jglichen Reben an mir, der nicht frucht bringet, wird er wegnemen, vnd einen jglichen der da frucht bringet, wird er reinigen, das er mehr frucht bringe. Jr seid jtzt rein, vmb des Worts willen, das ich zu euch geredt habe. Bleibet in mir, vnd ich in euch. Gleich wie der Rebe kan keine frucht bringen von jm selber, er bleibe denn am Weinstock, Also auch jr nicht, jr bleibet denn an mir.

ICh bin der Weinstock, jr seid die Reben. Wer in mir bleibet vnd ich in jm, der bringet viel frucht, Denn on mich kund jr nichts thun. Wer nicht in mir bleibet, Der wird weggeworffen,

geworffen, wie eyn rebe, vnd verdorret, vnd man samlet sie, vnd wirfft sie yns fewr vnd verbrennet sie, So yhr ynn mir bleybt, vnd meyne wort yn euch bleyben, werdet yhr bitten was yhr wollt, vnd es wirt euch widderfaren, Darynnen wirt meyn vatter preyset, das yhr viel frucht bringet, vnd werdet meyne iunger.

Gleych wie mich meyn vatter geliebet hat, also hab ich euch auch geliebt, bleybt ynn meyner liebe, So yhr meyn gepot haltet, so bleybt yhr ynn meyner liebe, gleich wie ich meynes vaters gepot gehalten habe, vnnd bleybe ynn seyner liebe, Solchs hab ich zu euch geredet, auff das meyn freud ynn euch bleybe, vnd ewr freud volkomen werde. Das ist meyn gepot, das yhr euch vnternander liebet, gleych wie ich euch geliebt habe, Niemant hatt grosser liebe, denn die, das er seyn leben lesset fur seyne freunde, yhr seyt meyne freund, so yhr thut, was ich euch gepiete, Ich sage hynfurt nit das yhr knechte seyt, denn eyn knecht weys nicht was seyn herre thut. Euch aber hab ich gesagt, das yhr freunde seytt, Den alles was ich hab von meynem vater gehoret, hab ich euch kund than.

Yhr habt mich nit erwelet, sondern ich hab euch erwelet, vnnd gesetzt, das yhr hyngehet vnd fruchte bringt, vnnd ewre frucht bleybe, auff das, so yhr den vater bitet ynn meynem namen, das ers euch gebe.

Das gepiete ich euch, das yhr euch vnternander liebet, So euch die wellt hasset, so wisset, das sie mich vor euch gehasset hat, weret yhr von der welt, so hette die wellt das yhre lieb, die weyl aber yhr nicht seyt von der welt, sondern ich habe euch von der wellt erwelet, darumb hasset euch die wellt, Gedenckt an meyn wort, da ich euch gesagt habe, der knecht ist nicht grosser denn seyn herr, haben sie mich verfolget, sie werden euch auch verfolgen, haben sie meyn wort gehalten, so werden sie ewris auch halten.

Aber das alles werden sie euch thun vmb meynes namens willen, denn sie kennen den nicht, der mich gesand hat, Wenn ich nicht komen were, vnd hets yhn gesagt, so hetten sie keyne sunde, Nu aber konnen sie nichts furwenden yhr sund zu entschuldigen, Wer mich hasset, der hasset auch meynen vatter, Hette ich nicht die werck than vnter yhn, die keyn ander than hat, so hetten sie keyn sunde, Nu aber haben sie es gesehen vnd doch beyde mich vnd meynen vatter gehasset, Doch das erfullet werd der spruch ynn yhrem gesetz geschriben, Sie haben mich on vrsach gehasset, Wenn aber der troster komen wirt, wilchen ich euch senden werd vom vater, der geyst der warheyt, der vom vater aus gehet, der wie ein Rebe, vnd verdorret, vnd man samlet sie, vnd wirfft sie ins fewer, vnd mus brennen. So jr in mir bleibet, vnd meine wort in euch bleiben, werdet jr bitten was jr wolt, vnd es wird euch widerfaren. Darinnen wird mein Vater geehret, das jr viel Frucht bringet, vnd werdet meine Junger.

GLeich wie mich mein Vater liebet, also liebe ich euch auch. Bleibet in meiner liebe. So jr mein Gebot haltet, so bleibet jr in meiner liebe, gleich wie ich meines Vaters gebot halte, vnd bleibe in seiner liebe. Solchs rede ich zu euch, auff das meine Freude in euch bleibe, vnd ewre freude volkomen werde. Das ist mein Gebot, das jr euch vnternander liebet, gleich wie ich euch liebe. Niemand hat grosser liebe denn die, das er sein leben lesset, fur seine Freunde. Jr seid meine Fruende, so jr thut was ich euch gebiete. Ich sage hin furt nicht, das jr Knechte seid, denn ein Knecht weis nicht, was sein Herr thut. Euch aber habe ich gesagt, das jr Freunde seid, denn alles was ich habe von meinem Vater gehoret, hab ich euch kund gethan.

JR habt mich nicht erwelet, sondern ich habe euch erwelet, vnd gesetzt, Das jr hin gehet vnd Frucht bringet, vnd ewre frucht bleibe, Auff das, so jr den Vater bittet in meinem Namen, das ers euch gebe.

DAs gebiet ich euch, das jr euch vnternander liebet. So euch die welt hasset, so wisset, das sie mich vor euch gehasset hat. Weret jr von der welt, So hette die welt das jre lieb. Dieweil jr aber nicht von der welt seid, sondern ich habe euch von der welt erwelet, Darumb hasset euch die welt. Gedencket an mein wort, das ich euch gesagt habe, Der Knecht ist nicht grosser denn sein Herr. Haben sie mich verfolget, Sie werden euch auch verfolgen. Haben sie mein wort gehalten, So werden sie ewers auch halten.

ABer das alles werden sie euch thun, vmb meines Namen willen, Denn sie kennen Den nicht, der mich gesand hat. Wenn ich nicht komen were, vnd hette es jnen gesaget, so hetten sie keine sunde. Nu aber konnen sie nichts furwenden, jre sunde zu entschuldigen. Wer mich hasset, Der hasset auch meinen Vater. Hette ich nicht die werck gethan vnter jnen, die kein ander gethan hat, so hetten sie keine sunde. Nu aber haben sie es gesehen, Vnd hassen doch beide mich vnd meinen Vater. Doch das erfullet werde der spruch in jrem Gesetze geschrieben, Sie hassen mich on vrsache.

WEnn aber der Troster komen wird, welchen ich euch senden werde vom Vater, der Geist der warheit, der vom Vater ausgehet, wirt zeugen von myr, vnd yhr werdet auch zeugen, denn yhr seytt von anfang bey myr gewesen.

10. *Romans 3.* WAs haben denn nu die Juden vorteyls? oder was nutzet die beschneyttung? zwar fast viel, zum ersten, yhn ist vertrawet was Got gered hat, Das aber etlich nicht glewben an das selbige, was ligt dar an? solte yhrer vnglaub gottis glauben auffheben? das sey ferne, Es bleybe viel weger also, das Got sey warhafftig, vnd alle menschen lugenhafftig, wie gescrieben stehet, Auff das du rechtfertig seyest ynn deynen wortten, vnd vbirwindest, wenn du gerichtet wirdest.

Ists aber also, das vnser vngerechtickeyt, gotis gerechtickeyt preysset, was wollen wyr sagen? Ist den got auch ungerecht, das er druber zurnet (Ich rede also auff menschen weyse) Das sey ferne, Wie kund denn got die welt richten? Denn so die warheyt gotis durch meyne lugen herlicher wirt zu seynem preysz, warumb solt ich denn noch als eyn sunder gerichtet werden, vnd nicht viel mehr also thun (wie wyr gelestert werden, vnd wie etlich sprechen, das wyr sagen sollen) Last vns vbel thun, auff das guts draus kome? wilcher verdamnis ist gantz recht?

Was sagen wyr denn nu? haben wyr eyn vorteyl? gar keynen, denn wyr haben droben vrkund geben, das beyde Juden vnd kriechen alle vnter der sunden sind, wie denn gechrieben stehet, Da ist nicht der rechtfertig sey, auch nicht eyner, Da ist nicht der verstendig sey, da ist nicht der nach Got frage, Sie sind alle abgewichen, vnd allesamt vntuchtig worden, Da ist nicht der gutis thue, auch nicht eyner. Yhr schlund ist eyn offen grab, mit yhren zungen handeln sie truglich, Ottern gifft ist vnter yhren lippen, yhrer mund ist voll fluchens vnd bitterkeyt, yhr fusz sind eylend blutt zuuorgissen, yn yhren wegen ist, zustorung vnd zubrechung, vnd den weg des frides wissen sie nicht, Es ist keyn furcht gotis fur yhren augen.

Wyr wissen aber, das, was das gesetz saget, das sagets denen, die vnter dem gesetz sind, Auff das aller mund verstopfft werde, vnd alle welt sey Gott schulig, darumb, das keyn fleysch durch des gesetzs werck fur yhm rechtfertig seyn mag, Denn durch das gesetz, kompt nur erkenntnis der sund.

Nu aber ist, on zuthun des gesetzs, die gerechtickeyt die fur got gilt, offinbart, betzeuget durch das gesetz vnd die propheten. Ich sage aber von solcher gerechtickeyt fur got, die da kompt, durch den glawben an Jhesum Christ, zu allen vnd auff alle, die da glewben.

der wird zeugen von mir. Vnd jr werdet auch zeugen, denn jr seid von anfang bey mir gewesen.

10. *Romans 3.* WArumb wird denn das Judenthum so hoch gehalten? oder was nutzet die Beschneitung? Zwar fast viel. Zum ersten, Jnen ist vertrawet, Gotteswort. Das aber etliche nicht gleuben an dasselbige, was ligt daran? Solt jrer vnglaube Gottes glaube auffheben? Das sey ferne. Es bleibe viel mehr also, Das Gott sey warhafftig, vnd alle Menschen falsch. Wie geschrieben stehet, Auff das du gerecht seiest in deinen worten, vnd vberwindest, wenn du gerichtet wirst.

ISts aber also, das vnser vngerechtigkeit Gottes gerechtigkeit preiset, was wollen wir sagen? Ist denn Got auch vngerecht, das er daruber zurnet? (Ich rede also auff Menschen weise) Das sey ferne. Wie kondte sonst Gott die welt richten? Denn so die warheit Gottes durch meine Lugen, herrlicher wird zu seinem preis, Warumb solt ich denn noch als ein Sunder gerichtet werden? Vnd nicht viel mehr also thun (wie wir gelestert werden, vnd wie etliche sprechen, das wir sagen sollen) Lasset vns vbel thun, auff das gutes daraus kome? Welcher verdamnis ist gantz recht.

WAs sagen wir denn nu? Haben wir einen vorteil? Gar keinen. Denn wir haben droben beweiset, das beide Juden vnd Griechen alle vnter der Sunde sind, Wie denn geschrieben stehet, Da ist nicht der gerecht sey, auch nicht einer, da ist nicht der verstendig sey, da ist nicht, der nach Gott frage. Sie sind alle abgewichen, vnd alle samt vntuchtig worden, Da ist nicht der gutes thu, auch nicht einer. Jr Schlund ist ein offen grab, mit jren Zungen handeln sie truglich, Otterngifft ist vnter jren Lippen. Jr mund ist vol fluchens vnd bitterkeit, Jr fusse sind eilend blut zuuergiessen. Jn jren wegen ist eitel vnfal vnd hertzleid, vnd den weg des Friedes wissen sie nicht, Es ist keine furcht Gottes fur jren augen.

Wir wissen aber das, was das Gesetz saget, das saget es denen, die vnter dem gesetz sind, Auff das aller Mund verstopffet werde, vnd alle welt Gott schuldig sey, Darumb, das kein Fleisch durch des Gesetzes werck fur jm gerecht sein mag. Denn durch das Gesetze kompt erkentnis der Sunde.

NV aber ist on zuthun des Gesetzes, die gerechtigkeit, die fur Gott gilt, offenbaret, welche doch ist bezeuget, durch das Gesetz vnd die Propheten. Ich sage aber von solcher gerechtigkeit fur Gott, die da kompt durch den glauben an Jhesum Christ, zu allen vnd auff alle, die da gleuben.

Denn es ist hie keyn vnterscheyd, sie sind alle zumal sunder, vnnd mangeln des preyses den got an yhn haben solt, vnd werden on verdienst gerechtfertiget, aus seyner gnad, durch die erlosung, so durch Christo geschehen ist, wilchen gott hat furgestellet zu eynem gnade stuel, durch den glawben ynn seynem blut, da mit er die gerechtickeit, die fur yhm gilt, beweyse, ynn dem, das er vergibt die sund, die zuuor sind geschehen vnter gotlicher gedult, die er trug, das er zu disen zeyten beweysete die gerechtickeyt die fur yhm gilt, Auff das er alleyne gerecht sey, vnd rechtfertige den, der da ist des glawbens an Jhesu.

Wo ist denn nu deyn rhum? er ist auszgeschlossen, durch wilch gesetz? durch der werck gesetz? Nicht also, sondern durch des glawbens gesetz.

So halten wyrs nu, das der mensch gerechtfertiget werde, on zu thun der werck des gesetzs, alleyn durch den glawben, Odder ist Got alleyn der Juden Got? Ist er nicht auch der heyden Got? Ja freylich auch der heyden Got, syntemal es ist eyn Got der da rechtfertiget die beschneyttung aus dem glawben, vnd die vorhaud durch den glawben. Wie? heben wyr denn das gesetz auff durch den glawben? das sey ferne von vns, sondern wyr richten das gesetz auff.

11. *Ephesians 1.* PAulus ein Apostel Jhesu Christi durch den willen Gottis.

Den heyligen zu Epheso vnd gleubigen an Christo Jhesu.

Gnad sey mit euch vnd frid von Gott vnserm vater, vnd dem herrn Jhesu Christo.

Gebenedeyet sey Got vnd der vater Jhesu Christi, der vns gebenedeyet hat mit allerley geystlicher benedeyung, ym hymelischen wesen durch Christum, wie er vns denn erwelet hatt durch den selben, ehe der welt grund gelegt war, das wyr solten seyn heylig vnnd vnstrefflich fur yhm ynn der liebe, vnnd hatt vns verordenet zur kindschafft gegen yhm durch Jhesum Christ, nach dem wolgefallen seynes willens, zu lob der herlickeyt seyner gnade, durch wilche er vns hat angenem gemacht ynn dem geliebten.

An wilchem wir haben die erlosung durch seyn blut, nemlich, die vergebung der sunde, nach dem reychtum seyner gnade, wilche er vbirschuttet hat auff vns, durch allerley weyszheyt vnd klugheyt, vnd hatt vns wissen lassen das geheymnis seynes willens nach seynem wolgefallen, vnnd hatt dasselbige erfur than durch yhn, das es predigt wurd, da die zeyt erfullet war, auff das alle ding zusamen verfasset wurde durch Christon, beyde das

DEnn est ist hie kein vnterscheid, Sie sind allzumal Sunder, vnd mangeln des Rhumes, den sie an Gott haben sollen, Vnd werden on verdienst gerecht aus seiner Gnade, durch die Erlosung, so durch Christo Jhesu geschehen ist, Welchen Gott hat furgestellet zu einem Gnadenstuel, durch den glauben in seinem Blut, da mit er die Gerechtigkeit, die fur jm gilt, darbiete, in dem, das er Sunde vergibt, welche bis an her blieben war, vnter gottlicher gedult, auff das er zu diesen zeiten darbote die Gerechtigkeit, die fur jm gilt, Auff das er allein Gerecht sey, vnd gerecht mache den, der da ist des glaubens an Jhesu.

WO bleibt nu der Rhum? Er ist nichts, durch welch Gesetz? durch der werck gesetz? Nicht also, sondern durch des glaubens gesetz. So halten wir es nu, Das der Mensch gerecht werde, on des Gesetzes werck, alleine durch den Glauben. Oder ist Gott alleine der Juden Gott? Ist er nicht auch der Heiden Gott? Ja freilich auch der Heiden Gott. Sintemal es ist ein einiger Gott, der da gerecht machet die Beschneitung aus dem glauben, vnd die Vorhaut durch den glauben. Wie? Heben wir denn das gesetz auff, durch den glauben? Das sey ferne, sondern wir richten das gesetz auff.

11. *Ephesians 1.* PAulus ein Apostel Jhesu Christi, durch den willen Gottes.

Den Heiligen zu Epheso, vnd gleubigen an Christo Jhesu.

Gnade sey mit euch vnd Friede, von Gott vnserm Vater, vnd dem HErrn Jhesu Christo.

GElobet sey Gott vnd der Vater vnsers HErrn Jhesu Christi, der vns gesegenet hat mit allerley geistlichem Segen, in himlischen Gutern, durch Christum. Wie er vns denn erwelet hat durch denselbigen ehe der Welt grund gelegt war, das wir solten sein heilig vnd vnstrefflich fur jm in der liebe. Vnd hat vns verordnet zur Kindschafft gegen jm selbs, durch Jhesum Christ, nach dem wolgefallen seines willens, Zu lob seiner herrlichen gnade, durch welche er vns hat angenem gemacht in dem Geliebten.

AN welchem wir haben die erlosung, durch sein Blut, nemlich, die vergebung der sunde, Nach dem reichthum seiner Gnade, welche vns reichlich widerfaren ist, durch allerley weisheit vnd klugheit, Vnd hat vns wissen lassen das Geheimnis seines willens, nach seinem wolgefallen, Vnd hat dasselbige erfur gebracht durch jn, das es geprediget wurde da die zeit erfullet war, Auff das alle ding zusamen verfasset wurde, in Christo, beide das im Himel vnd ynn hymel vnd auch ynn erden ist, vnd yhm vnterthan wurde, durch wilchen wyr auch zum erbteyl komen sind, die wyr zuuor verordent sind, nach dem fursatz des, der alle ding wirckt, nach dem rad seynes willens, auff das wir eyn wesen erlangen zu lobe seyner herlickeyt, die wir zuuor auff Christo hoffen.

Des seyt auch yhr, da yhr gehoret habt das wort der warheyt, nemlich, das Euangelion von ewer selickeyt, an wilchs da yhr auch glewbet habt, seyt yhr versigelt worden mit dem geyst der verheyssung, das ist, mit dem heyligen geyst, wilcher is das pfand vnsers erbs, zu vnser erlosung, die wir seyn eygenthum sind, zu lobe seyner herlickeit.

Darumb auch ich nach dem ich gehoret habe von dem glawben bey euch, an den herrn Jheson, vnd von ewer liebe zu allen heyligen, hore ich nicht auff zu dancken fur euch, vnd gedencke ewer ynn meynem gepet, das der Gott vnsers herrn Jhesu Christi, der vater der herlickeyt, gebe euch den geyst der weyszheyt vnd der offinbarung zu seyn selbs erkentnis, vnd erleuchtete augen ewers verstentnis, das yhr erkennen mugt, wilche da sey die hoffnung ewres beruffs vnnd wilcher sey der reychthum des herlichen erbes an seynen heyligen, vnd wilche da sey die vbirschwengliche grosse seyner krafft an vns, die wir glewbt haben, nach der wirckung seyner mechtigen sterck, wilche er gewirckt hat ynn Christo, da er yhn von den todten aufferweckt hat, vnd gesetzt zu seyner rechten, ym hymlischen wesen, vbir alle furstenthum, gewalt, macht, hirschafft, vnd alles was genant mag werden, nicht alleyn ynn diszer welt, sondern auch ynn der zukunfftigen, Vnd hat alle ding vnter seyne fusse gethan, vnnd hat yhn gesetzt fur allen dingen zum hewbt der gemeynen, wilche da ist seyn leyb vnd die fulle, des, der alles ynn allen erfullet.

12. *I John 1.* DAs do vom anfang war. das wyr gehoret haben. das wyr gesehen haben mit vnsern augen, das wyr beschawet haben, vnnd vnser hende betastet haben, von dem wort des lebens, vnd das leben ist erschynen, vnd wyr haben gesehen vnd zeugen vnnd verkundigen euch das leben das ewig ist, wilchs war bey dem vater vnd ist vns erschynen, Was wyr gesehen vnd gehort haben, das verkundigen wyr euch, auff das auch yhr mit vns gemeynschafft habet, vnd vnser gemeynschafft sey mitt dem vatter vnd mit seynem son Jhesu Christo, vnnd solchs schreyben wyr euch auff das yhr euch frewet vnd ewer freud vollig sey.

Vnd das ist die verkundigung, die wyr von yhm gehort haben vnd euch verkundigen, das Gott eyn liecht ist, vnnd ynn yhm ist keyn finisternis, So wyr sagen, das wyr gemeynschafft mit yhm auch auff Erden ist, durch jn selbs. Durch welchen wir auch zum Erbteil komen sind, die wir zuuor verordnet sind, nach dem fursatz, des, der alle ding wircket, nach dem rat seines willens, Auff das wir etwas seien zu lob seiner herrligkeit, die wir zuuor auff Christo hoffen.

DUrch welchen auch jr gehoret habt das Wort der warheit, nemlich, das Euangelium von ewer seligkeit, Durch welchen jr auch, da jr gleubetet versiegelt worden seid mit dem heiligen Geist der verheissung, welcher ist das pfand vnsers Erbs, zu vnser erlosung, das wir sein Eigenthum wurden, zu lob seiner Herrligkeit.

DArumb auch ich, nach dem ich gehoret hab von dem glauben bey euch, an den HErrn Jhesum, vnd von ewer lieb zu allen Heiligen, hore ich nicht auff zu dancken fur euch, vnd gedencke ewer in meinem gebet, Das der Gott vnsers HErrn Jhesu Christi, der Vater der herrligkeit, gebe euch den Geist der weisheit vnd der offenbarung, zu seines selbs erkentnis, vnd erleuchtete augen ewers verstentnis, Das jr erkennen muget, welche da sey die hoffnung ewers Beruffs, vnd welcher sey der reichthumb seines herrlichen Erbes, an seinen Heiligen, vnd welche da sey die vberschwengliche grosse seiner Krafft an vns, die wir gleuben nach der wirckung seiner mechtigen stercke, welche er gewirckt hat in Christo, da er jn von den Todten aufferweckt hat, vnd gesetzt zu seiner Rechten, im himel, vber alle Furstenthumb, Gewalt, Macht, Herrschafft, vnd alles was genant mag werden, nicht allein in dieser Welt, sondern auch in der zukunfftigen. Vnd hat alle ding vnter seine fusse gethan, vnd hat jn gesetzt zum Heubt der Gemeine vber alles, welche da ist sein Leib, nemlich die fulle, des der alles in allen erfullet.

12. *I John 1.* DAs da von anfang war, das wir gehoret haben, das wir gesehen haben mit vnsern augen, das wir beschawet haben, vnd vnser hende betastet haben, vom Wort des lebens, vnd das Leben ist erschienen, vnd wir haben gesehen, vnd zeugen vnd verkundigen euch das leben, das ewig ist, welches war bey dem Vater, vnd ist vns erschienen. Was wir gesehen vnd gehoret haben, das verkundigen wir euch, Auff das auch jr mit vns Gemeinschafft habt, vnd vnser gemeinschafft sey mit dem Vater vnd mit seinem son Jhesu Christo. Vnd solches schreiben wir euch, auff das ewer Freude vollig sey.

VNd das ist die verkundigung, die wir von jm gehoret haben, vnd euch verkundigen, das Gott ein Liecht ist, vnd in jm ist kein Finsternis. So wir sagen, das wir Gemeinschafft mit jm haben,

haben, vnd wandelln ym finsternis, so liegen wyr vnd thun nicht die warheyt, Szo wyr aber ym liecht wandelln, wie er ym liecht ist, so haben wyr gemeynschafft vnternander, vnd das blutt Jhesu Christ macht vns reyn von aller sunde.

Szo wyr sagen, wyr haben keyne sund, so verfuren wyr vns selbs, vnd die warheyt ist nicht ynn vns, so wyr aber vnsere sunde bekennen, szo ist er trew vnd gerecht, das er vns die sunde erlesset, vnd reyniget vns von aller vngerechtickeyt, So wyr sagen, wyr haben nicht gesundiget, so machen wyr yhn zum lugener, vnd seyn wort ist nit ynn vns.

vnd wandeln im finsternis, So liegen wir, vnd thun nicht die warheit. So wir aber im Liecht wandeln, wie er im liecht ist, so haben wir gemeinschafft vnternander, Vnd das blut Jhesu Christi seines sons, machet vns rein von aller sunde. So wir sagen, wir haben keine sunde, So verfuren wir vns selbs, vnd die warheit ist nicht in vns. So wir aber vnsere sunde bekennen, so ist er trew vnd gerecht, das er vns die sunde vergibt, vnd reiniget vns von aller vntugent. So wir sagen, wir haben nicht gesundiget, So machen wir jn zum Lugener, vnd sein wort ist nicht in vns.

III. SELECTED PREFACES*

a. *Preface to the Psalter of 1531*

13. Many of the holy fathers praised and loved the Psalter above all other books of Scripture; and although the work itself gives praise enough to its master, nevertheless we must give evidence of our own praise and thanks.

In past years very many books have been peddled around, legends of the saints and passionals, books of examples and stories, and the world has been filled with them, so that the Psalter lay, meanwhile, under the bench and in such darkness that not one Psalm was rightly understood; and yet it gave off such a fine and precious fragrance that all pious hearts felt the devotion and power in the unknown words, and loved the book for them.

I hold, however, that no book of examples or legends of the saints finer than the Psalter has ever come, or can come, to the earth. If one were to wish that, from all the examples, legends and histories, the best should be selected and brought together and put in the best form, the result would have to be the present Psalter. For here we find not only what one or two saints have done, but what He has done who is the head of all saints, and what the saints still do — the attitude they take toward God, toward friends and enemies, the way they conduct themselves in all dangers and sufferings; all this, beside the divine and wholesome and commandments of every kind that are contained there.

The Psalter ought to be a dear and beloved book, if only because it promises Christ's death and resurrection so clearly, and so typifies His kingdom and the condition and nature of all Christendom that it might well be called a little Bible. It puts everything that is in all the Bible most beautifully and briefly, and is made an *Enchiridion*, or handbook, so that I have a notion that the Holy Ghost wanted to take the trouble to compile a short Bible and example-book of all Christendom, or of all saints. Thus, whoever could not read the whole Bible would here have almost an entire summary of it, comprised in one little book.

But above all this, the Psalter has this fine virtue and quality: —other books make great ado over the works of the saints, but say very little about their words; but the Psalter is a pattern; it gives forth so sweet a fragrance, when one reads it, because it tells not only the works of the saints, but also their words, how they spoke with God and prayed, and still speak and pray. The other legends and examples, when compared to the Psalter, present to us only dumb saints; but the Psalter pictures really bold, living saints.

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Compared with a speaking man, a dumb man is to be thought a half-dead man; and there is no mightier or nobler work of man than speech, since it is by speech, more than by his shape or by any other work, that man is most distinguished from other animals. By the carver's art a block of wood can be given the shape of a man, and a beast, as well as a man, can see, hear, smell, sing, walk, stand, eat, drink, fast, thirst, and suffer from hunger, frost, and a hard bed.

Moreover, the Psalter does still more than this. It presents to us not the simple, common speech of the saints, but the best of their language, that which they used when they talked with God Himself, with great earnestness, on the most important matters. Thus it lays before us, not only their words, rather than their works, but their very hearts and the innermost treasure of their souls, so that we can look down to the foundation and source of their words and works, that is, into their hearts, and see there what kind of thoughts they had, and how their hearts were set and how they acted in all kinds of cases, in danger and in need. The legends, or examples, which speak only of the works and miracles of the saints, do not and cannot do this; for I cannot know how a man's heart is, even though I see or hear of many great works that he does. And just as I would rather hear what a saint says than see the works he does, so I would far rather see his heart, and the treasure in his soul, than hear his words. And that is the richest thing about the saints that the Psalter gives us,— we can be certain of how their hearts were toward God, and what words they used to God and every man.

A human heart is like a ship on a wild sea, driven by the storm-winds from the four quarters of the world. Here it is struck with fear, and worry about coming disaster; there comes grief and sadness because of present evil. Here breathes a breeze of hope and of expectation of happiness to come; there blows security and joy in present blessings. These storm-winds teach us to speak with earnestness, and open the heart, and pour out what lies at the bottom of it. He who sticks in fear and need speaks of misfortune very differently from him who floats on joy; and he who floats on joy speaks and sings of joy quite differently from him who sticks in fear. It is not from the heart, men say, when a sad man laughs or a glad man weeps; that is, the depths of his heart are not open, and what is in them does not come out.

What is the greatest thing in the Psalter but this earnest speaking amid these storm-winds of every kind? Where does one find such words of joy as in the psalms of praise and thanksgiving? There you look into the hearts of all the saints, as into fair and pleasant gardens, nay, as into heaven, and see what fine and pleasant flowers of the heart spring up from fair and happy thoughts of every kind toward God, because of His benefits. On the other hand, where do you find deeper, more sorrowful, more pitiful words of sadness than in the psalms of lamentation? There again you look into the hearts of all the saints, as into death, nay, as into hell. How gloomy and dark it is there, with all kinds of troubled outlooks on the wrath of God! So, too, when they speak of fear and hope, they use such words that no painter could so depict fear or hope, and no Cicero, or orator, so portray them.

And, as was said, it is the best thing of all that they speak these words to God and with God. This gives the words double earnestness and life, for when men speak with men about these matters, what they say does not come so strongly from the heart, and burn and live and press so greatly. Hence it comes that the Psalter is the book of all saints, and everyone, in whatever case he is, finds in it psalms and words that fit his case and suit him exactly, as though they were put thus for his sake only, so that he could not put it better himself, or find better words, or wish for better. And this, too, is good; for when these words please a man and suit him, he becomes sure that he is in the communion of saints, and that it has gone with all the saints as it goes with him, since they all sing one song with him. It is especially so, if he can speak to God as they have done, which must be done in faith, for their words have no flavor to a godless man.

Finally, there is in the Psalter security and a well-tried escort, so that one can follow all saints in it without peril. The other examples and the legends of the dumb saints bring forward many works that one cannot imitate; but they also bring forward many more works which it is dangerous to imitate, and which commonly start sects and disturbances, and lead away from the communion of saints, and tear it apart. But the Psalter holds you to the communion of saints and away from sects for it teaches you to be of like mind in joy, fear, hope, sorrow, and to think and speak as all the saints have thought and spoken.

In a word, would you see the holy Christian Church painted in living color and form and put in one little picture? Then take up the Psalter and you have a fine, bright, pure mirror that will show you what the Church is; nay, you will find yourself also in it and the true *gnothi seauton,* and God Himself, besides, and all creatures.

Let us see to it, then, that we thank God for these unspeakable blessings, and let us receive them and use them, and exercise ourselves in them to God's praise and honor, lest we earn something worse. Heretofore, in the time of darkness, what a treasure it would have been thought if one were able rightly to understand a Psalm, and to read or hear it in intelligible German; and we did not have that treasure. But now blessed are the eyes that see what we see and the ears that hear what we hear; and yet I fear — nay, sad to say, we see it!— that things are going with us as with the Jews in the wilderness, when they said of the bread from heaven, "Our soul loatheth this poor food." We should remember, however, that alongside of this story stands the story of how they were plagued and died, lest the same thing happen to us.

To this may God, the Father of all grace and mercy help us, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be praise and thanks, honor and glory, for this German Psalter and for all His numberless, unspeakable benefits to all eternity. Amen, Amen.

6. *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans of 1522*

14. This Epistle is really the chief part of the New Testament and the very purest Gospel, and is worthy not only that every Christian should know it word for word, by heart, but occupy himself with it every day, as the daily bread of the soul. It can never be read or pondered too much, and the more it is dealt with the more precious it becomes, and the better it tastes.

Therefore, I, too, will do my best, so far as God has given me power, to open the way into it through this preface, so that it may be the better understood by everyone. For heretofore it has been evilly darkened with commentaries and all kinds of idle talk, though it is, in itself, a bright light, almost enough to illumine all the Scripture.

To begin with we must have knowledge of its language and know what St. Paul means by the words, law, sin, grace, faith, righteousness, flesh, spirit, etc., otherwise no reading of it has any value.

The little word "law," you must not take here in human fashion, as a teaching about what works are to be done or not done. That is the way it is with human laws,— the law is fulfilled by works, even though there is no heart in them. But God judges according to what is at the bottom of the heart, and for this reason, His law makes its demands on the inmost heart and cannot be satisfied with works, but rather punishes works that are done otherwise than from the bottom of the heart, as hypocrisy and lies. Hence all men are called liars, in Psalm cxvi, for the reason that no one keeps or can keep God's law from the bottom of the heart, for everyone finds in himself displeasure in what is good and pleasure in what is bad. If, then, there is no willing pleasure in the good, then the inmost heart is not set on the law of God, then there is surely sin, and God's wrath is deserved, even though outwardly there seem to be many good works and an honorable life.

Hence St. Paul concludes, in chapter ii, that the Jews are all sinners, and says that only the doers of the law are righteous before God. He means by this that no one is, in his works, a doer of the law; on the contrary, he speaks to them thus, "Thou teachest not to commit adultery, but thou commitest adultery"; and "Wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, because thou doest the same thing that thou judgest"; as if to say, "You live a fine outward life in the works of the law, and judge those who do not so live, and know how to teach everyone; you see the splinter in the other's eye, but of the beam in your own eye you are not aware."

For even though you keep the law outwardly, with works, from fear of punishment or love of reward, nevertheless, you do all this without willingness and pleasure, and without love for the law; but rather with unwillingness, under compulsion; and you would rather do otherwise, if the law were not there. The conclusion is that at the bottom of your heart you hate the law. What matter, then, that you teach others not to steal, if you are a thief at heart, and would gladly be one outwardly, if you dared? Though, to be sure, the outward work is not far behind such hypocrites! Thus you teach others, but not yourself; and you yourself know not what you teach, and have never yet rightly understood the law. Nay, the law increases sin, as he says in chapter v, for the reason that the more the law demands what men cannot do, the more they hate the law.

For this reason he says, in chapter vii, "The law is spiritual." What is that? If the law were for the body, it could be satisfied with works; but since it is spiritual, no one can satisfy it, unless all that you do is done from the bottom of the heart. But such a heart is given only by God's Spirit, who makes a man equal to the law, so that he acquires a desire for the law in his heart, and henceforth does nothing out of fear and compulsion, but everything out of a willing heart. That law, then, is spiritual which will be loved and fulfilled with such a spiritual heart, and requires such a spirit. Where that spirit is not in the heart, there sin remains, and displeasure with the law, and enmity toward it; though the law is good and just and holy.

Accustom yourself, then, to this language, and you will find that doing the works of the law and fulfilling the law are two very different things. The work of the law is everything that one does, or can do toward keeping the law of his own free will or by his own powers. But since under all these works and along with them there remains in the heart dislike for the law and the compulsion to keep it, these works are all wasted and have no value. That is what St. Paul means in chapter iii, when he says, "By the works of the law no man becomes righteous before God." Hence you see that the wranglers and sophists are deceivers, when they teach men to prepare themselves for grace by means of works. How can a man prepare himself for good by means of works, if he does no good works without displeasure and unwillingness of heart? How shall a work please God, if it proceeds from a reluctant and resisting heart?

To fulfil the law, however, is to do its works with pleasure and love, and to live a godly and good life of one's own accord, without the compulsion of the law. This pleasure and love for the law is put into the heart by the Holy Ghost, as he says in chapter v. But the Holy Ghost is not given except in, with, and by faith in Jesus Christ, as he says in the introduction; and faith does not come, save only through God's Word or Gospel, which preaches Christ, that He is God's Son and a man, and has died and risen again for our sakes, as he says in chapters iii, iv and x.

Hence it comes that faith alone makes righteous and fulfils the law; for out of Christ's merit, it brings the Spirit, and the spirit makes the heart glad and free, as the law requires that it shall be. Thus good works come out of faith. That is what he means in chapter iii, after he has rejected the works of the law, so that it sounds as though he would abolish the law by faith;

"Nay," he says, "we establish the law by faith," that is, we fulfil it by faith.

Sin, in the Scripture, means not only the outward works of the body, but all the activities that move men to the outward works, namely, the inmost heart, with all its powers. Thus the little word "do" ought to mean that a man falls all the way into sin and walks in sin. This is done by no outward work of sin, unless a man goes into sin altogether, body and soul. And the Scriptures look especially into the heart and have regard to the root and source of all sin, which is unbelief in the inmost heart. As, therefore, faith alone makes righteous, and brings the Spirit, and produces pleasure in good, eternal works, so unbelief alone commits sin, and brings up the flesh, and produces pleasure in bad external works, as happened to Adam and Eve in Paradise.

Hence Christ calls unbelief the only sin, when he says, in John xvi, "The Spirit will rebuke the world for sin, because they believe not on me." For this reason, too, before good or bad works are done, which are the fruits, there must first be in the heart faith or unbelief, which is the root, the sap, the chief power of all sin. And this is called in the Scriptures, the head of the serpent and of the old dragon, which the seed of the woman, Christ, must tread under foot, as was promised to Adam, in Genesis iii.

Between grace and gift there is this difference. Grace means properly God's favor, or the good-will God bears us, by which He is disposed to give us Christ and to pour into us the Holy Ghost, with His gifts. This is clear from chapter v, where he speaks of "the grace and gift in Christ." The gifts and the Spirit increase in us every day, though they are not yet perfect, and there remain in us the evil lust and sin that war against the Spirit, as he says in Romans vii and Galatians v, and the quarrel between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent is foretold in Genesis iii. Nevertheless, grace does so much that we are accounted wholly righteous before God. For His grace is not divided or broken up, as are the gifts, but it takes us entirely into favor, for the sake of Christ our Intercessor and Mediator, and because of that the gifts are begun in us.

In this sense, then, you understand chapter vii, in which St. Paul still calls himself a sinner, and yet says, in chapter viii, that there is nothing condemnable in those who are in Christ on account of the incompleteness of the gifts and of the Spirit. Because the flesh is not yet slain, we still are sinners; but because we believe and have a beginning of the Spirit, God is so favorable and gracious to us that He will not count the sin against us or judge us for it, but will deal with us according to our faith in Christ, until sin is slain.

Faith is not that human notion and dream that some hold for faith. Because they see that no betterment of life and no good works follow it, and yet they can hear and say much about faith, they fall into error, and say, "Faith is not enough; one must do works in order to be righteous and be saved." This is the reason that, when they hear the Gospel, they fall to — and make for themselves, by their own powers, an idea in their hearts, which says, "I believe." This they hold for true faith. But it is a human imagination and idea that never reaches the depths of the heart, and so nothing comes of it and no betterment follows it.

Faith, however, is a divine work in us. It changes us and makes us to be born anew of God (John i); it kills the old Adam and makes altogether different men, in heart and spirit and mind and powers, and it brings with it the Holy Ghost. O, it is a living, busy, active, mighty thing, this faith; and so it is impossible for it not to do good works incessantly. It does not ask whether there are good works to do, but before the question rises, it has already done them, and is always at the doing of them. He who does not these works is a faithless man. He gropes and looks about after faith and good works, and knows neither what faith is nor what good works are, though he talks and talks, with many words, about faith and good works.

Faith is a living, daring confidence in God's grace, so sure and certain that a man would stake his life on it a thousand times. This confidence in God's grace and knowledge of it makes men glad and bold and happy in dealing with God and with all His creatures; and this is the work of the Holy Ghost in faith. Hence a man is ready and glad, without compulsion, to do good to everyone, to serve everyone, to suffer everything, in love and praise of God, who has shown him this grace; and thus it is impossible to separate works from faith, quite as impossible as to separate heat and light from fire. Beware, therefore, of your own false notions and of the idle talkers, who would be wise enough to make decisions about faith and good works, and yet are the greatest fools. Pray God to work faith in you; else you will remain forever without faith, whatever you think or do.

Righteousness, then, is such a faith and is called "God's righteousness," or "the righteousness that avails before God," because God gives it and counts it as righteousness for the sake of Christ, our Mediator, and makes a man give to every man what he owes him. For through faith a man becomes sinless and comes to take pleasure in God's commandments; thus he gives to God the honor that is His and pays Him what he owes Him; but he also serves man willingly, by whatever means he can, and thus pays his debt to everyone. Such righteousness nature and free will and all our powers cannot bring into existence. No one can give himself faith, and no more can he take away his own unbelief; how, then, will he take away a single sin, even the very smallest? Therefore, all that is done apart from faith, or in unbelief, is false; it is hypocrisy and sin, no matter how good a show it makes (Romans xiv).

You must not so understand flesh and spirit as to think that flesh has to do only with unchastity and spirit only with what is inward, in the heart; but Paul, like Christ, in John iii, calls "flesh" everything that is born of the flesh; viz., the whole man, with body and soul, mind and senses, because everything about him longs for the flesh. Thus you should learn to call him "fleshly" who thinks, teaches, and talks a great deal about high spiritual matters, but without grace. From the "works of the flesh," in Galatians v, you can learn that Paul calls heresy and hatred "works of the flesh," and in Romans viii, he says that "the law was weak through the flesh," and this does not refer to unchastity, but to all sins, above all to unbelief, which is the most spiritual of all vices. On the other hand, he calls him a spiritual man who is occupied with the most external kind of works, as Christ, when He washed the disciples' feet, and Peter, when he steered his boat, and fished. Thus "the flesh" is a man who lives and works, inwardly and outwardly, in the service of the Spirit and the future life.

Without such an understanding of these words, you will never understand this letter of St. Paul, or any other book of Holy Scripture. Therefore, beware of all teachers who use these words in a different sense, no matter who they are, even Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, and men like them, or above them. Now we will take up the Epistle.

It is right for a preacher of the Gospel first, by a revelation of the law and of sin, to rebuke everything and make sin of everything that is not the living fruit of the Spirit and of faith in Christ, so that men may be led to know themselves and their own wretchedness, and become humble and ask for help. That is what

St. Paul does. He begins in Chapter i and rebukes the gross sin and unbelief that are plainly evident, as the sins of the heathen, who live without God's grace, were and still are. He says: The wrath of God is revealed from heaven, through the Gospel, upon all men because of their godless lives and their unrighteousness. For even though they know and daily recognize that there is a God, nevertheless, nature itself, without grace, is so bad that it neither thanks nor honors Him, but blinds itself, and goes continually from bad to worse, until at last, after idolatry, it commits the most shameful sins, with all the vices, and is not ashamed, and allows others to do these things unrebuked.

In chapter ii, he stretches this rebuke still farther and extends it to those who seem outwardly to be righteous, but commit sin in secret. Such are the Jews and such are all the hypocrites, who, without desire or love for the law of God, lead good lives, but hate God's law in their hearts, and yet are prone to judge other people. It is the nature of all the hypocrites to think themselves pure, and yet be full of covetousness, hatred, pride, and all uncleanness (Matthew xxiii). These are they who despise God's goodness and in their hardness heap wrath upon themselves. Thus St. Paul, as a true interpreter of the law, leaves no one without sin, but proclaims the wrath of God upon all who live good lives from nature or free will, and makes them appear no better than open sinners; indeed he says that they are hardened and unrepentant.

In chapter iii, he puts them all together in a heap, and says that one is like the other; they are all sinners before God, except the Jews have had God's Word. Not many have believed on it, to be sure, but that does not mean that the faith and truth of God are exhausted; and he quotes a saying from Psalm li, that God remains righteous in His words. Afterwards he comes back to this again and proves by the law no man is justified, but that the law was given only that sin might be known.

Then he begins to teach the right way by which men must be justified and saved, and says, They are all sinners and without praise from God, but they must be justified, without merit, through faith in Christ, who has earned this for us by His blood, and has been made for us a mercy-seat by God, who forgives us all former sins, proving thereby that were we aided only by His righteousness, which He gives in faith, which is revealed in this time through the Gospel and "testified before by the law and the prophets." Thus the law is set up by faith, though the works of the law are put down by it, together with the reputation that they give.

After the first three chapters, in which sin is revealed and faith's way to righteousness is taught, he begins, in chapter iv, to meet certain objections and first he takes up the one that all men commonly make when they hear of faith, that it justifies, without works. They say, "Are men, then, to do no good works?" Therefore he himself takes up the case of Abraham, and asks, "What did Abraham accomplish, then, with his good works? Were they all in vain? Were his works of no use?" He concludes that Abraham was justified by faith alone, without any works; nay, the Scriptures, in Genesis xv, declare that he was justified by faith alone, even before the work of circumcision. But if the work of circumcision contributed nothing to his righteousness, though God commanded it and it was a good work of obedience; then, surely, no other good work will contribute anything to righteousness. On the other hand, if Abraham's circumcision was an external sign by which he showed the righteousness that was already his in faith, then all good works are only external signs which follow out of faith, and show, like good fruit, that a man is already inwardly righteous before God.

With this powerful illustration, out of the Scripturees, St. Paul establishes the doctrine of faith which he had taught before, in chapter iii. He also brings forward another witness, viz., David, in Psalm xxxii, who says that a man is justified without works, although he does not remain without works when he has been justified. Then he gives the illustration a broader application, and concludes that the Jews cannot be Abraham's heirs merely because of their blood, still less because of the works of the law, but must be heirs of Abraham's faith, if they would be true heirs. For before the law — either the law of Moses or the law of circumcision — Abraham was justified by faith and called the father of believers; moreover, the law works wrath rather than grace, because no one keeps it out of love for it and pleasure in it, so that what comes by the works of the law is disgrace rather than grace. Therefore faith alone must obtain the grace promised to Abraham, for these examples were written for our sakes, that we, too, should believe.

In chapter v, he comes to the fruits and works of faith, such as peace, joy, love to God and to every man, and confidence, boldness, joy, courage, and hope in tribulation and suffering. For all this follows, if faith be true, because of the over-abundant goodness that God shows us in Christ, so that He caused Him to die for us before we could ask it, nay, while we were still His enemies. Thus we have it that faith justifies without any works; and yet it does not follow that men are, therefore, to do no good works, but rather that the true works will not be absent. Of these the work-righteous saints know nothing, but feign works of their own in which there is no peace, joy, confidence, love, hope, boldness, nor any of the qualities of true Christian works and faith.

After this, he breaks out, and makes a pleasant excursion, and tells whence come both sin and righteousness, death and life, and compares Adam and Christ. He says that Christ had to come, a second Adam, to bequeath His righteousness to us, through a new spiritual birth in faith, as the first Adam bequeathed sin to us, through the old, fleshly birth. Thus he declares, and confirms it, that no one, by his own works, can help himself out of sin into righteousness, any more than he can prevent the birth of his own body. This is proved by the fact that the divine law — which ought to help to righteousness, if anything can — has not only not helped, but has even increased sin; for the reason that the more the law forbids, the more our evil nature hates it, and the more it wants to give rein to its own lust. Thus the law makes Christ all the more necessary, and more grace is needed to help our nature.

In chapter vi, he takes up the special work of faith, the conflict of the spirit with the flesh, for the complete slaying of the sin and lust that remain after we are justified. He teaches us that by faith we are not so freed from sin that we can be idle, slack, and careless, as though there were no longer any sin in us. There is sin; but it is no longer counted for condemnation, because of the faith that strives against it. Therefore we have enough to do all our life long in taming the body, slaying its lusts, and compelling its members to obey the spirit and not the lusts, thus making our lives like the death and resurrection of Christ and completing our baptism — which signifies the death of sin and the new life of grace — until we are entirely pure of sins, and even our bodies rise again with Christ and live forever.

And that we can do, he says, because we are in grace and not in the law. He himself explains that to mean that to be without the law is not the same thing as to have no laws and be able to do what one pleases; but we are under the law and when, without grace, we occupy ourselves in the work of the law. Then sin assuredly rules by the law, for no one loves the law by nature; and that is great sin. Grace, however, makes the law dear to us, and then sin is no more there, and the law is no longer against us, but with us.

This is the true freedom from sin and the law, of which he writes, down to the end of this chapter, saying that it is liberty only to do good with pleasure and live a good life without the compulsion of the law. Therefore this liberty is a spiritual liberty, which does not abolish the law, but presents what the law demands; namely, pleasure and love. Thus the law is quieted, and no longer drives men or makes demands of them. It is just as if you owed a debt to your overlord and could not pay it. There are two ways in which you could rid yourself of the debt,— either he would take nothing from you and would tear up the account; or some good man would pay it for you, and give you the means to satisfy the account. It is in this latter way that Christ has made us free from the law. Our liberty is, therefore, no fleshly liberty, which is not obligated to do anything, but a liberty that does many works of all kinds, and thus is free from the demands and the debts of the law.

In chapter vii, he supports this with a parable of the married life. When a man dies, his wife is single, and thus the one is released from the other; not that the wife cannot or ought not take another husband, but rather that she is now really free to take another, which she could not do before she was free from her husband. So our conscience is bound to the law, under the old man; when he is slain by the Spirit, then the conscience is free; the one is released from the other; not that the conscience is to do nothing, but rather that it is now really free to cleave to Christ, the second husband, and bring forth the fruit of life.

Then he sketches out more broadly the nature of sin and the law, showing how, by means of the law sin now moves and is mighty. The old man hates the law the more because he cannot pay what the law demands, for sin is his nature and by himself he can do nothing but sin; therefore the law is death to him, and torment. Not that the law is bad, but his evil nature cannot endure the good, and the law demands good of him. So a sick man cannot endure it when he is required to run and jump and do the works of a well man.

Therefore St. Paul here concludes that the law, rightly understood and thoroughly comprehended, does nothing more than remind us of our sin, and slay us by it, and make us liable to eternal wrath; and all this is taught and experienced by our conscience, when it is really smitten by the law. Therefore a man must have somthing else than the law, and more than the law, to make him righteous and save him. But they who do not rightly understand the law are blind; they go ahead, in their presumption, and think to satisfy the law with their works, not knowing what the law demands, viz., a willing and happy heart. Therefore they do not see Moses clearly, the veil is put between them and him, and covers him.

Then he shows how spirit and flesh strive with one another in a man. He uses himself as an example, in order that we may learn rightly to understand the work of slaying sin within us. He calls both spirit and flesh "laws," for just as it is the nature of the divine law to drive men and make demands of them, so the flesh drives men and makes demands and rages against the spirit, and will have its own way. The spirit, too, drives men and makes demands contrary to the flesh, and will have its own way. This contention within us lasts as long as we live, though in one man it is greater, in another less, according as spirit or flesh is stronger. Nevertheless, the whole man is both spirit and flesh and he fights with himself until he becomes wholly spiritual.

In chapter viii, he encourages these fighters, telling them not to condemn the flesh; and he shows further what the nature of flesh and spirit is, and how the spirit comes from Christ, who has given us His Holy Spirit to make us spiritual and subdue the flesh. He assures us that we are still God's children, however hard sin may rage within us, so long as we follow the spirit and resist sin, to slay it. Since, however, nothing else is so good for the mortifying of the flesh as the cross and suffering, he comforts us in suffering with the support of the spirit of love, and of the whole creation. For the Spirit sighs within us and the creation longs with us that we may be rid of the flesh and of sin. So we see that these three chapters (vi-viii) deal with the one work of faith, which is to slay the old Adam and subdue the flesh.

In chapters ix, x, and xi, he teaches concerning God's eternal predestination, from which it originally comes that one believes or not, is rid of sin or not rid of it. Thus our becoming righteous is taken entirely out of our hands and put in the hand of God. And that is most highly necessary. We are so weak and uncertain that, if it were in our power, surely not one man would be saved, the devil would surely overpower us all; but since God is certain, and His predestination cannot fail, and no one can withstand Him, we still have hope against sin. And here we must set a boundary for those audacious and high-climbing spirits, who first bring their own thinking to this matter and begin at the top to search the abyss of divine predestination, and worry in vain about whether they are predestinate. They must have a fall; either they will despair, or else they will take long risks.

But do you follow the order of this epistle. Worry first about Christ and the Gospel, that you may recognize your sin and His grace; then fight your sin, as the first eight chapters here have taught; then, when you have reached the eighth chapter, and are under the cross and suffering, that will teach you the right doctrine of predestination, in the ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters, and how comforting it is. For in the absence of suffering and the cross and the danger of death, one cannot deal with predestination without harm and without secret wrath against God. The old Adam must die before he can endure this subject and drink the strong wine of it. Therefore beware not to drink wine while you are still a suckling. There is a limit, a time, an age for every doctrine.

In chapter xii, he teaches what true worship is; and he makes all Christians priests, who are to offer not money and cattle, as under the law, but their own bodies, with a slaying of the lusts. Then he describes the outward conduct of Christians, under spiritual government, telling how they are to teach, preach, rule, serve, give, suffer, love, live, and act toward friend, foe and all men. These are the works that a Christian does; for, as has been said, faith takes no holidays.

In chapter xiii, he teaches honor and obedience to worldly government, which accomplishes much, although it does not make its people righteous before God. It is instituted in order that the good may have outward peace and protection, and that the wicked may not be free to do evil, without fear, in peace and quietness. Therefore the righteous are to honor it, though they do not need it. In the end he comprises it all in love, and includes it in the example of Christ, who has done for us what we also are to do, led gently in faith and to be spared, so that Christians are not to following in His footsteps.

In chapter xiv, he teaches that weak consciences are to be led gently in faith and are to be spared, so that Christians are not to use their liberty for doing harm, but for the furtherance of the weak. If that is not done, then discord follows and contempt for the Gospel; and the Gospel is the all-important thing. Thus it is better to yield a little to the weak in faith, until they grow stronger, than to have the doctrine of the Gospel come to nought. This is a peculiar work of love, for which there is great need even now, when with meat-eating and other liberties, men are rudely and roughly shaking weak consciences, before they know the truth. In chapter xv, he sets up the example of Christ, to show that we are to suffer those who are weak in other ways,— those whose weakness lies in open sins or in unpleasing habits. These men are not to be cast off, but borne with till they grow better. For so Christ has done to us, and still does every day; He bears with our many faults and bad habits, and with all our imperfections, and helps us constantly.

Then, at the end, he prays for them, praises them and commends them to God; he speaks of his office and his preaching, and asks them gently for a contribution to the poor at Jerusalem; all that he speaks of or deals with is pure love.

The last chapter is a chapter of greetings, but he mingles with them a noble warning against doctrines of men, which are put alongside the doctrine of the Gospel and cause offense. It is as though he had foreseen that out of Rome and through the Romans would come the seductive and offensive canons and decretals and the whole squirming mass of human laws and commandments, which have now drowned the whole world and wiped out this Epistle and all the Holy Scriptures, along with the Spirit and with faith, so that nothing has remained there except the idol, Belly, whose servants St. Paul here rebukes. God release us from them. Amen.

Thus in this Epistle we find most rightly the things that a Christian ought to know; namely, what is law, Gospel, sin, punishment, grace, faith, righteousness, Christ, God, good works, love, hope, the cross, and also how we are to conduct ourselves toward everyone, whether righteous or sinner, strong or weak, friend or foe. All this is ably founded on Scripture and proved by his own example and that of the prophets. Therefore it appears that St. Paul wanted to comprise briefly in this one epistle the whole Christian and evangelical doctrine and to prepare an introduction to the entire Old Testament; for, without doubt, he who has this epistle well in his heart, has the light and power of the Old Testament with him. Therefore let every Christian exercise himself in it habitually and continually. To this may God give His grace. Amen.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX

Acts, Luther's preface to, 183, notes, 356
Ada manuscript, 7
Ailly, Peter, 92, 316
Albigensians, 68
Albrecht, O., 151, 245, 255, 353, 361, 362
Albrecht, duke of Prussia, 253
Alcuin, 43
Aleander, 151
Alliteration, 283
Amsdorf, 148, 152, 222
Anhalt, princes of, 238, 360
Anselm of Laon, 290
Apocrypha, 36, 175, 211, 225
Archbishop of Mainz, 34, 70
Assonance, 283
Augustine, 99, 120, 234, 332
Augustinian Order and the Bible, 58, 89, 328
Aurogallus, 116, 197, 212

Berger, S., 40
Bernard of Clairvaux, 61, 315
Berthold of Mainz, 70
Berthold of Regensburg, 61, 315
Beyer, H. W., 255, 362
Bible, The, for the aged, 253
Bible, The, closed in the middle ages, 72
Bible, The Complete, of Luther (1534), 223ff.
Bible concordance, 290
Bible, The, in the curriculum, 57, 60f.
Bible, The German, see German Bible
Bible, The, in chains, 80, 323f.
Bible, The, with illustrations, 7, 23, 32, 33, 163, 164, 188, 208, 222f., 237f., 288
Bible, The, in medieval libraries, 55f.
Bible knowledge, 61ff.
Bible, The, Latin, see Latin Bible
Bible, The, medieval, extent of its use, 54ff.
Bible, The, and the official church in the middle ages, 67ff.
Bible, The open, 72, 101ff.
Bible, The, on parchment, 7, 238
Bible, price of the, 72, 164f., 318
Bible prohibitions, 67ff., 317f., * 90-94
Bible, The, and the schools, 60ff.
Bible, The, at the universities, 55f.
Biblia pauperum, 19, 54, 294ff.
Biblical books, Order of, 36, 169ff.
Biblicus, 56, 94
Biel, Gabr., 91
Boehmer, H., 324, 327, 332, 339
Brandenburg, Elector of, 238
Brant, Seb., 64, 316, 317
Brambach, 16, 293
Bremer, 255
Breviary, 27, 72, 165
Brothers of the Common Life, 78, 82, 316f., 322
Bruno Herbip, 19
Buchwald, 165, 213, 234

Bugenhagen, 212, 234, 255, 362
Burgos, Paul of, 289
Busch, Joh., 316

Cajetan, 176, 355
Canon, The, of the O. T., 36; N. T., 169ff., 171ff., 175, 189, 225
Cassiodorus, 5
Chapter headings, 302f.
Charlemagne, 6, 7, 50, 287
Charles the Bald, 7
Charles IV, 69
Choice of words, 277ff.
Church Postil, 146f.
Cicero, 26
Cologne Low German Bible, 37
Collegium maius, 86, 326
Comestor, Peter, 13f., 41f., 293, * 3ff.
Complutensian Polyglott, 344
Constitutiones of the Augustinian Order, 58, 89, 328
Construction of sentences, 280
Construction of phrases, 279ff.
Copinger, 8, 9, 15, 19, 53f., 290, 300
Cranach, 161, 195
Cranc, Claus, 24f., 30, 35, 301, * 12-16
Cruciger, 164, 212, 234, 360

Damasus, 5
Daniel, book of, 208, 210
Decembertestament, 182, 354
Demosthenes, 26
Denck, Joh., 206
Deuteronomy, Luther's lectures on book of, 205
Dietenberger, 181
Dietrich, Veit, 81f., 83, 90f., 215, 222
Doering, Matthias, 289
Doering (publisher), 161, 195
Dominicans, The, and the Bible, 58, 316
Drescher, 255
Dresden Psalter, 102, 333
Duerer, 306
Dungersheim, 57, 347
Dziatzko, 32

Eck, John, 131, 132, 181, 301, 349
Editions of Luther's Bible, 164, 182ff., 200, 233, 247, 249, 252f.
Eggensteyn Bible, 27, 31
Ehrensberger, 17, 293
Eisenach, 83
Emser, 180f.
Epistolaria, 17
Erasmus, 26, 120, 121, 131, 149ff., 175f., 300, 344, 351, 355
Erfurt and the Bible, 85f.
Erfurt and its cloisters, 85ff., 325
Erfurt and its schools, 84, 326
Erfurt, University statutes, 325, 330
Eusebius, 12, 292
Evangeliaria, 17
Ezekiel, the prophet, 208

Faber Stapulensis, 101, 115, 120, 121, 131, 150, 175, 333, 344
Falk, Fr., 9f., 47, 290, 312
Faust, John, 31
Faust-Schoepper, 18
Forster (Forstenius, Forstemius), 212, 267
Fourfold sense of Scripture, 124ff.
Freier, 340

Freitag, 150, 151, 186, 353, 357
Frisner and Sensenschmidt Bible, 32
Fulda, 21, 67

Galatians, Luther's lectures on, 121, 344
Galatians, Luther's commentary on (1519), 134, 344
Galle, M., 45, 299
Geffken, Joh., 1
Geiler von Kaisersberg, 62, 70
Georgenburse, 84, 86
George, Duke, 180
Gerbel, 148ff., 351
German language and Luther, see Luther
German Bible, The, of the middle ages, 19ff., 27
German History Bibles, 39ff.
German Theology, 143
Gerson, 316
Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 10, 291
Glosses, 16; glosses on pericopes, * 74-80, on psalms, 80ff.
Glossa interlinearis, 289f.
Glossa ordinaria, 8, 11, 185, 289f.
Godschalk evangelistary, 7
Goeze, J. M., 36
Goslar evangelistary, 7
Greek and Luther, 96, 118f., 267f., 341f.
Gregory, C. R., 6, 288
Gregory VII, 68
Gregory, XI, 69
Graduale, 16
Gruber, L., 284
Gruenberg, 101
Grueninger Bible, 34

Habakkuk, Luther's lectures on, 205
Haetzer, 206
Hain, L., 8, 15, 18, 53f., 281f., 290, 300, and often
Halberstadt, Low German Bible, 39
Hebrew Bible, 185
Hebrew and Luther, 96, 114, 265, 267f., 341
Hebrew Psalter, 118
Hebrews, Luther's lectures on, 121; preface, 172
Heliand, 43, 308
Henry the Lion, 7
Henry VIII, 347
Heremites of St. Augustine, 58
Himmelspforte, 86, 326
Hippolytus, 124
Hirsch, 259, 279, 339
Historia Scholastica, 13ff., 41, 42f., 293, * 3ff., German, * 53f.
History Bibles, 12ff.; New Test. H. B., 43; printed H. B., 45, 307f.; German Hist. Bibles, * 49-66; N. T. H. B., * 60ff.
Holl, 259, 344, 347
Homiliarium, 50
Hugo, Cardinal, 8, 11, 290
Hymnarium, 17, 54

Illustration of the Bible, 7, 23, 32, 33, 163, 164, 188, 208, 222f., 237ff., 288
Influence of Luther's Bible, 283f.
Inspiration of the Bible, 123ff., 345, 349f.
Innocent III, 68
Isaiah, Luther's lectures on, 205, Luther's preface to, 209
Isidor of Seville, 12, 292

Jacobs, Ch. M., 177, 189, 270
James, The epistle of St., 170, 172f., 226, 355
Jeremiah, Luther's preface to, 210
Jerome, 5, 12, 26, 101, 115, 116, 176, 185, 268, 292; preface to Jeremiah, 303
Jerahmeel, 12, 292
Job, The book of, 24, 197, 201
Jonas, Just., 212, 234
Josephus, 13
Jud, Leo, 207
Juristenschule at Erfurt, 86

Kimchi, David, 268
Kimchi, Moses, 268
Koberger (Koburger) Latin Bibles, 9f.
Koberger, German Bibles, 32ff., * 44ff.
Koenigsberg manuscript, 24
Kropatscheck, 70, 317
Kuder, Mich., 164
Kuhn, 182
Kunheim Psalter, 214
Kurrelmeyer, W., 27, 33, 301

Lang, Johann, 96, 118, 147, 151, 345, 352
Latin Bible, The, 5ff., 11
Latin History Bibles, 12ff.
Law and Gospel with Luther, 103ff., 192ff.
Lectionary, 16f.
Lectura in Biblia, 97ff., 331
Legalism of the middle ages, 74
Libraries of the middle ages, 56, 313
Lombard, Peter, 92, 94
Lotther, Melchior, 161, 195
Low German Bible, 36ff., 306f., 364, * 48f.
Low German History Bibles, 42f.
Low German Plenaria, 48f.
Luebeck Low German Bible, 39
Lufft, Johann, 182, 183, 206, 208, 223, 238, 249, 253
Luther's statements about the medieval Bible use, 3f., 65f., 151, 352
Luther's statements about his own Bible use, 80ff.
Luther buys a postil, 79
Luther finds the Bible, 79f.
Luther and the Bible in the cloister, 88f., 90ff.
Luther's doctor promotion, 98, 331f.
Luther and the Lectura in Biblia, 97ff.
Luther lectures on the Psalms, 101ff., * 95-111
Luther's temptations, 103f., 334
Luther and God's righteousness, 105ff., 335ff.
Luther's retrospect, 106
Luther and his Turmerlebnis, 105ff.
Luther's exegetical lectures, 100f., 332
Luther lectures on Romans, 100, 114, 342f., * 111-141
Luther lectures on Galatians 100, 114, 344
Luther lectures on Hebrews, 100. 114, * 148-165
Luther explains the Penitential Psalms, 114, 144, 340, * 141-148, * 182-183
Luther's commentary on Galatians, 344, * 166-181

Luther and the Vulgate, 114ff., 154ff.
Luther and the manifold sense of Scripture, 124ff.
Luther and the Scripture, 129ff.
Luther and the German language, 138ff., 257ff., 267ff.
Luther's aids for translating the Bible, 149ff., 185
Luther's first attempts at Bible translation, * 182ff.
Luther's understanding of the N. T., 165ff.
Luther's Septembertestament, 161ff., * 188ff.
Luther's Decembertestament, 182, 354
Luther and the Old Testament, 189ff.
Luther and the Psalter, 199, 204, 205f., 214 ff.
Luther and the revision commission, see Revision
Luther's complete Bible of 1534, 223ff.
Luther's Bible of 1541, 237
Luther's Bible of 1545, 248
Luther's Bible of 1546, 253, * 188ff.
Luther's Bible, its significance, 257ff.
Luther's Bible, its christocentric character, 263ff.
Luther's Bible, its linguistic individuality, 277ff.
Luther's Bible, its influence, 283, 363
Luther's principles of translation, 263-277
Luther's Sendschreiben vom Dolmetschen, 270
Luther's *Von den letzten Worten Davids*, 263
Luther's *Ueber den Psalter und die Ursachen des Dolmetschens*, 277ff.
Luther's glosses, 177, 359, 356
Luther's prefaces, see Prefaces
Luther's printer's copy, 195, 353
Luther and the printers, 239
Lyra, Nicolaus de, 8, 11, 35, 38, 39, 53, 87, 90, 115, 124, 150, 236, 268, 288f., 291, 304, 344

Magdeburg schools, 78
Manifold sense of Scripture, 124ff., 347
Mansfeld, school at, 76
Marschalk, 113
Mathesius, 75, 79, 212f., 319
Maurer, F., 47, 317
Medieval Bible, its use, 54ff.
Meissinger, 117, 340, 349
Melanchthon, 2, 57, 115, 119, 158f., 164, 197, 212, 234, 255, 351, 362
Memory aids, 60, 314
Mensing, John, 73
Mentel Bible, 22, 23, 27ff., 31, 305f., * 20-36., * 36-43, 44ff.
Merzdorf, 40, 41
Missale, 17, 46
Monasteries and the Bible, 59
Monseer Matthaeus, 20, 300, * 10
Muegeln, H. v., 52f., 317, * 80ff.
Muenster, Seb., 236, 265
Musical element in Luther's Bible, 282f.
Music and medieval schools, 76f. 320f.

Nathin, John, 91, 94
New Test. History Bibles, 43

Nicolaus de Clemanges, 316
Niederdeutsche Bibliographic, 53
Notker, Labeo, 22, 68, 200, * 11

Ockham, 87, 91, 326f.
Old Testament, Luther's, first part, 187ff.
Old Testament, Luther's second part, 195ff.
Old Testament, Luther's, third part, 197ff.
Old Testament, Luther's, the prophets, 208
Order of words, 281
Origen, 124, 131
Otfried's Book of the Gospel, 43, 309
Otmar Bible, 34, * 44ff.
Otto III, 7
Otto of Passau, 63

Pahl, 340
Palestine, map of, 164
Paris, statutes of the university of, 56, 312
Paris, library of the university of, 56
Passionalia, 19, 43, 44f., 49, 54, 299 f.
Paulus Diaconus, 50
Penitential Psalms, 116, 144, 340, * 80ff., * 141-148, 182f.
Pentateuch, translation of the, 186ff.
Pericopes, medieval, 17, 50, 309, 310f.; marked off, 22, * 11, * 66-74; books of pericopes, 16f., 45ff.; glosses on pericopes, * 74-80; list of evang. pericopes, 182, 355f.
Peter of Herenthals, 53, * 82f.
Petrus Lombardus, 55, 92, 94
Pflanzmann Bible, 31f.
Pictures, see Illustrations of Bible
Pietsch, P., 9f., 47, 50f., 64, 182, 291, 310
Plenaria, Latin, 17f.; German, 51f., 53f., 311f., * 66-74, see Pericopes
Postil, 8, 16, 79, 83
Pratensis, Felix, 116, 340
Predestination, Luther's temptations caused by his idea of, 103ff, 334f.
Prefaces, of the medieval Bible, 22, 35f.; Jeremiah, 303ff., Zechariah, 304, Romans, 305; Luther's prefaces: to the N. T., 165ff., Acts, 227, Romans, * 205ff., Hebrews, 172, James and Jude, 172, 226, Revelation, 174, 229ff.; Old Test., 189ff.; Pentateuch, 192f., Job, 201, Psalter (1524), 202, (1528), 206, * 202ff., Proverbs, 204, 358, Ecclesiastes, 204, Prophets, 209ff.
Principles, Luther's, of translation, 192f., 257ff., 263ff.
Prophets, medieval translations of, 24, * 12, * 16
Prophets, in Luther's translation, 205, 208f.
Psalms, translated by Luther (1524), 199, 204; (1528), 205f.; (1531), 214ff.
Psalms, Penitential, 116, 340
Psalter, The Latin, 17f.; German, 51ff., 311f., * 80-89

Rashi, Solomon, 125
Reichert, O., 214, 222, 225, 245, 255, 361
Reichling, 9, 15
Religious instruction in home and school, 319ff.
Reuchlin, 26, 96, 114, 115, 116f., 150, 331
Reuss, 40
Revelation, The book of, 174f., 229ff.
Revisions of the Bible, 211ff.; of the N. T. of 1522 with Melanchthon, 159f.; with the Bible Commission, 211ff.; Psalter (1531), 213-221; Bible (1534) 221, (1539) 41, 233ff., 240, 244; N. T. (1541), 244f.; (1544), 251, 360
Rhabanus Maurus, 43
Rhegius, Urb, 180
Rhythm in Luther's Bible, 283
Righteousness of God and Luther, 105ff., 335 ff.
Roerer, Geo., 80, 212, 213, 221, 234, 25; Roerer's colophons to the Bible, 238, 247, 249, 251, 254, 362
Roethe, G., 152
Romans, Luther's lectures on Romans, 114, 342f.
Rose, Karl, 179

Sacramentary, 16
Sandvos, 154
Santes Pagninus, 265
Saxon Chronicle, 42
Saxony, Elector of, 238
Scheel, O., 79, 312, 319ff.
Schmidt, Hans, 348
Schoenbach, A., 61, 315
Schoensperger Bible, 34
Schools, The Latin, and the Bible, 60f, 75f., 314f.
Schramm, A., 223
Schwarzenberg, Freiherr von, 162
Scripture's sole authority, 114ff., 121ff.
Sedulius, 314
Septembertestament, 162ff.
Septuagint, 185
Significance of Luther's Bible, 257ff.
Sola Scriptura and Luther, 93ff.
Sorg, The, Bible, 32f., 34
Spalatin, 158, 159, 164, 186, 197, 208, 344, 350
Speculum Salv. Hum., 19, 48, 54, 74, 296ff.
Staupitz, 80, 89, 93f., 98, 328ff., 334
St. Gall, 5, 21, 22, 287
Strabo, Walahfried, 8, 289
Surgant, Ulrich, 64, 125, 347

Tatian, 21, 43, 300
Tauler, 62, 99, 316
Thomas Aquinas, 124, 142
Thurston, H., 16
Trithemius, 313
Trivial schools, 75, 318
Trutvetter, 95
Turmerlebnis Luther's 105ff., 337ff.
Tyndale, 284

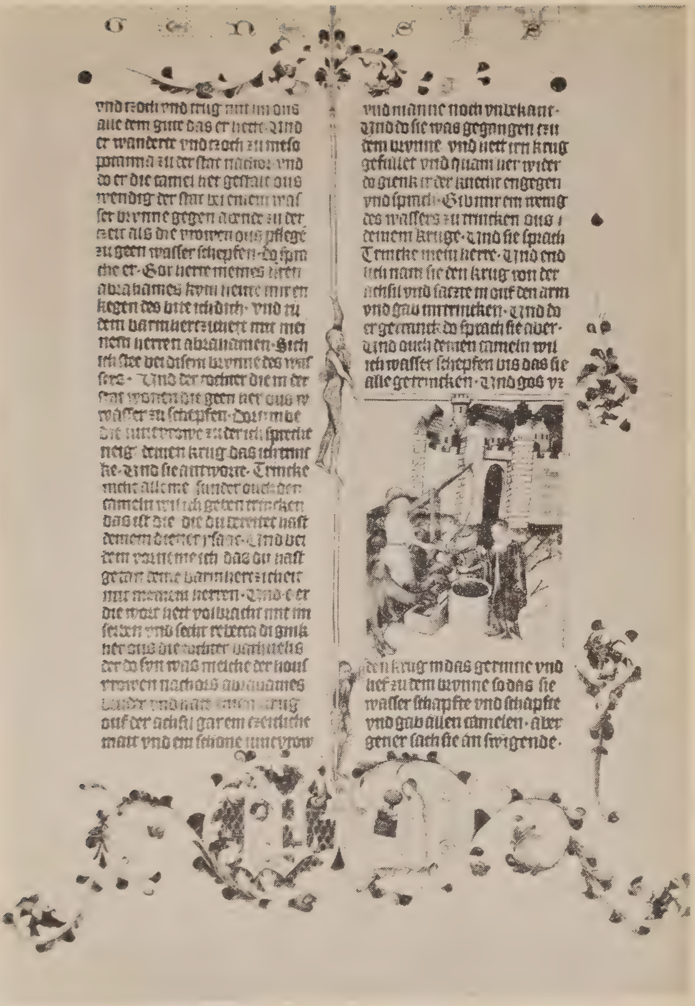
Upper Germany History Bibles, 41, 45
Utrecht Psalter, 7

Valdo, Bishop, 68
Valla Laurentius, 121
Virgil, 137
Vogelsang, 113, 333, 338
Vollmer, H., 14, 26, 40ff., 45, 51f., 61, 64, 293, 300, 307f., 311f., 340
Vulgate, 5, 227f.; editions, 291f.
Vulgate and Luther, 114ff., 154ff.

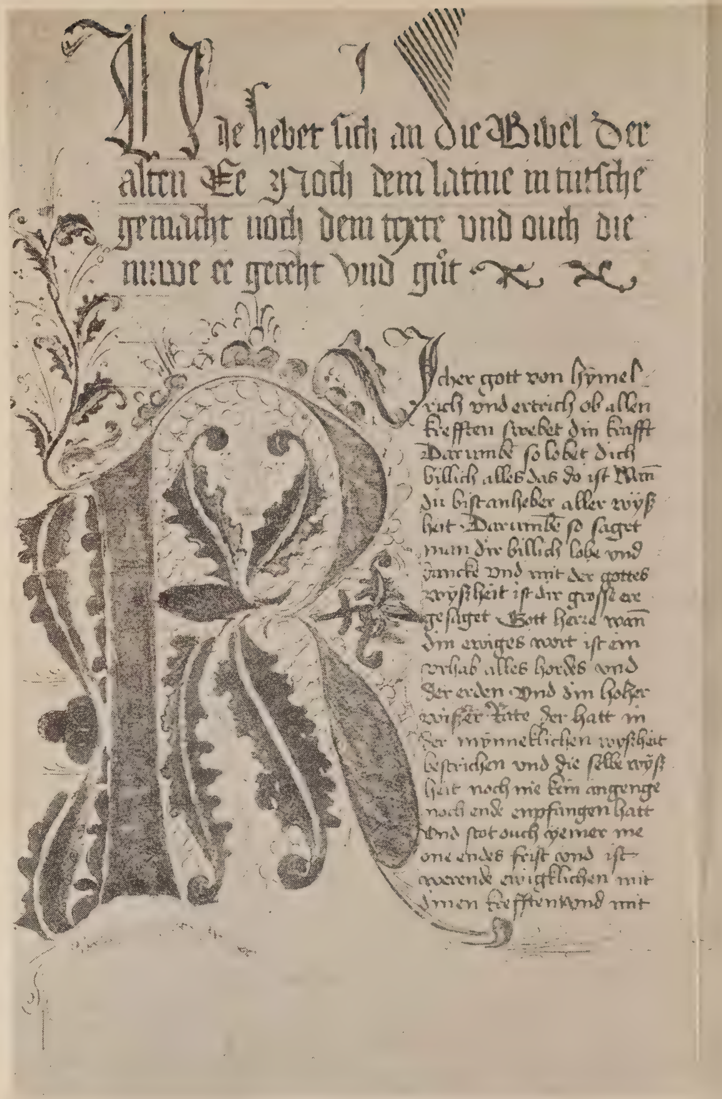
Walahfried Strabo, 8, 289
Walther, Chr., 238, 254, 361, 362
Walther v. d. Vogelweide, 64
Walther, W., 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 39, 51, 54, 165, 300ff.
Wartburg Luther's stay at the, 146ff.
Weber, H., 182
Wenzel Bible, 23
Wicliff, 70
Williram, 21, 68, 300
Windberg Psalter, 22, * 11
Wolfenbuettel Psalter, 333
Worms Bible, 206
Worms, Luther's declaration at, 346
Worms Prophets, 206, 358

Yahveh, translated by Luther, 193
Yiddish Psalters of the middle ages, 52

Zainer, Guenther, 15, 31ff., 47, 151, 302, * 43, * 44ff.
Zechariah, The book of, 205
Zerbolt, Gerh., 71
Ziegler, Bernh., 212
Zuerich manuscript, 22
Zuerich Bible, 206f.
Zuetphen, H. von, 179



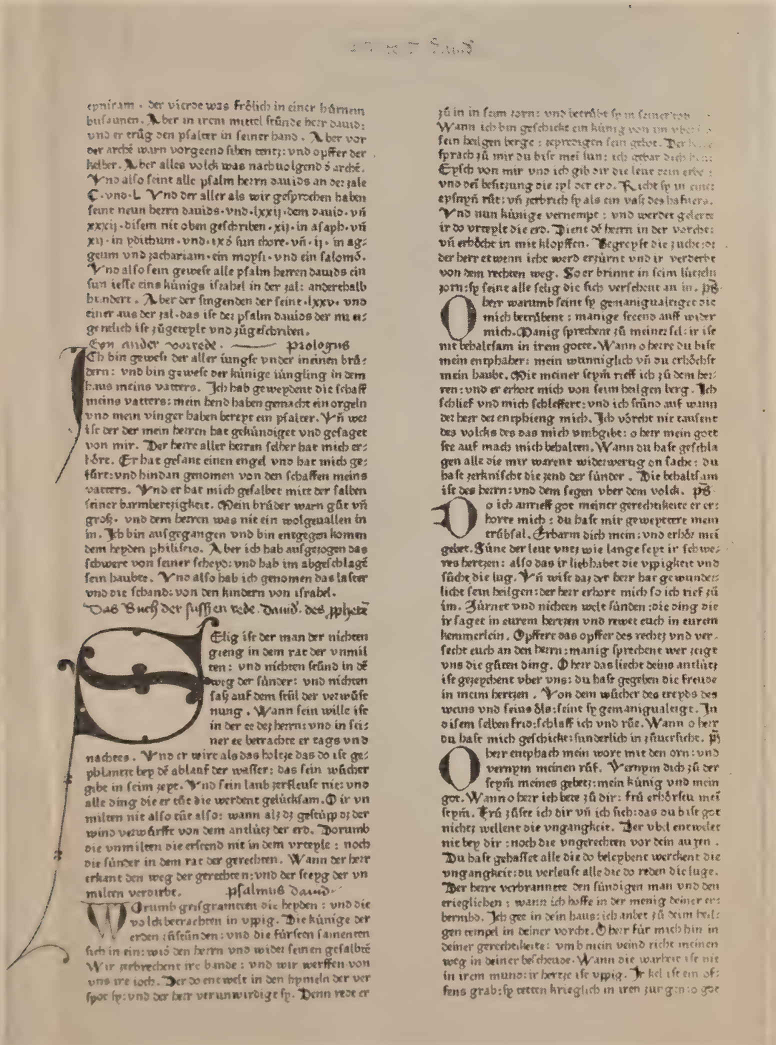
1. A page of the Wenzel Manuscript Bible of the 15th century (Gen. 24:10-21); original size 15¼″ x 10⅜″; Hofbibliothek at Wien.

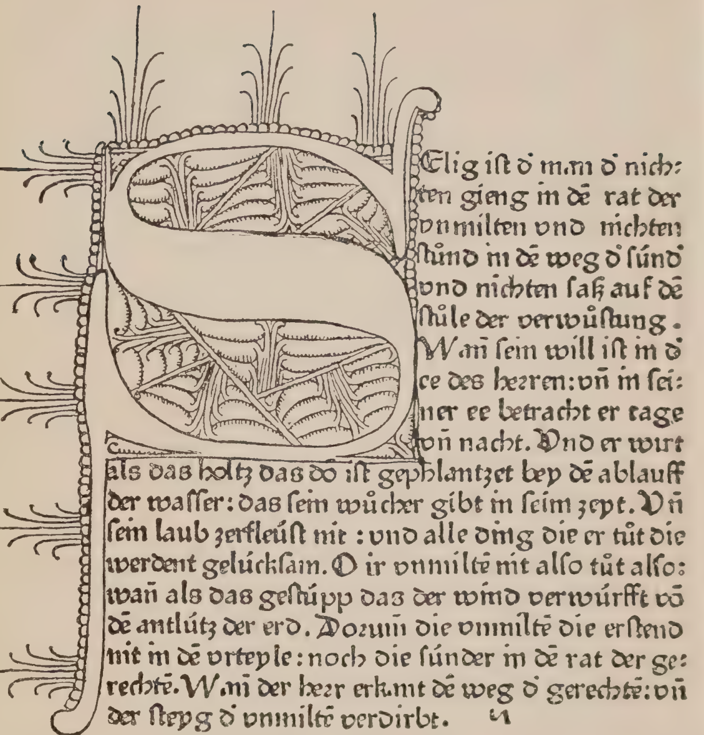


Hie hebet sich an die Bibel der
alten Ee Noch dem latine in tütsche
gemacht noch dem texte vnd ouch die
nüwe ee gerecht vnd gůt

Richer gott von hymel
rich vnd ertrich ob allen
krefften strebet din krafft
Darumbe so lobet dich
billich alles das do ist Wan
du bist anheber aller wyß
heit · Darumbe so saget
man dir billich lobe vnd
dancke Vnd mit der gottes
wyßheit ist dir grosse ere
gesaget Gott herre wan
din ewiges wort ist ein
vrsach alles hymels vnd
der erden · Vnd din hoher
wiser rate der hatt in
der mynneklichen wyßheit
bestrichen vnd die selbe wyß
heit noch nie kein angenge
noch ende enpfangen hatt
Vnd stot ouch yemer me
one endes frist vnd ist
werende ewigklichen mit
iren krefften vnd mit

2. First page of a Manuscript History Bible of the 15th century; original size 35, 9 x 25, 9 cm.; Stadtbibliothek at Kolmar.

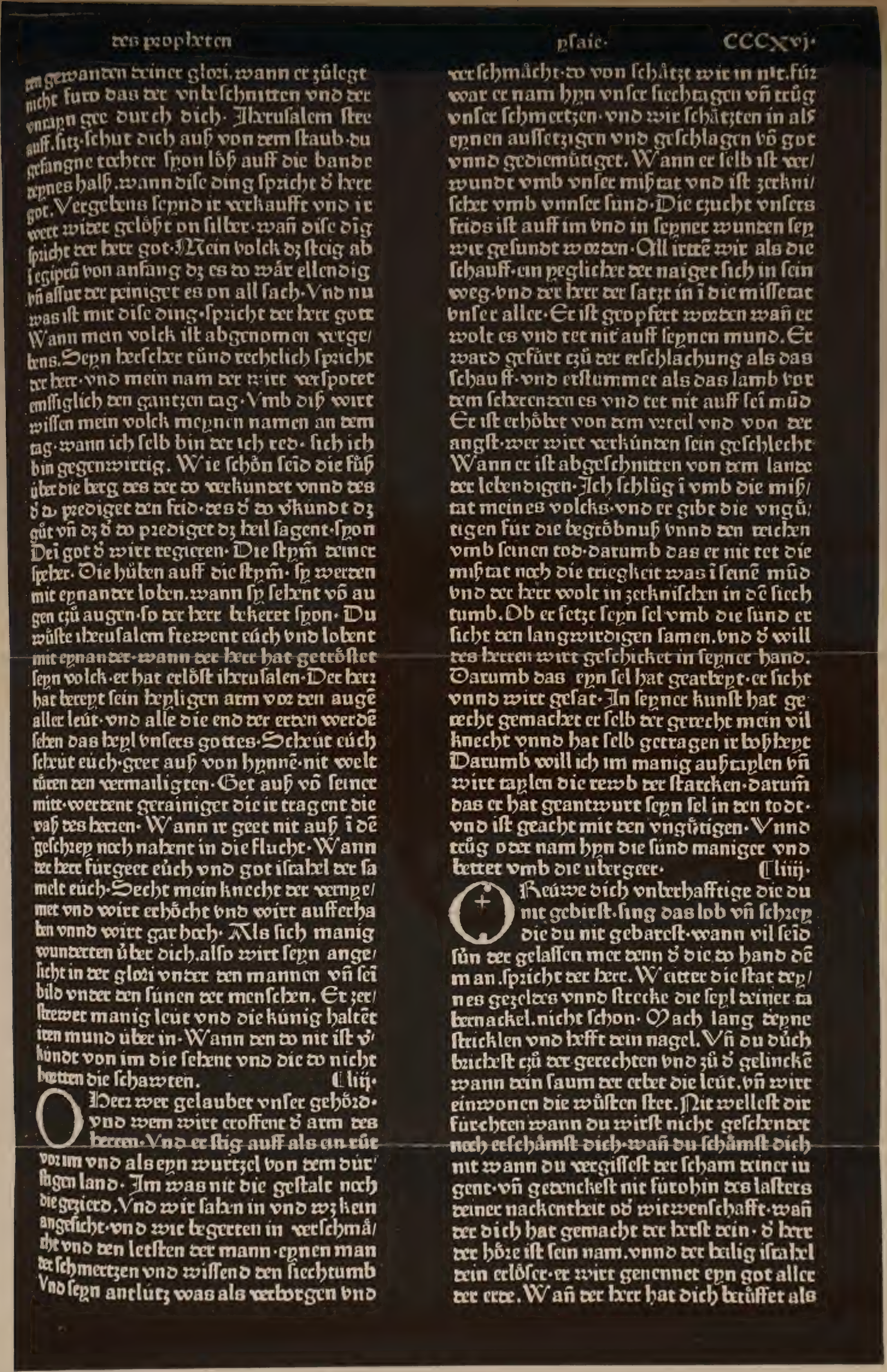




SElig iſt ð man ð nichten gieng in dẽ rat der vnmilten vnd nichten ſtůnd in dẽ weg ð ſúnd vnd nichten ſaß auf dẽ ſtůle der verwůſtung. Wañ ſein will iſt in ð ee des herren: vñ in ſeiner ee betracht er tage vñ nacht. Vnd er wirt als das holtz das do iſt gephlantzet bey dẽ ablauff der waſſer: das ſein wůcher gibt in ſeim zeyt. Vñ ſein laub zerfleúſt nit: vnd alle ding die er tůt die werdent gelúckſam. O ir vnmiltẽ nit alſo tůt alſo: wañ als das geſtúpp das der wind verwúrfft võ dẽ antlútz der erd. Dozuñ die vnmiltẽ die erſtend nit in dẽ vrteyle: noch die ſúnder in dẽ rat der gerechtẽ. Wañ der herr erkãt dẽ weg ð gerechtẽ: vñ der ſteyg ð vnmiltẽ verdirbt.

3. LEFT: A page of the Mentel Bible of 1466; one-third of the original size; Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart. Prefaces and Ps. 1-5.)

4. ABOVE: Psalm One from the Eggesteyn Bible of 1470 (Psalm 1); Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart.



des propheten

den gewanden deiner glori. wann er zůlegt
nicht furo das der vnbeſchnitten vnd der
vnraynn gee durch dich· Jheruſalem ſtee
auff. ſitz· ſchut dich auß von dem ſtaub· du
gefangne tochter ſyon löß auff die bande
deynes halß. wann diſe ding ſpricht ď herre
got. Vergebens ſeynd ir verkauffte vnd ir
werent wider gelößt on ſilber· wañ diſe dig
ſpricht der herr got· Mein volck dz ſteig ab
i egiptū von anfang dz es do wár ellendig
vñ aſſur der peiniget es on all ſach· Vnd nu
was iſt mir diſe ding· ſpricht der herr gotte
Wann mein volck iſt abgenomen verge/
bens. Seyn herſcher tůnd rechtlich ſpricht
der herr· vnd mein nam der wirt verſpotet
emſſiglich den gantzen tag· Vmb diß wirt
wiſſen mein volck meynen namen an dem
tag· wann ich ſelb bin der ich red· ſich ich
bin gegenwirtig. Wie ſchön ſeid die füß
über die berg des der do verkundet vnnd des
ď da prediget den frid· des ď do v̓kundt dz
gůt vñ dz ď do prediget dz heil ſagent· ſyon
Dein got ď wirt regieren· Die ſtym deiner
ſpeher· Die hüben auff die ſtym· ſy werden
mit eynander loben. wann ſy ſehent vō au
gen czů augen· ſo der herr bekeret ſyon· Du
wüſte iheruſalem frewent euch vnd lobent
mit eynander· wann der herr hat getröſtet
ſeyn volck· er hat erlößt iheruſalen· Der herr
hat bereyt ſein heyligen arm vor den augē
aller leút· vnd alle die end der erden werdē
ſehen das heyl vnſers gottes· Scheút euch
ſcheút euch· geet auß von hynnē· nit welt
růren den vermailigten· Get auß vō ſeiner
mitt· werdent gerainiget die ir tragent die
vaß des herren· Wann ir geet nit auß ī dē
geſchrey noch nahent in die flucht· Wann
der herr fürgeet euch vnd got iſrahel der ſa
melt euch· Secht mein knecht der vernye/
met vnd wirt erhöcht vnd wirt auffercha
ben vnnd wirt gar hoch· Als ſich manig
wunderten über dich. alſo wirt ſeyn ange/
ſicht in der glori vnder den mannen vñ ſeī
bild vnder den ſúnen der menſchen. Er zer/
ſtrewet manig leút vnd die künig haltēt
iren mund über in· Wann den do nit iſt v̓/
kündt von im die ſehent vnd die do nicht
horten die ſchawten. Cliij·

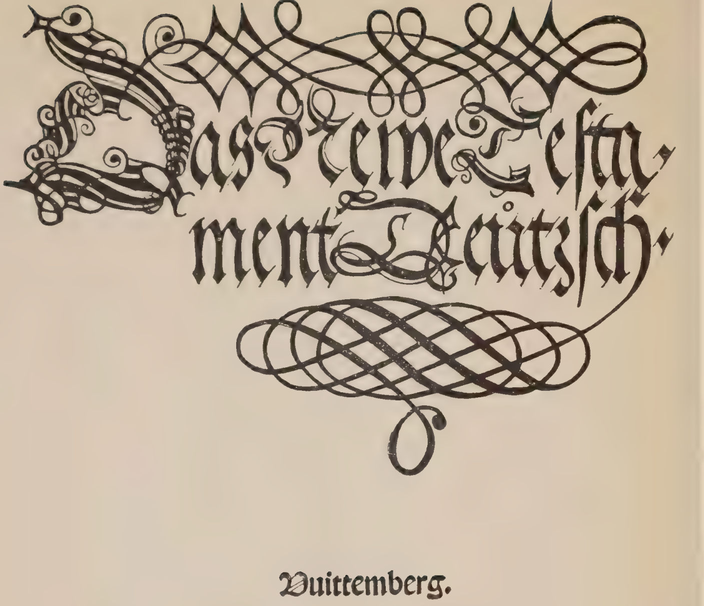
O Herr wer gelaubet vnſer gehörd·
vnd wem wirt eroffent ď arm des
herren· Vnd er ſtig auff als ein rüt
vor im vnd als eyn wurtzel von dem dúr/
ſtigen land· Im was nit die geſtalt noch
die gezierd. Vnd wir ſahen in vnd wz kein
angeſicht· vnd wir begerten in verſchmá/
cht vnd den leſten der mann· eynen man
der ſchmertzen vnd wiſſend den ſiechtumb
Vnd ſeyn antlútz was als verborgen vnd

yſaie· CCCXvj·

verſchmácht· do von ſchåtzt wir in nit. fúr
war er nam hyn vnſer ſiechtagen vñ trůg
vnſer ſchmertzen· vnd wir ſchåtzten in als
eynen auſſetzigen vnd geſchlagen vō got
vnnd gediemútiget. Wann er ſelb iſt ver/
wundt vmb vnſer mißtat vnd iſt zerkni/
ſchet vmb vnnſer ſünd· Die czucht vnſers
frids iſt auff im vnd in ſeyner wunden ſey
wir geſundt worden· All irrtē wir als die
ſchauff· ein yeglicher der naiget ſich in ſein
weg· vnd der herr der ſatzt in ī die miſſetat
vnſer aller· Er iſt geopffert worden wañ er
wolt es vnd tet nit auff ſeynen mund. Er
ward gefürt czů der erſchlachung als das
ſchauff· vnd erſtummet als das lamb vor
dem ſcherenden es vnd tet nit auff ſeī mūd
Er iſt erhöhet von dem vrteil vnd von der
angſt· wer wirt verkúnden ſein geſchlecht
Wann er iſt abgeſchnitten von dem lande
der lebendigen· Ich ſchlůg ī vmb die miß/
tat meines volcks· vnd er gibt die vngů/
tigen für die begröbnuß vnnd den reichen
vmb ſeinen tod· darumb das er nit tet die
mißtat noch die triegkeit was ī ſeinē mūd
vnd der herr wolt in zerkniſchen in dē ſiech
tumb. Ob er ſetzt ſeyn ſel vmb die ſünd er
ſicht den langwirdigen ſamen. vnd ď will
des herren wirt geſchicket in ſeyner hand.
Darumb das eyn ſel hat gearbeyt· er ſicht
vnnd wirt geſat· In ſeyner kunſt hat ge
recht gemachet er ſelb der gerecht mein vil
knecht vnnd hat ſelb getragen ir boßheyt
Darumb will ich im manig außtaylen vñ
wirt taylen die rewb der ſtarcken· darum̄
das er hat geantwurt ſeyn ſel in den todt·
vnd iſt geacht mit den vngůtigen· Vnnd
trůg der nam hyn die ſünd maniger vnd
bettet vmb die übergeer· Cliiij·

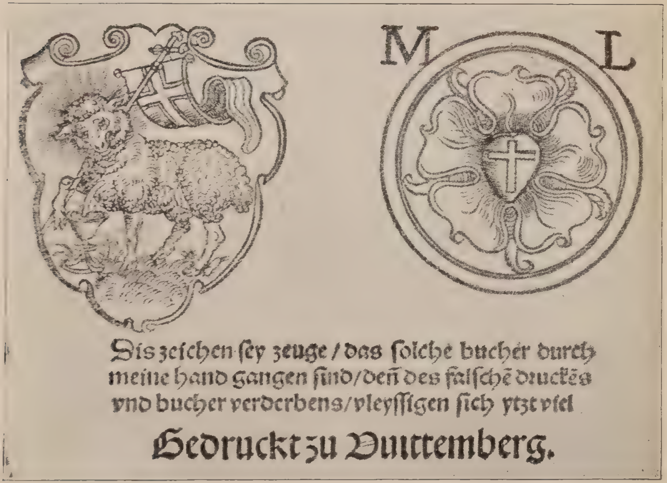
O Freúwe dich vnberhafftige die du
nit gebirſt· ſing das lob vñ ſchrey
die du nit gebareſt· wann vil ſeid
ſün der gelaſſen mer denn ď die do hand dē
man. ſpricht der herr. Weitter die ſtat dey/
nes gezeldes vnnd ſtrecke die ſeyl deiner ta
bernackel. nicht ſchon· Mach lang deyne
ſtricklen vnd hefft dein nagel. Vñ du důch
brícheſt czů der gerechten vnd zů ď gelinckē
wann dein ſaum der erbet die leút. vñ wirt
einwonen die wůſten ſtet. Nit welleſt dir
fürchten wann du wirſt nicht geſchendet
noch erſchámſt dich· wañ du ſchámſt dich
nit wann du vergiſſeſt der ſcham deiner iu
gent· vñ gedenckeſt nit fürohin des laſters
deiner nackenthait oď witwenſchafft· wañ
der dich hat gemacht der herſt dein· ď herr
der höre iſt ſein nam. vnnd der heilig iſrahel
dein erlöſer· er wirt genennet eyn got aller
der erde. Wañ der herr hat dich berůffet als

5. A page of the Zainer Bible of 1475 in its original size (Is. 52:1-54:6) Landesbibliothek at Stuttgart.



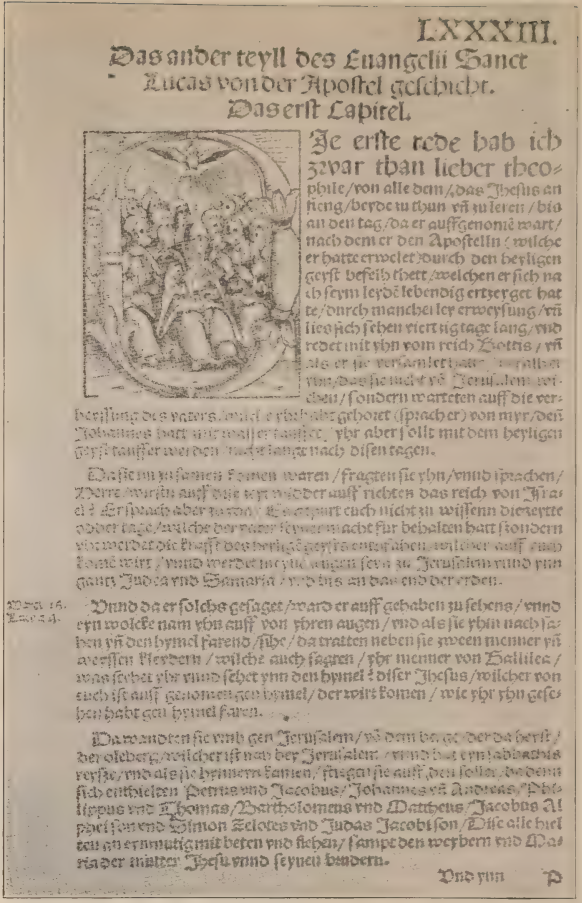
Das Newe Teſtament Deůtzſch.

Vuittemberg.



Dis zeichen ſey zeuge/das ſolche bucher durch meine hand gangen ſind/deñ des falſchē druckēs vnd bucher verderbens/vleyſſigen ſich ytzt viel

Gedruckt zu Vuittemberg.



LXXXIII.

Das ander teyll des Euangelii Sanct Lucas von der Apoſtel geſchicht.

Das erſt Capitel.

Je erſte rede hab ich zwar than lieber theophile/von alle dem/das Jheſus anfieng/beyde zu thun vñ zu leren/bis an den tag/da er auffgenomē wart/nach dem er den Apoſtelln (wilche er hatte erwelet) durch den heyligen geyſt befelh thett/welchen er ſich nach ſeym leydē lebendig ertzeyget hatte/durch mancherley erweyſung/vñ lies ſich ſehen viertzig tage lang/vnd redet mit yhn vom reich Gottis/vñ als er ſie verſamlet hatt [illegible] yhn/das ſie nicht vō Jeruſalem wichen/ſondern warteten auff die verheyſſung des vaters/[illegible] gehoret (ſprach er) von myr/deñ Johannes hatt mit waſſer taufft/yhr aber ſollt mit dem heyligen geyſt tauffet werden [illegible] nach diſen tagen.

Da ſie nu zuſamen komen waren/fragten ſie yhn/vnnd ſprachen/Herre/wirſtu auff diſe zeyt widder auff richten das reich von Iſrael? Er ſprach aber zu yhn/[illegible] euch nicht zu wiſſenn die zeytte odder tage/wilche der vater ſeyner macht fur behalten hatt ſondern yhr werdet die krafft des [illegible] entpfahen/wilcher auff euch komē wirt/vnnd werdet [illegible] ſeyn zu Jeruſalem vnnd ynn gantz Judea vnd Samaria/vnd bis an das end der erden.

Marci 16. Luce 24. Vnnd da er ſolchs geſaget/ward er auff gehaben zu ſehens/vnnd eyn wolcke nam yhn auff von yhren augen/vnd als ſie yhm nach ſahen vñ den hymel farend/ſihe/da tratten neben ſie zween menner yñ weyſſen kleydern/wilche auch ſagten/yhr menner von Gallilea/was ſtehet yhr vnnd ſehet ynn den hymel? diſer Jheſus/wilcher von euch iſt auff genomen gen hymel/der wirt komen/wie yhr yhn geſehen habt gen hymel faren.

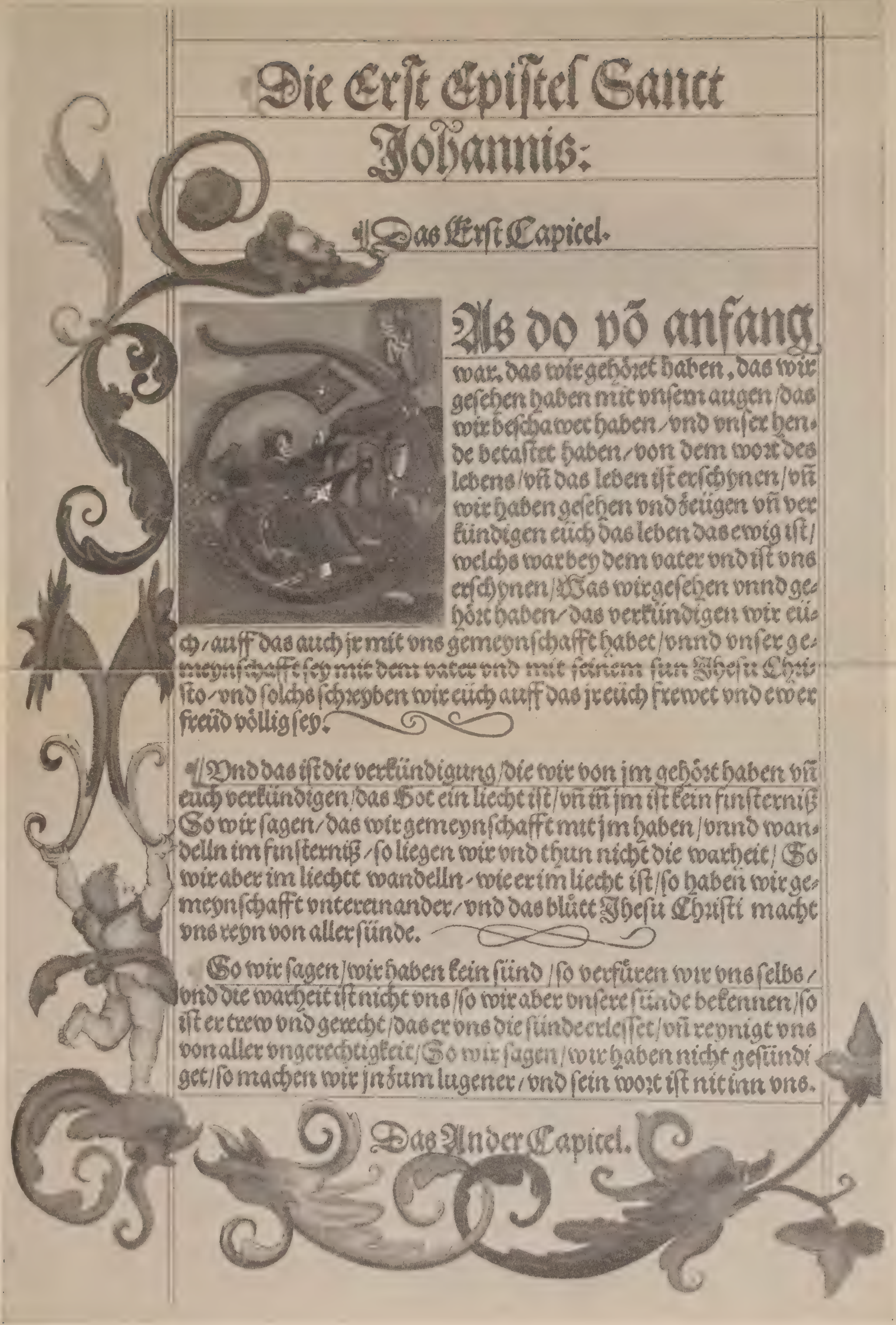
Da wandten ſie vmb gen Jeruſalem/vō dem [illegible] der da heyſt/der oleberg/wilcher iſt nah bey Jeruſalem/vnnd hat eyn ſabbathis reyſze/vnd als ſie hyneyn kamen/ſtiegen ſie auff den ſoller/da denn ſich enthielten Petrus vnd Jacobus/Johannes vñ Andreas/Philippus vnd Thomas/Bartholomeus vnd Mattheus/Jacobus Alphei ſon vnd Simon Zelotes vnd Judas Jacobi ſon/Diſe alle hielten an eynmutig mit beten vnd flehen/ſampt den weybern vnd Maria der mutter Jheſu vnnd ſeynen brudern.

Vnd ynn P

6. LEFT (above): Title Page of the Septembertestament of 1522; Staatsbibliothek at Berlin.

7. LEFT (below): Note at the end of the second part of Luther's Old Testament, Wittenberg 1524; Staatsbibliothek at Muenchen.

8. ABOVE: A page of the Septembertestament of 1522 (Acts 1:1-14); Staatsbibliothek at Berlin.



Die Erſt Epiſtel Sanct Johannis:

¶ Das Erſt Capitel.

As do võ anfang war. das wir gehöret haben, das wir geſehen haben mit vnſerm augen/das wir beſchawet haben/vnd vnſer hende betaſtet haben/von dem wort des lebens/vñ das leben iſt erſchynen/vñ wir haben geſehen vnd zeügen vñ verkündigen eüch das leben das ewig iſt/ welchs war bey dem vater vnd iſt vns erſchynen/Was wir geſehen vnnd gehört haben/das verkündigen wir eüch/auff das auch jr mit vns gemeynſchafft habet/vnnd vnſer gemeynſchafft ſey mit dem vater vnd mit ſeinem ſun Jheſu Chriſto/vnd ſolchs ſchreyben wir eüch auff das jr eüch frewet vnd ewer freüd völlig ſey.

¶ Vnd das iſt die verkündigung/die wir von jm gehört haben vñ euch verkündigen/das Got ein liecht iſt/vñ iñ jm iſt kein finſterniß So wir ſagen/das wir gemeynſchafft mit jm haben/vnnd wandelln im finſterniß/ſo liegen wir vnd thun nicht die warheit/ So wir aber im liechtt wandelln/wie er im liecht iſt/ſo haben wir gemeynſchafft vntereinander/vnd das blůtt Jheſu Chriſti macht vns reyn von aller ſünde.

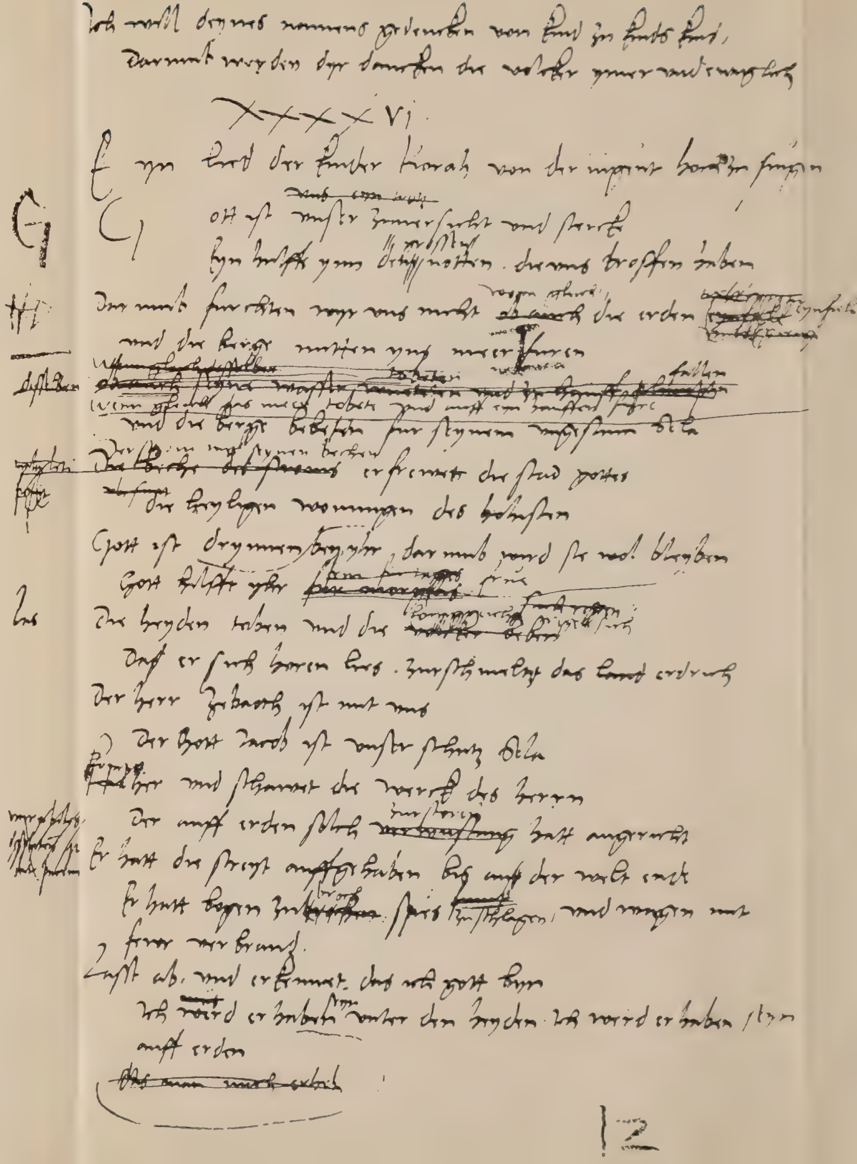
So wir ſagen/wir haben kein ſünd/ſo verfůren wir vns ſelbs/vnd die warheit iſt nicht vns/ſo wir aber vnſere ſünde bekennen/ſo iſt er trew vnd gerecht/das er vns die ſünde erleſſet/vñ reynigt vns von aller vngerechtigkeit/So wir ſagen/wir haben nicht geſündiget/ſo machen wir jn zum lugener/vnd ſein wort iſt nit inn vns.

Das Ander Capitel.

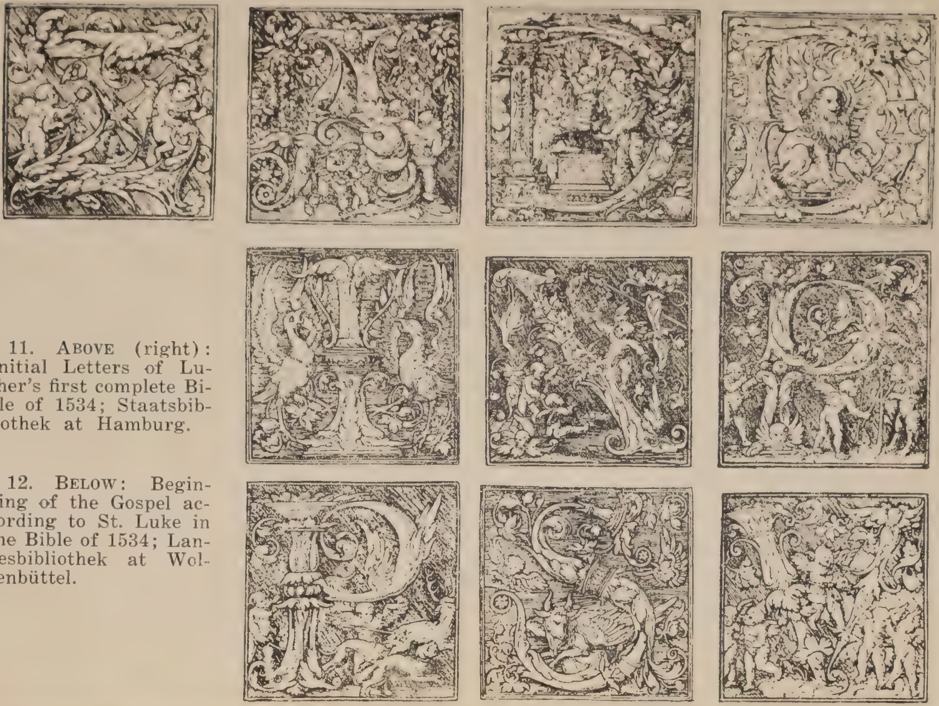
9. A page of the New Testament printed at Augsburg by Hans Schoensperger, 1523 (I John 1); original size; Universitaetsbibliothek at Goettingen (printed on parchment).

Transcript of Luther's Manuscript

[45,18] Jch will deynes namens gedencken von kind zu kinds kind,
Darumb werden dyr dancken die volcker ymer vnd ewiglich
[Pſ. 46] XXXXVI.
1 Eyn lied der kinder Korah von der iugent hoch zu ſingen
(vns eyn trotz)
2] Gott iſt vnſer zuuerſicht vnd ſtercke
groſſen
Eyn hulffe ynn de(m)n notten. Die vns troffen haben
wenn gleich (transferetur)
3] Dar umb furchten wyr vns nicht (ob auch) die erden (eynfiele) eynfiele
vnd die berge mitten yns meer furen (vntergienge)
(Wenn gleich deſſelben) (tobeten) fallen
4] (deſſelben) (ob auch ſeyne waſſer wueteten vnd zu hauff plumpten)
Wenn gleich das meer tobete vnd auff eyn hauffen füre
vnd die berge bebeten fur ſeynem vngeſtum Sela
5] Der ſtrom mit ſeynen bechen
(mala leti (Die beche des ſtroms) erfrewe(n)t die ſtad gottes
ficant) (ubi sunt)
die heyligen wonungen des hohiſten
6] Gott iſt drynnen bey yhr. Dar umb wird ſie wol bleyben
(früe für tages) frue
Gott hilfft yhr (fur morgens)
konigreiche regen ſich
7] Las Die heyden toben vnd die (volcker beben)
Da(s) er ſich horen lies. zurſchmelzt das (land) erdrich
8] Der Herr Zebaoth iſt mit vns
Der Gott Jacob iſt vnſer ſchutz Sela
Kompt
9] (Hie) her vnd ſchawet die werck des Herrn
(mirabiles zurſtoren
onsolationes quia Der auff erden ſolch (verwuſtung) hatt angericht,
iat pacem) [10] Er hatt die ſtreyt auffgehaben bis a(m)n der welt ende
broch (finiit)
Er hatt bogen zu(broch)en. ſpies zuſchlagen vnd wagen mit
fewr verbrannt.
V. 11] Laſſt ab, vnd erkennet . das ich gott byn
(müs)
Jch werd erhaben ſeyn vnter den heyden. Jch werd erhaben ſeyn
auff erden (das man mich erheb)

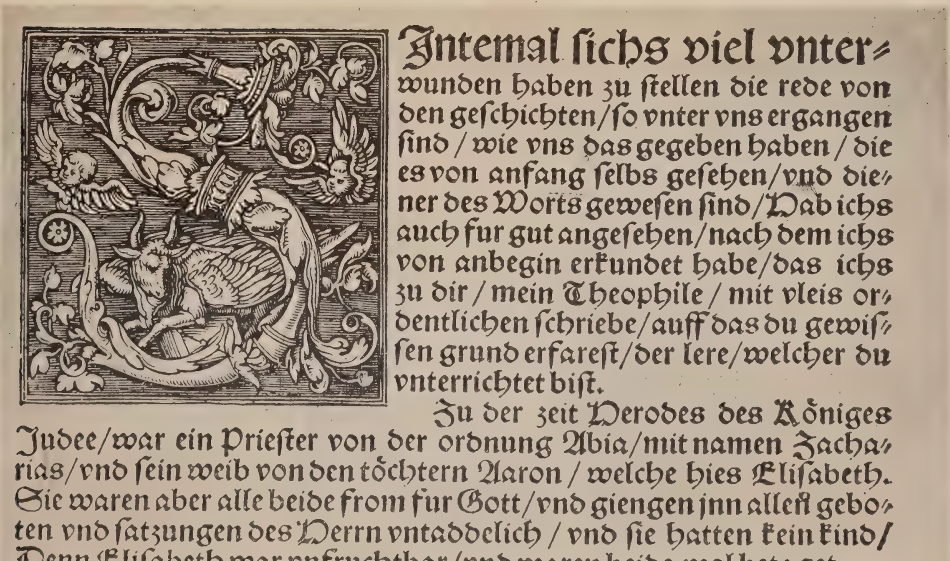


10. A page of Luther's manuscript of his Bible translation (Psalm 45:18-46:11) 1524, with transcript; Staatsbibliothek at Berlin.



11. ABOVE (right): Initial Letters of Luther's first complete Bible of 1534; Staatsbibliothek at Hamburg.

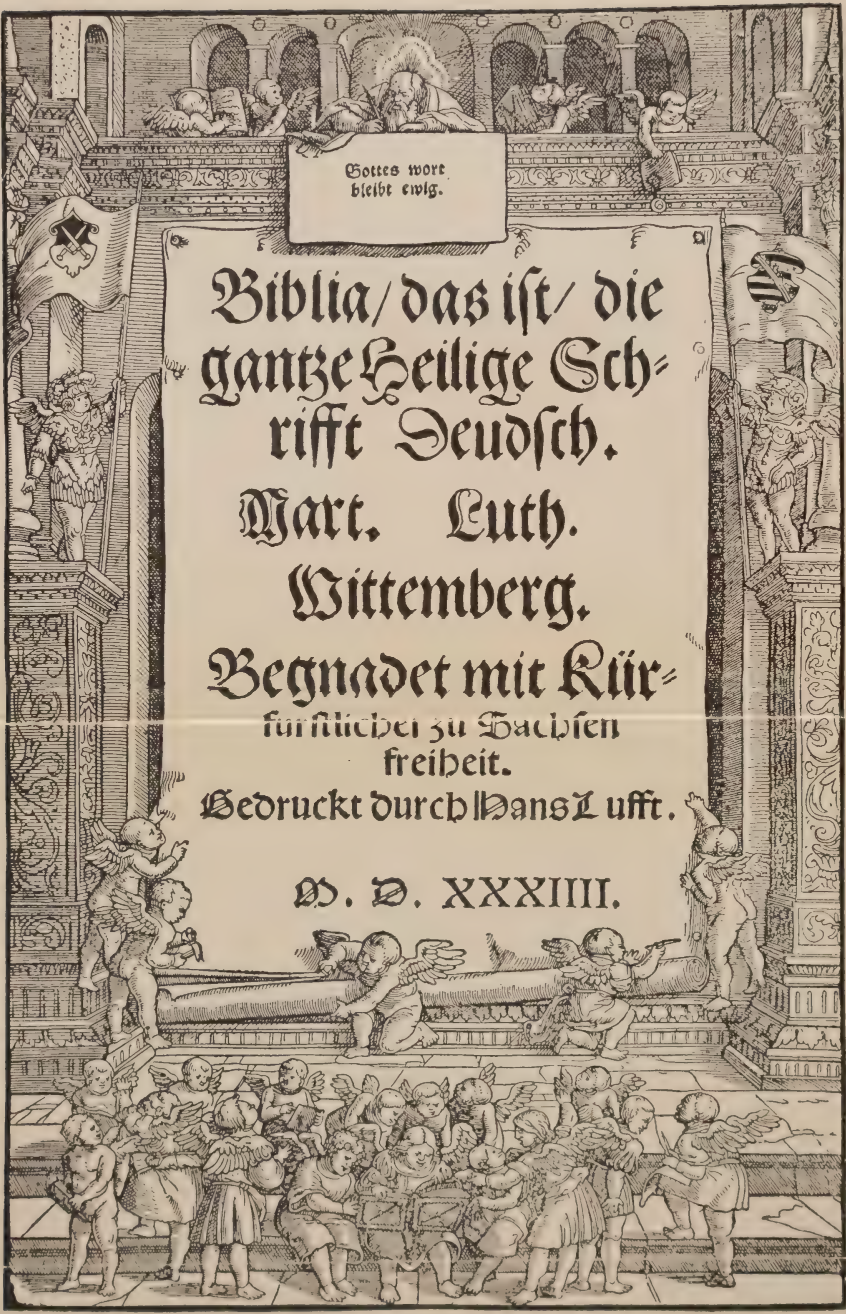
12. BELOW: Beginning of the Gospel according to St. Luke in the Bible of 1534; Landesbibliothek at Wolfenbüttel.



Jntemal ſichs viel vnterwunden haben zu ſtellen die rede von den geſchichten/ſo vnter vns ergangen ſind / wie vns das gegeben haben / die es von anfang ſelbs geſehen/vnd diener des Worts geweſen ſind/Dab ichs auch fur gut angeſehen/nach dem ichs von anbegin erkundet habe/das ichs zu dir / mein Theophile / mit vleis ordentlichen ſchriebe/auff das du gewiſſen grund erfareſt/der lere/welcher du vnterrichtet biſt.

Zu der zeit Herodes des Königes Judee/war ein Prieſter von der ordnung Abia/mit namen Zacharias/vnd ſein weib von den töchtern Aaron / welche hies Eliſabeth. Sie waren aber alle beide from fur Gott/vnd giengen jnn allen̄ geboten vnd ſatzungen des Herrn vntaddelich / vnd ſie hatten kein kind/ Denn Eliſabeth war vnfruchtbar/vnd waren beide wol betaget.

Vnd es begab ſich/da er Prieſters ampt pfleget fur Gott / zur zeit ſeiner ordnung/nach gewonheit des Prieſterthums/vnd an jm war/ das er reuchern ſolt/gieng er jnn den Tempel des Herrn / Vnd die

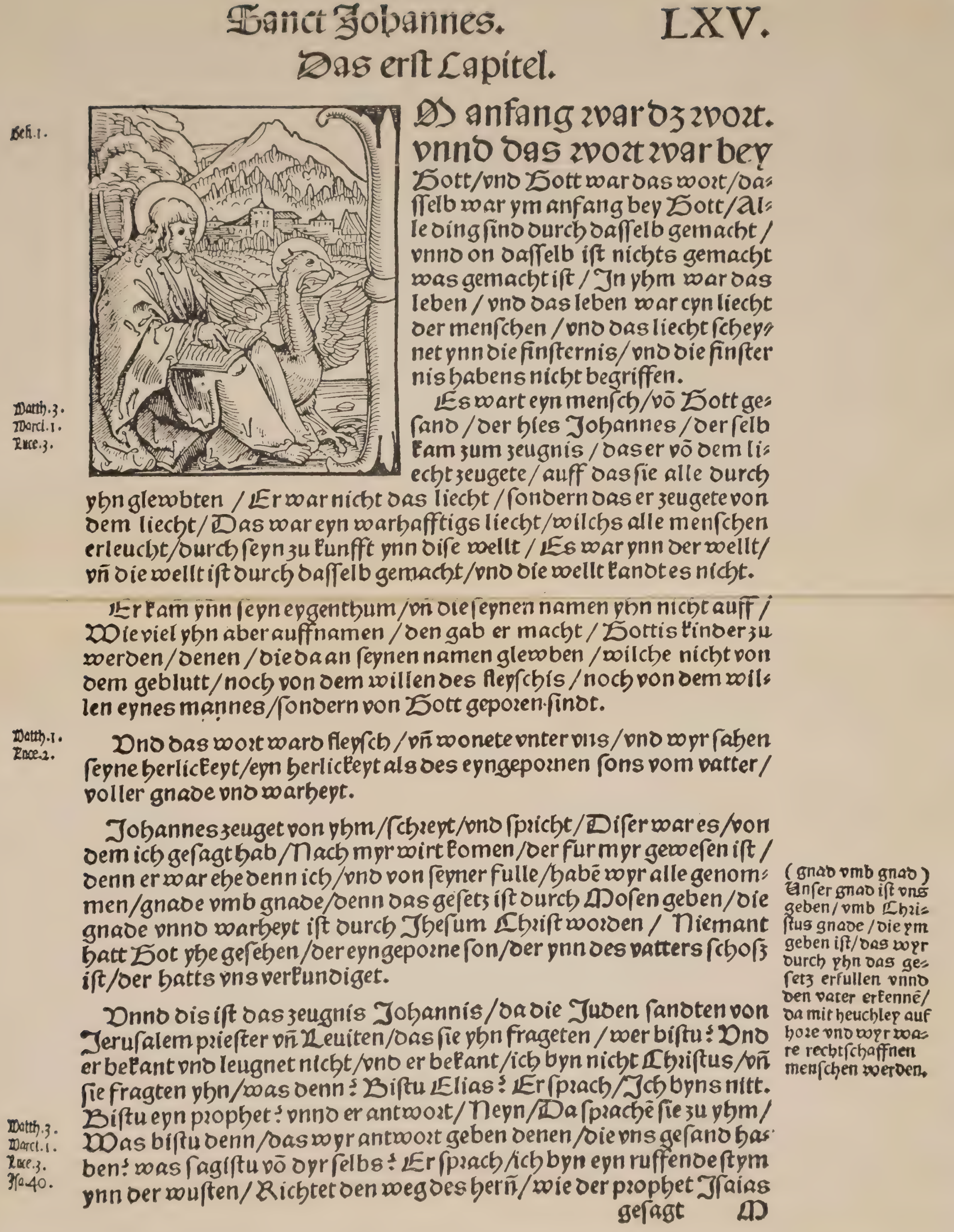


Gottes wort
bleibt ewig.

Biblia/ das iſt/ die
gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudſch.
Mart. Luth.
Wittemberg.
Begnadet mit Kürfürſtlicher zu Sachſen
freiheit.
Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft.

M. D. XXXIIII.

13. Title Page of Luther's first complete Bible, Wittenberg, 1534, a little less than original size; Staatsbibliothek at Hamburg.



Sanct Johannes.

Das erſt Capitel.

Gen̄.1. IM anfang war dz wort. vnnd das wort war bey Gott/vnd Gott war das wort/daſſelb war ym anfang bey Gott/Alle ding ſind durch daſſelb gemacht/vnnd on daſſelb iſt nichts gemacht was gemacht iſt/Jn yhm war das leben/vnd das leben war eyn liecht der menſchen/vnd das liecht ſcheynet ynn die finſternis/vnd die finſternis habens nicht begriffen.

Matth.3.
Marci.1.
Luce.3.

Es wart eyn menſch/vō Gott geſand/der hies Johannes/der ſelb kam zum zeugnis/das er vō dem liecht zeugete/auff das ſie alle durch yhn glewbten/Er war nicht das liecht/ſondern das er zeugete von dem liecht/Das war eyn warhafftigs liecht/wilchs alle menſchen erleucht/durch ſeyn zu kunfft ynn diſe wellt/Es war ynn der wellt/vñ die wellt iſt durch daſſelb gemacht/vnd die wellt kandt es nicht.

Er kam ynn ſeyn eygenthum/vñ die ſeynen namen yhn nicht auff/Wie viel yhn aber auffnamen/den gab er macht/Gottis kinder zu werden/denen/die da an ſeynen namen glewben/wilche nicht von dem geblutt/noch von dem willen des fleyſchis/noch von dem willen eynes mannes/ſondern von Gott geporen ſindt.

Matth.1.
Luce.2.

Vnd das wort ward fleyſch/vñ wonete vnter vns/vnd wyr ſahen ſeyne herlickeyt/eyn herlickeyt als des eyngepornen ſons vom vatter/voller gnade vnd warheyt.

Johannes zeuget von yhm/ſchreyt/vnd ſpricht/Diſer war es/von dem ich geſagt hab/Nach myr wirt komen/der fur myr geweſen iſt/denn er war ehe denn ich/vnd von ſeyner fulle/habē wyr alle genommen/gnade vmb gnade/denn das geſetz iſt durch Moſen geben/die gnade vnnd warheyt iſt durch Jheſum Chriſt worden/Niemant hatt Got yhe geſehen/der eyngeporne ſon/der ynn des vatters ſchoſz iſt/der hatts vns verkundiget.

(gnad vmb gnad) Unſer gnad iſt vns geben/vmb Chriſtus gnade/die ym geben iſt/das wyr durch yhn das geſetz erfullen vnnd den vater erkennē/da mit heuchley auf hore vnd wyr ware rechtſchaffnen menſchen werden.

Vnnd dis iſt das zeugnis Johannis/da die Juden ſandten von Jeruſalem prieſter vñ Leuiten/das ſie yhn frageten/wer biſtu? Vnd er bekant vnd leugnet nicht/vnd er bekant/ich byn nicht Chriſtus/vñ ſie fragten yhn/was denn? Biſtu Elias? Er ſprach/Jch byns nitt. Biſtu eyn prophet? vnnd er antwort/Neyn/Da ſprachē ſie zu yhm/Was biſtu denn/das wyr antwort geben denen/die vns geſand haben? was ſagiſtu vō dyr ſelbs? Er ſprach/ich byn eyn ruffende ſtym ynn der wuſten/Richtet den weg des herñ/wie der prophet Jſaias

Matth.3.
Marci.1.
Luce.3.
Jſa.40.

geſagt M

14. A page of Luther's first complete Bible (John 1, 1-23) in its original size; Stadtbibliothek at Nürnberg.

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